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Blurring Boundaries: The Rorschach Idea in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture

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BLURRING BOUNDARIES

The Rorschach Idea in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture

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Bachelor of Arts, Princeton University, 1993

**A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

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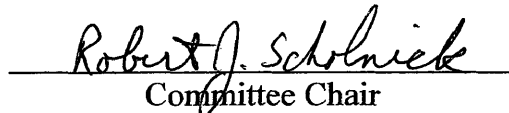
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APPROVAL PAGE

This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts


James Edward Rainey, Jr.

Approved by the Committee, March 2008


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ABSTRACT PAGE

The work at hand will examine the circumstances that effected the establishment of the Rorschach Test as the predominant personality assessment administered in the United States in the twentieth century. The paper will also trace the evolution of Rorschach references and associations from more literal to more figurative manifestations in twentieth-century American media artifacts. Particularly as regards the latter of these efforts, the paper aspires to augment existing histories of the “inkblot” protocols in the United States by arguing that their longevity is less a function of the psychometric merits of the Rorschach Test as perceived by clinicians and more a function of the metaphorical merits of the Rorschach idea as perceived by lay Americans.

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To Ruth, Jed, and Elizabeth

*For thy sweet love remembered such wealth brings
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.*

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INTRODUCTION

In her 2004 book-length survey work, *The Cult of Personality*, Annie Murphy Paul evokes repeatedly a “disease vector” metaphor in describing America’s relationship with personality inventories such as the Rorschach Psychodiagnostic Test. For each of the assessments that she cases – the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, the Thematic Apperception Test, the Rorschach, and others – Paul identifies an early champion, a patient zero, through whose proselytizing much of the nation becomes infected with the promise of a quantifiable, summary explanation of its citizens’ psychic profiles. America serves as an especially vulnerable, and even unsympathetic, host in Paul’s metaphor. With reference to the Austrian immigrant who popularized phrenology in the nineteenth century, for example, Paul quips, “If Johann Spurzheim had not delivered phrenology to America’s shores in 1832, the country would have had to invent it.”¹

Paul cites industrialization and urban growth, and their attendant appetites for standardization and scale, as explanations for America’s widespread susceptibility to personality assessments. Indeed, the subtitle of her work – *How Personality Tests Are Leading Us to Miseducate Our Children, Mismanage Our Companies, and Misunderstand Ourselves* – implies that psychological inventories and forces of industrialization are coincident in their zones of impact, and indicates the extent to which

¹ Annie Murphy Paul, *The Cult of Personality: How Personality Tests Are Leading Us to Miseducate Our Children, Mismanage Our Companies, and Misunderstand Ourselves* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 10.

even an intimate notion like “personality” has been molded in America, unapologetically so, by an onslaught of categorical external assessments. The Institute of Personality Assessment and Research at the University of California, for instance, cited as its goal in a 1952 report the development of “techniques to identify the personality characteristics which make for successful and happy adjustment to modern industrial society.”² Like an SAT score or an IQ score, a personality diagnosis sticks in one’s mind as a chronic label to which its bearer is ever answerable. One even employs the reflexive mode in discussions of it: “Oh, you’re an ENFJ? So am I!”³

Frederick Crews, in a contemporary discussion of the Rorschach inkblot test in *The New York Review of Books*, concurs with Paul’s viewpoint but overlays a second metaphor: evangelism and conversion. Crews characterizes Rorschach practitioners as “zealous and clannish,” incidentally corroborating Paul’s choice of title (“*Cult*”) and also fingering American psychologists and clinicians as lambs to the inkblot slaughter. “Rorschach found its true welcome,” he writes, “in the world’s headquarters of psychological typecasting and ‘adjustment,’ the United States.”⁴ Crews offers this assessment as he reviews James Wood’s *What’s Wrong with the Rorschach?*, and specifically as he describes Wood’s account of the Rorschach Test’s sinusoidal trajectory: its creation by its Swiss namesake, Hermann Rorschach, in 1921, one year before his untimely death at age thirty-seven; its introduction in the United States by the German immigrant Bruno Klopfer and American-born Ph.D. candidates Samuel Beck

² Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 46.

³ “ENFJ” is a Myers-Briggs personality type: extroverted, intuitive, feeling, judging.

⁴ Frederick Crews, “Out, Damned Blot!,” *New York Review*, 15 July 2004, 22-23.

and Marguerite Hertz in the 1930s; its rapid rise and peak in popularity among psychologists and other test administrators during the 1940s and 1950s; its nadir in the 1960s in the face of damning scientific evidence; and its miraculous renaissance at the hands of John Exner in the 1970s.⁵ Paul's own treatment of the Rorschach Test chronicles a similar set of vicissitudes: periods of "missionary zeal," "quarrelsome factions," and "resurrection" in turn, always negotiated among Rorschach practitioners who behave as vectors seeking hosts in the form of peer converts.⁶

The limitation of Paul's, Crews', and Wood's paradigm as a model for understanding the Rorschach phenomenon is one of scope, especially in light of the larger forces at play both within and beyond psychological and psychiatric disciplines during the 1940s and 1950s, when the test achieved its critical mass of acceptance. Primary sources from the 1940s in particular yield a narrative of well-intentioned opportunism that embraced the demands and aftermath of World War II as a means of catapulting the Rorschach Test to the forefront of American psychological practice and, ultimately, to the vanguard of American popular culture. It is a story of evangelism, yes, but of evangelism tempered with savvy salesmanship and practical compromises in the interests of growth – not to mention more than a little bit of good timing. In order to understand fully the Rorschach's preeminence among psychological tests by the 1950s, therefore, one must ask questions about its differentiation. Paul and Crews rightfully cite America's zeal for

⁵ James Wood et al., *What's Wrong with the Rorschach?: Science Confronts the Controversial Inkblot Test* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 48-216. David M. Levy, who organized the first Rorschach seminar in Chicago in 1925, is credited with having brought the inkblot technique to America, but Beck, Hertz, and Klopfer were more vocal and influential proselytes. See Joseph Zubin et al., *An Experimental Approach to Projective Techniques* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), 172-173.

⁶ Paul, 28, 32, 35.

psychological testing as kindling for the Rorschach conflagration, but why did the inkblot test thrive while similar assessments, like the Machover “Draw-A-Person” test or the Murray “Thematic Apperception Test,” achieved lesser heights and briefer lifespans? What distinguished the Rorschach Test in terms of its constitution, its range of application, and its attractiveness to psychiatrists, psychologists, and other therapists? Moreover, what factors explain the extension of the Rorschach idea from the esoteric lexicon of clinicians to the exoteric vernacular of American popular culture?

The work at hand will endeavor to address the foregoing questions first by examining the circumstances that effected the establishment of the Rorschach Test as predominant among personality assessments administered in the United States, and second by tracing the evolution of Rorschach references and associations from literal to figurative manifestations in twentieth-century American media artifacts. Particularly as regards the latter of these efforts, this paper aspires to augment existing histories of the inkblot protocols in the United States by arguing that their longevity is far less a function of the psychometric merits of the Rorschach Test as perceived by clinicians and far more a function of the metaphorical merits of the Rorschach *idea* as perceived by lay Americans. The term “Rorschach,” now a fixed idiom in the English language, no longer requires the approbation of psychologists for its survival. It exists apart from the source of its genesis.

CHAPTER I
•
CLINICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE RORSCHACH IDEA

Born in 1884, Hermann Rorschach did not invent the notion of human research through inkblots with which his name has become synonymous, but he did invent the systematic method through which such research gained widespread acceptance.¹ His fascination with the subject was lifelong – as a boy he was “Klex,” or “Inkblot,” to his friends, and he likely played the European fortune-telling parlor game called Blotto – but he decided to take up “projective” testing seriously in 1917 upon the publication of the dissertation of Szymon Hens, a Polish medical student who had attempted to identify psychoses from patients’ inkblot responses.² Rorschach created a set of forty of his own inkblot cards to administer to patients, of which ten were eventually published in his *Psychodiagnostics* text of 1921.³ Rorschach argued that the characteristics of subject interpretations of these images were far more important than the interpretations themselves. It was this methodological innovation, along with his reliance on group data as opposed to individual data, that would eventually persuade thousands of clinical

¹ Zubin et al., 168-171.

² Wood et al., 23-24, 26; Paul, 19. For an explanation of Lawrence Frank’s “projective hypothesis,” please see Wood et al., 81-83. See also Wood et al., 27; Paul, 19. In Paul’s account, Rorschach “felt the painful jab of professional jealousy” upon reading Hens’ dissertation – a melodramatic claim that she does not support with a citation.

³ Wood et al., 27,28, and 335. Estimates of the forty-card figure vary.

psychologists to take up inkblots as diagnostic instruments.⁴ Wood provides the following concise summation in his 2003 critique:

“According to a popular stereotype about the Rorschach Test, responses to the blots are interpreted as Freudian symbols that represent unconscious thoughts and motivations. A threatening lion seen in a blot means that a person harbors unconscious aggressive impulses.... Hermann Rorschach had something quite different in mind.... If a woman saw an inkblot as a monster that reminded her of her father, Rorschach would probably have been most interested in finding out whether the monster appeared to be *moving*, and whether the *color* of the blot had affected the woman’s choice of an image.”⁵

One irony of Rorschach’s innovation is that by legitimating projective techniques in the eyes of psychiatric professionals, especially in America, he ushered in an age of inkblot ubiquity that in turn only served to discount the depth of his research in favor of a popular over-simplification.⁶ The Rorschach inkblot test would eventually become Blotto all over again, but this time with a clinical imprimatur.⁷ Rorschach himself, however, would not live to witness the events he had set in motion, much less discover through his inkblots “the possibility of the unification of all men” of which he had dreamed.⁸ He died

⁴ Ibid, 43.

⁵ Ibid, 28-29.

⁶ Crews, “Out,” 22-23.

⁷ For a detailed treatment of the rise of the Rorschach Test in America, please see Wood et al., 84-106.

⁸ Olga Rorschach, quoted in Diane E. Jonte-Pace, “From Prophets to Perception: The Origins of Rorschach’s Psychology,” *The Annual of Psychoanalysis* 14 (1986), 179-203, quoted in Paul, 22.

in 1922, only one year after the publication of *Psychodiagnostics*, from a perforated appendix.⁹

America's entry into World War II in 1941 forced a sea-change in the practice of psychiatry by shifting the locus of that practice from the hospital to the battlefield and from individual therapy sessions to group settings, by redefining the typical patient not in terms of his insanity but in terms of his normalcy, and by elevating psychoanalysis to a position of primacy among the treatments offered by mental health professionals.¹⁰ Before the war, patients of psychiatrists were typically either very wealthy (in which case sessions were conducted in strictest confidence) or exceedingly ill. "Psychotherapy was not relevant to ordinary people," observes Ellen Herman in *The Romance of American Psychology*. "If anything, it was stigmatizing."¹¹ World War II democratized psychotherapy by introducing it to legions of traumatized patients with no prior exposure to its methods. Terms like "repression," "frustration," "identification," and "complex" assumed new meanings in the American vernacular.¹² Psychoanalysis was becoming accessible, and acceptable. Writes Nathan Hale, "The war gave psychiatry an aura of success and scientific status, which also accrued to psychoanalysis as these specialties became more closely identified. The medical rhetoric of psychiatrists and psychoanalysts

⁹ Wood et al., 28.

¹⁰ Nathan G. Hale, Jr., *The Rise and Crisis of Psychoanalysis in the United States: Freud and the Americans, 1917-1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 187.

¹¹ Herman, 112.

¹² See "Medicine," *Time*, 25 October 1948, 70.

as well as the rhetoric of journalistic popularizers reinforced this appearance of scientific consecration.”¹³

In the same way, World War II democratized the field of mental health professionals. Traditional hospital-based psychiatrists were ill-equipped to treat the neuroses that soldiers suffered from combat situations, so psychoanalysts, whose methods were specifically geared to such neuroses, rapidly filled that void.¹⁴ The term “psychotherapy” in its most common application became synonymous with psychoanalysis and essentially excluded the somatic treatments of the insane with which psychiatry had been popularly associated in prior decades. True physician-psychiatrists, of whom the Army had only thirty-five and the United States only 3,000 as of December of 1941, necessarily ceded much of their authority to lay psychologists as the latter began to proliferate in combat zones, where demand for their services was insatiable.¹⁵ Psychoanalysis, in the hands of both physician-psychiatrists and clinician-psychologists, therefore flourished as the Army endeavored to promote the “mental hygiene” of its troops on the front.¹⁶

Combat realities challenged traditional notions of psychoanalysis. While practitioners “did not discard entirely their conviction that the mental troubles of given

¹³ Hale, 209.

¹⁴ Ibid, 187.

¹⁵ “The field of clinical psychology had traditionally dealt with children and educational problems, but the war shifted the profession’s emphasis to adults and serious mental disorders.... Psychoanalytic ideas, which had been gaining ground among psychiatrists, rapidly began to spread among clinical psychologists.... From a small collection of practitioners working mainly with children, clinical psychology had been transformed into a rapidly growing, well-funded profession that overlapped substantially with psychiatry. Henceforth its earlier role in educational settings would be relegated to a separate profession known as *school psychology*” (Wood et al., 91-93).

¹⁶ Hale, 188. See also Wood et al., 91.

individuals were configured in highly personal ways, conditioned especially by family background and childhood experience,” at the same time the experience of dispensing psychotherapy in war zones could not help but push psychiatrists and psychologists “toward an environmental understanding of wartime breakdown.”¹⁷ This tension between understandings of the human psyche as essentially evolved by adulthood and ever-evolving in response to environmental influences took shape in a conflict between Dr. William Menninger, the Army’s chief psychiatrist, and General George Marshall. According to Nathan Hale, the doctor and the general “clashed over whether or not war neurotics were yellow cowards and malingerers or involuntary sufferers from a real disorder.... Putting his finger on a major problem of psychiatry, Marshall argued that psychiatric disorders were for the most part invisible and depended for their detection on the diagnosis of psychiatrists.” Marshall, in other words, was a Freudian. Taking the opposite position, Menninger argued that “the great majority of patients were combat veterans and had been ‘normally adjusted men’ before their battle experience. Hundreds of them had been cited for bravery. Not only psychiatrists but all physicians recognized the reality of functional nervous disorders.”¹⁸

Menninger, by defending the personalities of his patients as permeable and vulnerable to traumatic stimuli, was in essence trying to have it both ways. “History of maladjustment in the family or in the individual, contributed to many of the casualties that occurred,” he observed, but at the same time one could not discount the wartime

¹⁷ Herman, 96.

¹⁸ Hale, 201-202.

realities of “normal personalities reacting to abnormal stress.”¹⁹ The implication of this adulteration of Freudian precepts was far-reaching: if the mental health of a society’s citizenry required ongoing psychotherapy to address environmental traumas, then the field of practicing psychotherapists would need to expand far beyond its pre-war constituency of medically-licensed psychiatrists. Environmentalism meant democratization. It was a change that precipitated an identity crisis in American psychiatry.²⁰

This period of flux in the practice of psychiatry and psychology created an extraordinary opportunity for proponents of the Rorschach Test. Unlike Dr. Menninger, who encountered principled resistance from peer psychiatrists for his expansionist viewpoint, the “Rorschachers” as they came to be known (most of them psychologists, not psychiatrists, by training) were quite successful at “playing both sides” and transcending internecine struggles. Samuel Beck, one of the very first Rorschach advocates, sold the test to psychiatrists as a tool “to probe into the fantasy content of the human mind as a diagnostic measure” – as a fast and efficient means of eliciting the same sort of information that psychotherapy could yield.²¹ The Rorschach Test is known as a “projective technique,” an assessment that presents an unstructured stimulus (e.g., an ink blot) and asks the subject to respond. Implicit in the projective hypothesis, first forwarded by Lawrence Frank in the 1930s, is the idea of the personality as knowable via that response. “The personality process might be regarded as a sort of rubber stamp which the

¹⁹ Ibid, 202.

²⁰ Ibid, 211-230.

²¹ “Prison Psychoses Reduced by Play,” *New York Times*, 22 February 1935.

individual imposes upon every situation by which he gives it the configuration that he, as an individual, requires.”²² With this characterization, Frank, who was fond of the X-ray as a metaphor for projective techniques, offered an understanding of the Rorschach as simultaneously accurate and situational.²³ The “picture” of the personality that emerged from Rorschach analysis might differ from that which would emerge ten years later, but both could be trusted as thorough and true to their moment of exposure.

Important to the early growth of the Rorschach Test was a general confidence in this idea of truth, of representational purity. For one thing, the test was supposedly immune to cheating. Irving Fosberg, a Rorschach zealot who would later deploy the test to draw a controversial connection between tuberculosis and schizophrenia, wrote in 1943 in the *Rorschach Research Exchange*, the principal organ of the Rorschach movement, that “even in the cases where the subjects were instructed to fake results, to give a ‘good’ personality and a ‘bad’ personality, the subjects failed to influence the test results.”²⁴ It was a durable reputation; by 1947, when references to the Rorschach had begun to appear in the mass media with greater frequency, the supposed immunity of the inkblot test to cheating was one of the features that was trumpeted to the public. “An amazing feature of the test is that the subject cannot cheat,” gushed one article in the

²² Wood et al., 82.

²³ Ibid, 82. See also Paul, 221.

²⁴ Irving A. Fosberg, “How Do Subjects Attempt Fake Results on the Rorschach Test,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 7 (1943), 119-121. See also W.D. Ross, “The Uses of the Rorschach Method in the Canadian Army,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 8 (1944), 159. For reported links between tuberculosis and schizophrenia, see Waldemar Kaempffert, “Science in Review: Similar Personality Patterns Found in Patients with Tuberculosis and Schizophrenia,” *New York Times*, 10 July 1949, and Lucy Freeman, “Finds No TB Link to Schizophrenia,” *New York Times*, 7 October 1949.

popular press. “No matter how he may resolve to hide or disguise himself, no matter how he may switch or distort his answers, his basic personality shines through.”²⁵

Rorschachers were also fond of talking about “blind analysis,” whereby a trained Rorschach expert could determine a subject’s personality based on test results alone, without ever having met the subject in person. “Blind analysis,” noted psychiatrist Joseph Zubin in 1965, “is one of the spectacular aspects of the Rorschach technique and has probably been the most important factor in the acceptance of the Rorschach by psychiatrists.”²⁶ The advantage of the Rorschach, therefore, was not only its inviolability but its objectivity. Like the X-ray, it was dependable, consistent, and, as would become important to its later success, massively scalable.

One reason that modern critics like Frederick Crews reject the Rorschach is that it brooks no distinction between “deeply revelatory responses” and “those that reflect only a casual memory or whim.”²⁷ In the early years of the test, though, when the mutability of personality was very much in question, this sort of ambiguity was hardly of concern. Indeed, whether one’s personality was deep-seated or in transition, the Rorschach would reveal it either way. During the war years, as lines blurred between medical psychiatry and lay psychology, and as professional understandings of psychoanalysis began to vary, the Rorschachers enjoyed relatively stable footing. Theirs was a product for everyone.²⁸

²⁵ Howard Whitman, “Blots on Your Character,” *Woman’s Home Companion* (January 1947), 48.

²⁶ Zubin et al., 197.

²⁷ Frederick Crews, “Reply,” *New York Review*, 4 November 2004.

²⁸ Clearly it was in the interest of Rorschach advocates to endorse the “environmental personality” school, and they did. “Most clinicians and users of projective techniques,” notes Zubin, “are of the belief that basic personality and emotional needs change over a period of time, and that temporary and situational factors with the [subject] will also result in changes of response to the Rorschach stimuli.” See Zubin et al., 188.

A spirit of volunteerism infected the Rorschach community after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In the “Announcements” section of the first 1942 issue of the *Rorschach Research Exchange*, the editors noted that “on December 29, 1941, a letter was sent to the members of the executive committee and the advisory committee, containing the following information: ‘Dr. Gardner Murphy...suggested that the volunteer Rorschach work...should be organized into a “Rorschach Volunteer Unit.”’” The purpose of the group would be to “offer opportunities for a systematic cooperation between the fellows and members of the Rorschach Institute who are now serving in the armed forces and those who want to do their part while they continue with their routine work.” The letter went on to note that the group would seek the cooperation of “various military authorities” in this endeavor.²⁹ In the next issue, twenty Rorschach workers in the armed forces were identified by name as parties to the volunteer effort.³⁰

The publication of this call to service was an extension of sentiments expressed less than one year earlier, when the prospect of war loomed large, by Marguerite Hertz, a powerful voice in the Rorschach community. “The precarious balance in which we find the mental health and well-being of men and women is probably without historical counterpart,” she wrote in the *Rorschach Research Exchange*. “For us, whose work is related to the maintenance of sanity and health, the hour is charged with responsibility; and no meeting of psychologists and psychiatrists today can be free from earnest self-

For a notable exception, see “Mental Treatment: Method Devised for Separating Curables from Incurables,” *New York Times*, 27 April 1947.

²⁹ “Announcements of the Rorschach Institute,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 6 (1942), 39.

³⁰ “Announcements of the Rorschach Institute,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 6 (1942), 81.

searching.”³¹ Her words appeared in a retrospective piece that considered the accomplishments, challenges, and future of the Rorschach Test twenty years into its existence; and though one can hardly doubt Hertz’s sincerity as she expresses concern for the “well-being of men and women,” surely she must also have been aware of the extraordinary opportunity that an outbreak of hostilities would represent for the Rorschach movement.

In “The Rorschach Chronicles,” which appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1999, Margaret Talbot points up the precedent that existed for a relationship between the United States military and psychometricians like Hertz. “The first modern personality test – the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet of 1919 – was designed to help the Army screen out recruits who might be susceptible to shell shock,” notes Talbot.³² A *New York Times* article more contemporary to World War II, “Executive Testing for 60 Companies,” also cites a partnership between the military and Rorschach practitioners: “The [executive testing] program, in general, embodies the basic principles used by the United States Army in officer selection during the war.... / Some of the techniques...are the Rorschach Test, Rosenszweigh [sic] picture frustration test and the forced choice performance test.”³³

The Rorschach Test was well-suited for use as a psychological screening instrument by the military because of two fundamental compromises that Rorschach

³¹ Marguerite R. Hertz, “Rorschach: Twenty Years After,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 5 (1941), 90-129.

³² Margaret Talbot, “The Rorschach Chronicles,” *New York Times Magazine*, 17 October 1999, 32.

³³ Alfred R. Zipser, Jr., “Executive Testing for 60 Companies,” *New York Times*, 13 November 1949. For parallel evidence of military use of the Rorschach in Great Britain, see George W. Gray, “Nerves in the War: Who Can Take It, Who Cannot, and Why,” *Harper’s Magazine* (May 1942), 632.

advocates were willing to make: they would administer the test in group settings, and they would allow non-experts to offer the inkblot test to subjects. The precedent for these decisions – decisions that subordinated qualitative to quantitative methods – had been prefigured by Hermann Rorschach himself, whose interest in group studies over case work had broken with Freudian practice and ultimately secured Rorschach the imprimatur of authenticity.³⁴ In this regard Rorschachers were ahead of their time. They were of a piece with the social forces of scale that had psychoanalyst-psychologists fast outnumbering traditional physician-psychiatrists.

“When the United States entered World War II in 1941,” notes Wood, “there was an instantaneous demand for clinical psychologists to administer tests to the millions of new recruits who were flooding into the armed services.... There was recognition that some recruits might be ill-suited for military service, not because they were of low intelligence but because they suffered from emotional problems that could impair their ability to function as soldiers.”³⁵ The Rorschach came to be regarded as, in Wood’s words, “the best available instrument for identifying abnormality,” in large part because of the efforts of Molly Harrower-Erickson to develop a “mass psychiatric interview for army personnel.”³⁶ Wrote Harrower-Erickson in a 1941 issue of the *Rorschach Research Exchange*, “If the Rorschach Group method is to be used where staggering numbers of persons are to be tested, only by some such adaptation can it meet the demands which

³⁴ Wood et al., 43.

³⁵ Ibid, 90.

³⁶ M. R. Harrower-Erickson, “Modification of the Rorschach Method for Use as a Group Test,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 5 (1941), 130.

will be made of it.”³⁷ Her claim was that the group method, though inferior to the individual method in some regards, was sufficient to the identification of “certain aspects of personality,” i.e., those aspects that the Army would regard as “psychoneurotic” or “abnormal,” and that it could therefore be deployed with confidence.³⁸

Marguerite Hertz, who, along with Samuel Beck, represented the “psychometric” or “standardization” wing of the Rorschach community, went about the work of investigating Harrower-Erickson’s claims – or at least that is what she set out to do.³⁹ “Our immediate task is the establishment of at least moderately high reliability and

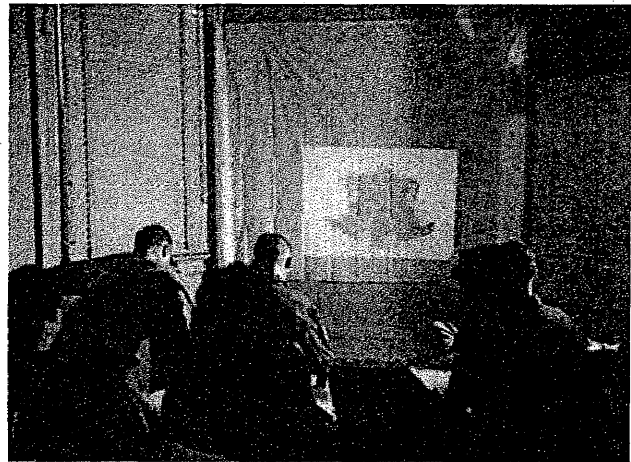


FIGURE 1
Group Rorschach Test Administration,
Office of Strategic Services
(Source: National Archives)

validity of the Rorschach Group method,” she wrote in the *Rorschach Research Exchange* in the spring of 1942. “Intensive work along this line will enable us to develop a Rorschach group method which will fill the urgent need for a practical group test of personality.”⁴⁰ What Hertz was up against, however, was a massive demand for the method that Harrower-Erickson proposed. In the Army’s view, there simply was no time for verification of research: enrollment was skyrocketing, and the Rorschach group

³⁷ Ibid, 144.

³⁸ Ibid, 130.

³⁹ See Wood et al., 74-76.

⁴⁰ Marguerite R. Hertz, “Comments on the Standardization of the Rorschach Group Method,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 6 (1942), 154, 159.

method offered a very convenient means of screening applicants (Figure 1). And the Army was not alone. In the same issue of the *Rorschach Research Exchange* in which Hertz advised circumspection, Robert Lindner and K. W. Chapman wrote of their aim “to evolve and perfect a procedure for preliminary screening of large groups of admissions in Federal Penal and Correctional Institutions”⁴¹ and appealed to their fellow Rorschachers to move toward “rapid standardization of equipment and method in group work.”⁴²

Perhaps to counter the reservations of Hertz and others, Lindner expanded on Rorschach group testing in the first *Rorschach Research Exchange* issue of 1943.⁴³ “No one has yet put forward the claim that the group method be used for anything but screening purposes,” he assured his peer practitioners. “No one expects the group method to replace the individual for the finer aspects of clinical work. Every one who is in any way concerned with the group method looks to it for its convenience in separating one or another variety of sheep from goats. We all want from it rough appraisal; we hope only that it will be adequate to point up gross differentials in personality structure.” Only one sentence later, though, Lindner gushes, “In my own clinic [at the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania,] it has done this to an extent which has, literally, amazed Rorschach laymen. The staff at my institution uses it to weed from new admissions those individuals whose behavior patterning should be noted for custody or treatment purposes. It is employed as a time-saver, and has yet to show a single instance of marked

⁴¹ R. M. Lindner and K. W. Chapman, “An Eclectic Group Method,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 6 (1942), 139.

⁴² Ibid, 146.

⁴³ See W. D. Ross, “A Contribution to the Objectification of Group Rorschach Scoring,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 7 (1943), 70.

unreliability.”⁴⁴ One wonders how Lindner would have had any basis for determining whether or not a diagnosis of “goat” was “unreliable,” and wonders too whether such unfavorable diagnoses amounted to little more than self-fulfilling prophecies. It hardly bears mentioning that the majority of the subjects of these early group Rorschach administrations, draftees and prisoners, possessed little in the way of recourse or leverage to demand ethical treatment and consideration.⁴⁵ Other studies demonstrate that subjects who *did* resist the testing effectively “failed” the Rorschach and were often labeled “psychoneurotic” or diagnosed as malingerers, giving the lie to the infallibility that proponents like Irving Fosberg liked to ascribe to the inkblot test.⁴⁶

Interestingly, in 1944 Harrower-Erickson published in the pages of the *Rorschach Research Exchange* a retrospective pseudo-apology for the haste with which she had pursued the group Rorschach method. “I realize,” she admitted, “that all the developments in the large scale application of the Rorschach method in which I have been engaged for the last four years resulted, step by step, from an attempt to provide an answer to pressing practical problems.”⁴⁷ Allowing that “research that is done to meet specific demands, or which is related in a demonstrable way to problems of a particular ‘here and now’” is problematic, she writes that she is “still surprised that anything even

⁴⁴ Robert M. Lindner, “A Further Contribution to the Group Rorschach,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 7 (1943), 14.

⁴⁵ In a report on the use of the Rorschach in the Canadian Army, W. D. Ross noted that “only 35 officer candidates have been given Rorschach investigation and validation results are not yet available.” See Ross, “Uses,” 160.

⁴⁶ Seymour J. Rosenberg and Theodore M. Feldberg, “Rorschach Characteristics of a Group of Malingerers,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 8 (1944), 141. “The Rorschach of malingerers is produced as the result of the subject’s conscious fear that the test will be too revealing and will uncover facts which he is attempting to hide. It is, therefore, basically indicative of evasion.”

⁴⁷ M. R. Harrower-Erickson, “Developments of the Rorschach Test for Large Scale Application,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 8 (1944), 125.

approximating a [group] procedure...could have been evolved.”⁴⁸ Her tone throughout, however, is far more enthusiastic than it is regretful as she imagines the variety of applications to which the group Rorschach method could be put beyond military screening and evaluation.⁴⁹ Propheying many practices that would come to pass in the 1950s and 1960s, Harrower-Erickson cited college and career counseling, public school student tracking (“segregating maladjusted children” as she put it), and even dietary interventions (“personality changes associated with deficiency of Vitamin B1”) as promising Rorschach terrain.⁵⁰

In the same article, Harrower-Erickson explains the success of her development of the multiple choice Rorschach group test, a true coup in the democratization of the Rorschach technique that complemented the aforementioned democratization of mental health professions more broadly.⁵¹ “I was asked to modify the Rorschach in such a way that it would take only five minutes to administer, that all scoring could be done by completely untrained personnel, could be registered on a punch card system, and that the final scores without alteration could, at least in their essentials, be visible at a glance and understandable to persons without Rorschach training!” Her estimation of her success at

⁴⁸ Ibid, 125, 127.

⁴⁹ For a post-war analysis of the effectiveness of the Rorschach Test at evaluating Army applicants, see Louis Linn, “The Rorschach Test in the Evaluation of Military Personnel,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 10 (1946), 20-27.

⁵⁰ Harrower-Erickson, “Developments,” 128-130.

⁵¹ Here, too, Harrower-Erickson proved herself a capable proselyte. “A great many people who are now actually using the Multiple Choice Test, persons, that is, who have not known of the Rorschach before, or who have waved it aside as something that in no way concerned them, are almost universally desirous of learning more about the Rorschach method or obtaining deeper and fuller insight into it once they have tasted it, shall we say, in its diluted form.... Thus I think it is safe to promise those of you whose interest lies perhaps primarily in training thorough and adequate Rorschach workers that these new methods, far from luring students away from a serious study to flirt with an easy quantitative method, will actually bring in a host of individuals who realize that what they will get out of large scale investigation will depend on what their basic Rorschach training entitles them to put into it” (Ibid, 139).

this undertaking is readily apparent in the implication a few sentences later that her invention might limit the need for the traditional, one-on-one Rorschach in the future. “When we finally deal with results of hundreds of thousands of Multiple Choice records instead of the odd 50,000 that are available now, when the statisticians have finished estimating the various constellations and patterns of numbers that can arise and be of diagnostic significance,...we will have to ask: ‘what are the things that will still be lacking in such a procedure and which will still be obtainable from a full individual interpretation?’”⁵²

Both Ellen Herman and Catherine Lutz identify a sizable “spill over” effect after 1945 that brought clinical psychology and psychotherapy back to the States from the combat zones. Writes Lutz, “Psychiatry’s focus on the repair of damage caused by trauma was the outcome of dealing with the large number of neuropsychiatric patients after World War II, as was the VA clinical training program that brought many young psychologists into contact with a militarily defined and damaged psyche.”⁵³ The cover story from the October 25, 1948, issue of *Time* bears out Lutz’s claim. “The Army’s experience with psychiatry in World War II, with Dr. Will [Menninger] bossing the job, did as much as anything to boost psychiatry’s stock, and advertise it. During the war, the

⁵² Ibid, 127. Rorschachers were also early adopters of computer and video technologies as platforms for growth. See Anthony C. Collings, “Computers for Hire,” *Wall Street Journal*, 5 September 1961, and “Camera Notes; City College Institute to Show Its New Films,” *New York Times*, 4 January 1953.

⁵³ Catherine Lutz, “Epistemology of the Bunker,” in *Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America*, edited by Joel Pfister and Nancy Schnog (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 250. See also Herman, 112, and Hale, 215. For examples of Rorschach Test administrations to veterans, see articles by Lucy Freeman: “Headache Clinic Eases Emotions,” *New York Times*, 19 September 1948, and “Psychiatry Clinic Held Successful,” *New York Times*, 15 January 1950.

‘brain boys’ were responsible for rejecting about 39% of the 4,828,000 men the Army did not want. Of all medical discharges, about 43% (314,500 men) were for neuropsychiatric reasons; 163,000 others (the so-called ‘psychopathic personalities’) were discharged for administrative reasons (anything from homosexuality to persistent flouting of rules).”⁵⁴ Though psychiatric casualties were 10% higher in World War II than in World War I, Menninger attributed the increase not to overzealous clinicians but to more accurate diagnoses of disorders. “Psychoses, like broken legs, are easier to spot.”⁵⁵ Given what we know of its preeminence during and after the war, we can presume that he was referring, at least in part, to the Rorschach Test.

In 1949, in a piece that accompanied O. K. Buros’ *Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, psychiatrist J. R. Wittenborn cited, in addition to the “broad social changes” that accompanied World War II, three factors that explained the Rorschach’s rapid rise: “the publication of numerous books and articles on the test, the enthusiasm of its promoters, [and] the rising influence of psychoanalysis.”⁵⁶ Wittenborn offered thinly-veiled skepticism of the “enthusiasm” component of this list, implying an uncritical “emperor’s-new-clothes” attitude among his peer professionals. “Today,” he observed, “graduate instruction in the Rorschach method is offered in departments of psychology

⁵⁴ “Medicine,” 71. It was not until 1956 that a landmark study by Evelyn Hooker disproved the capacity of the Rorschach Test to “diagnose” homosexuality, and not until 1973 that the American Psychiatric Association decided to remove homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. See David W. Dunlap, “Evelyn Hooker, 89, Is Dead; Recast the View of Gay Men,” *New York Times*, 22 November 1996.

⁵⁵ “Medicine,” 71.

⁵⁶ Wittenborn, J. R., “Review of the Rorschach Inkblot Test,” in *The Third Mental Measurements Yearbook*, edited by O. K. Buros (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949), 133-134. Joseph Zubin also cites the “special Rorschach language (note essential contrast to the development of the TAT)” as “probably itself a major factor in creating a Rorschach fraternity.” See Zubin et al., 176.

where less than a decade ago more conservative phases of clinical psychology were shunned.... Reservations concerning the inkblot test are rapidly becoming unfashionable. Since from the standpoint of relative progress little more is known about the inkblots than was known by Rorschach, this rapid acceptance requires comment.”⁵⁷

Norman Sundberg, who five years later confronted Buros’ next two installments of data on the Rorschach-heavy nature of journal publications (Table 1), echoed Wittenborn’s concerns. “Why should the Rorschach, which is probably used less or no more than some other leading tests, stimulate such an excessive number of publications? Are we suffering a cultural lag between publications about tests and their usage? Or should we be paying more attention to tests which are of equal or more use in practical situations?”⁵⁸

Assessment	Total publications through 1936	Publications, 1937-1940	Publications, 1941-1947	Publications, 1948-1951	Total publications through 1951
Rorschach Psychodiagnostic Test	68	120	474	557	1219
Stanford-Binet Scale	141	104	177	71	493
Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale	0	5	140	226	371
Thematic Apperception Test	1	9	107	182	299
Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventor	0	3	89	191	283

TABLE 1
Publications Referencing Leading Psychological Tests
(Source: Norman Sundberg, "A Note Concerning the History of Testing,"
American Psychologist 9 (1954), 150)

In fact, however, the Rorschach was not only the most frequently journalized but also the most frequently administered psychological test in America, at least through the

⁵⁷ Wittenborn, 133. For evidence of the growth of Rorschach programs in American colleges and universities during the 1940s and 1950s, see “Clinical Psychology at Bucknell,” *New York Times*, 22 March 1942, “New Psychology Course,” *New York Times*, 14 September 1947, and “Education News,” *New York Times*, 24 July 1955.

⁵⁸ Norman D. Sundberg, “A Note Concerning the History of Testing,” *American Psychologist* 9 (1954), 151.

early 1960s, as Sundberg's own research in future years would discover. In a survey of 185 facilities, including Veterans Administration stations, hospitals and mental hospitals, outpatient clinics, counseling centers, and university training clinics, Sundberg learned that 170, or 92% of the total, administered the Rorschach Test – 110 of them to a majority of patients. No other test approached this level of ubiquity.⁵⁹ Even more so, then, did Sundberg puzzle over the dominance of a single instrument. “The social psychology of test usage would be...interesting to explore. What is the relation between test usage and number of publications?”⁶⁰ From Sundberg's data, one can extrapolate that several hundred thousand persons per year during the 1950s were given the Rorschach Test, not including those who made contact with the assessment in industrial, military, educational, or private clinical settings.⁶¹ The footprint was substantial; by 1960, as characterized by the *New York Times*, the Rorschach is “famous.”⁶²

James Wood has observed that it was the very popularity of the Rorschach Test in the late 1940s and early 1950s that “sowed the seeds of its undoing.”⁶³ A combination of World War II-engendered growth in the psychiatric/psychological professions and a willingness on the part of Rorschach proponents to mass-produce their product resulted in an extended “honeymoon period” of uncritical acceptance and a corollary universality not

⁵⁹ Norman D. Sundberg, “The Practices of Testing in Clinical Services in the United States,” *American Psychologist* 16 (1961), 79-83. See also Frank Samuel Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing* (New York: Holt, 1955), 504: “This is the well-known and widely used inkblot test...now used from the nursery-school level through all ages of adulthood.”

⁶⁰ Sundberg, “Practices,” 83. See also Edward Aronow, Marvin Reznikoff, and Kevin Moreland, *The Rorschach Technique: Perceptual Basics, Content Interpretation, and Applications* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), 5: “Rorschach references as a percentage of all test references went from 18.4% in 1939 to a high of 36.4% in 1954. After this peak the percentage gradually dropped to 11.3% in 1968.”

⁶¹ Sundberg, “Practices,” 82.

⁶² Emma Harrison, “Psyche Revealed by Object ‘Game,’” *New York Times*, February 4, 1960.

⁶³ Wood et al., 147.

enjoyed by any psychological instrument to that point in history, but which a more sober and judicious post-war era would not ultimately sustain. Skeptics like J. R. Wittenborn and even advocates like Marguerite Hertz worried that the Rorschach would not stand up to statistical rigor.⁶⁴ Moreover, on a purely logistical level, according to Gertrude Baker and John Gray Peatman, an insufficient number of clinical psychologists after World War II were trained to interpret the Rorschach properly.⁶⁵ Still, as of the late 1940s the Rorschach's crisis of doubt was at least ten years away, and public awareness and endorsement of the inkblot phenomenon was only growing.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid, 180. Eventually even the Rorschach's principal defender, Bruno Klopfer, would admit that test results were "not always substantiated by statistical validity" (Wood et al., 136).

⁶⁵ See Gertrude Baker and John Gray Peatman, "Tests Used in the Veterans' Administration Advisement Units," *American Psychologist* 2 (1947), 99-102.

⁶⁶ See Wood et al., 136-156.

CHAPTER II

POPULAR DECONSTRUCTION OF THE RORSCHACH IDEA

The bleeding of the Rorschach idea from the realm of clinical psychology into the world of popular culture commenced in earnest in the mid-1940s. Annie Murphy Paul has called the Rorschach inkblot “one of the most recognizable images of our time,” but prior to 1946 one’s familiarity with that image would have most likely been the result of a direct exposure to the test.¹ In October of that year, *Life* magazine ran a story that discussed the reactions of “four successful young New Yorkers” to a set of facsimile inkblots and included a brief history of the Rorschach Test.² “Thirty-five years ago a Swiss psychiatrist named Herman [sic] Rorschach got the idea that the different things people see in ink blots might be a good index to their various personalities. Since then the Rorschach Test has been increasingly used by psychologists, educators and even employers to help determine the structure of personalities.”³

Another national periodical, *Woman’s Home Companion*, printed an article about the Rorschach Test three months later and went into much greater depth than had the *Life* piece. “The analysis of people’s reactions to inkblots is a carefully developed scientific

¹ Paul, 17.

² “Personality Tests: Ink Blots Are Used to Learn How People’s Minds Work,” *Life*, 7 October 1946, 55. In 1942, the *Rorschach Research Exchange* published the following warning: “The Rorschach Institute is unqualifiedly opposed to the reproduction of the Rorschach Inkblots in magazine articles, whether they be popular or scientific periodicals, and whether they be intended for the lay public or for professional readers.” To the present day, the actual ten Rorschach inkblots have been jealously guarded against public exposure, with rare exception. See “Announcements of the Rorschach Institute,” *Rorschach Research Exchange* 6 (1942), 138.

³ “Personality Tests,” 55.

technique,” it read, “evolved over the last quarter century, brought to maturity during World War II and now one of psychiatry’s most effective keys to the mystery of the human personality.”⁴ The article goes on to reference several champions of the Rorschach Test – corporate personnel departments, universities, the military, and guidance clinics among them – all the while couching the test in flattering language. The inkblot, this piece makes plain, is the friend of the sophisticated twentieth-century American.

That same year, the Rorschach Test enjoyed equally positive billing in *Scientific Monthly*, the organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In an issue that included diverse pieces on geology, physics, anthropology, climatology, mathematics, and ethics, Louis Wekstein offered an almost sycophantic introduction to the Rorschach. “Some of these [projection] tests have been so effective in yielding fruitful clinical data and so valuable in revealing the inner structure of the personality that they might well be referred to as X-ray techniques. Today every mental institution, guidance center, and clinic worthy of the name makes use of these tests. Schools, colleges, the armed forces, and numerous progressive organizations that find it necessary to evaluate personalities have followed suit.”⁵ In Wekstein’s regard, *Psychodiagnostics*, Hermann Rorschach’s text, becomes a “monumental contribution to psychology,” his research “amazing.”⁶

⁴ Whitman, 10.

⁵ Louis Wekstein. “X-Raying the Personality: An Interpretive Evaluation of Two Projection Techniques.” *Scientific Monthly* 65 (1947), 134.

⁶ *Ibid*, 134. Two other niche periodicals, *Science* and *Science Digest*, published between them five articles on the Rorschach Test between 1944 and 1949.

Widely-circulated newspapers and periodicals in the pre- and post-war years introduced their readers to the Rorschach Test through uncritical, “puff-piece” primers such as these. Clinical psychology was helping to propel humanity forward, and journalists generally opted to cheer the advance. The coverage of the inkblot test in the pages of the *New York Times* offers a revealing case study. The *Times* first introduced its readers to the Rorschach Test on

September 11, 1927, in a report by Herman G. Scheffauer, the paper’s Berlin correspondent, about “the new science, characterology” by which “the medical scientist” is able to “subject the essential entity of a man to an exact analysis – not only the inner life of the individual but also his subconscious urges – and to find his intellectual capacity.”⁷ Scheffauer’s



FIGURE 2
“INK BLOTS - The Rorschach test indicates psychological makeup.”
(Source: Leonard Engel, “New Approach to Mental Illness,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1956)

choice of verb – “subject” – presaged the tenor of his newspaper’s perspective on the Rorschach for the next several decades. *Times* articles and published letters of this period, when focused on the clinical applications of Rorschach’s inkblots (Figure 2), tended to privilege subjection over election, discrimination over integration, diagnosis over therapy, and institutions over individuals. Were children fit for school?⁸ Were adults fit

⁷ Herman G. Scheffauer, “Germans Study ‘Inner Life,’” *New York Times*, 11 September 1927.

⁸ Catherine MacKenzie, “Psychologist Sees Children Hurt by ‘Short-Cut’ Tests and Quacks,” *New York Times*, 6 July 1946; Catherine MacKenzie, “‘I.Q.’ Depreciated by Psychologist,” *New York Times*, 21 May

for parenting?⁹ Were inmates fit for release?¹⁰ Were middle managers fit for the corner office?¹¹ Were seminarians fit for the clergy?¹² Were astronauts fit for outer space?¹³ Were candidates fit for the presidency?¹⁴ The Rorschach Test would tell psychologists, and in turn the *Times*, in pieces published as late as the early 1960s, would tell its readers. A 1948 report by an anonymous *Times* journalist would seem to indicate the paper's prevailing opinion: through projective techniques like the Rorschach, "basic aspects of personality may be reached without insight by the individual as to what he is divulging."¹⁵ Prospective soldiers could not cheat the inkblots during World War II, and neither could petitioners to civilian institutions of the post-war era.

That the Rorschach protocols are too often used *on* people and not *for* people is a complaint that its critics have sustained against it to the present day. In *What's Wrong with the Rorschach?*, James Wood maps out the same landscape of inkblot impact as that limned in the pages of the *New York Times*, albeit less critically, a half-century ago: schools and seminaries, prisons and mental health clinics, corporations and courts.¹⁶ One noteworthy exception among *Times* journalists of the post-war period, however, was

1947; Marilyn Bender, "Nursery School is First Step to College," *New York Times*, 9 April 1963. See also Maya Pines, "How Three-year-olds Teach Themselves to Read and Write – and Love It," *Harper's Magazine* (May 1963), 62.

⁹ "Adoptive Parents Undergo New Test," *New York Times*, 28 October 1950. See also Keith Monroe, "A Better Way to Adopt a Baby," *Harper's Magazine* (January 1957), 58.

¹⁰ McCandlish Phillips, "Clinic Offers Aid to 300 Facing Jail," *New York Times*, 16 September 1956.

¹¹ Zipser. See also: John S. Cooper, "Man, Dig These Crazy Tests! (to Evaluate Advertising Copy)," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 December 1952; "The Organization Woman," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 September 1958; and "Reading for Business," *Wall Street Journal*, 27 January 1962.

¹² Stanley Rowland, Jr., "Seminarians Get Personality Test," *New York Times*, 20 April 1958; Emma Harrison, "Testing is Scored in Picking Clergy," *New York Times*, 21 November 1962.

¹³ C.B. Palmer, "Search for the Spacemen," *New York Times*, 25 June 1961.

¹⁴ Teltscher, Herry O. "Public Opinion Polls." *New York Times*. January 15, 1949. See also Thomas J. Fleming, "Selling the Product Named Hubert Humphrey," *New York Times*, 13 October 1968.

¹⁵ "VA Mental Patient Paints with Toes," *New York Times*, 8 September 1948.

¹⁶ Wood et al., 2.

Lucy Freeman. Of the forty-three *Times* articles that treated of the Rorschach Test in clinical contexts, only four reported therapeutic interventions; Freeman authored two of them.¹⁷ Her 2005 obituary in the *Times* noted that Freeman credited psychoanalysis with positive changes in her own life and “persuaded editors to allow coverage of the growth of psychiatry,” reporting on “welfare, the stigma of mental illness and advancements in treatments for schizophrenic patients.”¹⁸ As regards her opinion about the appropriate ends of psychological testing, Freeman was several decades ahead of her peer journalists.

POPULARIZATION OF THE RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

It was not until the early 1950s, when public acquaintance with the Rorschach Test was sufficiently prevalent in the United States by dint of either firsthand or secondhand exposure, that assumptions of audience familiarity with the inkblot idea began to manifest in newspaper and magazine articles. The first such instance in the pages of the *New York Times* occurred in January of 1951, when Aline Louchheim described the experience of viewing abstract art as “the equivalent of a personal and untabulated Rorschach Test.”¹⁹ As a cultural artifact, Louchheim’s article indicates the onset of shared ownership of the Rorschach concept between psychological clinicians

¹⁷ Lucy Freeman, “Headache Clinic”; Lucy Freeman, “Psychiatry Clinic.”

¹⁸ Damien Cave, “Lucy Freeman, Times Reporter and Prolific Author, Dies at 88,” *New York Times*, 3 January 2005. See also Freeman, “Finds No TB Link.”

¹⁹ Aline B. Louchheim, “Six Abstractionists Defend Their Art,” *New York Times Magazine*, 21 January 1951.

and the American public. The democratization of the inkblot idea in American society had commenced. Rollo May would follow Louchheim in the pages of the *Times* that same year with a comparison of the Rorschach protocols to L. Ron Hubbard's Dianetics, and in 1957 and 1960, *Harper's Magazine* would join the conversation with humor pieces on pinball addiction and phone number mnemonics, respectively.²⁰

Because of the distinctive iconography of the Rorschach Test, "pop psychology" references like the foregoing appeared not only in print but also in graphic media. Advertisements for books (Figure 3) and automobiles (Figure 4) trafficked in visual Rorschach allusions, as did *New Yorker* cartoons (Figure 5). *Times* crossword puzzles, too, began to make relatively frequent use of Rorschach references beginning in 1970.²¹



Diary of a Mad Housewife

(or how to pass a Rorschach Test without looking back)

FIGURE 3

Diary of a Mad Housewife Advertisement
(Source: *New York Times*, May 26, 1967)

Perhaps the most persistent pop psychology allusion to the Rorschach Test, however, obtains in the notion that the inkblots secretly describe sexual organs or acts. Specifically, this variety of allusion tends to center around a knowing joke: that because the Rorschach Test is designed to elicit the subject's true self, an accusation of vulgarity against the analyst is in

fact a confession that implicates the analysand. Or as one article puts it, "Holding advertisers responsible for one's erotic musings is analogous to accusing Rorschach of

²⁰ Rollo May, "Do You Remember When You Last Died?," *New York Times*, 7 October 1951; Julius Segal, "The Lure of Pinball," *Harper's Magazine* (October 1957), 47; Felicia Lamport, "Telephonic Mnemonic," *Harper's Magazine* (August 1960), 75.

²¹ Will Weng, "Crossword," *New York Times*, 28 October 1970.

DO YOU SEE A PRACTICAL CAR OR A PERFORMANCE CAR?

Take a close look at this inkblot. We'd like to ask you a few questions about what you see.

Do you see power or economy?

A powerful engine and an economical engine are mutually exclusive concepts, right? In the case of Saab, the answer is a definitive "not necessarily."

Consider Saab's APC Turbo. On the one hand, the usually reserved *New York Times* had this to say about it: "When the [A. P. C.] turbo cuts in, there is a sensation of soaring, of gathering yourself up and flying faster with such a rush of adrenaline and no end in sight."

Yet all this power and exhilaration are achieved with better gas economy* than the old fuel-frugal Volkswagen Super Beetle.

Do you see a suspension system designed for racing or for safety?

Over the years, Saab has built up an impressive record on the international rally circuit. Their drivers give much of the credit to Saab's double-wishbone suspension and front-wheel drive system, which allow Saab to maneuver and take corners as well as a sports car. (We would say better than a sports car, since Saab regularly beats sports cars in such events.)

If you don't happen to have racing in your blood, you might notice the more practical applications of front-wheel drive and

taut suspension. Like helping you safely through the first snowfall. Or the last rainfall.

Do you see a car designed for holding the road or for holding baggage?

To some Saab owners, Saab's aerodynamic hatchback design is another contributing factor to their cars' superb handling characteristics.

To others, it's been a legitimate excuse to postpone indefinitely the purchase of that unrelentingly utilitarian device—the station wagon.

(Saab's hatchback design affords its owners the carrying capacity of a station wagon.)

If you're still undecided as to whether you see a practical car or a performance car, don't worry.

Saab's version of the Rorschach test is much like the real one.

Any answer is correct. While our version may not reveal your personality traits, instinctual drives, or hidden neuroses, it should reduce any anxieties you might have about buying a Saab.

SAAB

The most intelligent car ever built.



FIGURE 4

Saab Advertisement

(Source: *New York Times*, June 19, 1983)



FIGURE 5

Cartoon by Al Ross

(Source: *New Yorker*, August 12, 1974: 76)

insinuating particular themes into the inkblots.”²² Richard Pryor’s discovery of “wildly erotic possibilities in some Rorschach inkblots” in the film “Critical Condition” echoes the same motif.²³

“RORSCHACH” AS SIMILE

Whereas pop psychology allusions to the Rorschach protocols remain true to the assessment’s clinical origins, “simile” allusions – comparisons that liken the appearance of an otherwise unrelated object or entity to Rorschach inkblots – do not. Simile inkblot references in the popular press, therefore, have had the effect of further democratizing the Rorschach idea by appropriating its iconography while discarding its formal clinical trappings. Howard Devree’s description of the water colors of Philippine artist V.C. Igarta and fashion critic Nan Robertson’s evocation of “Rorschach splashes on leather” in 1950s *New York Times* pieces are early examples of the phenomenon.²⁴ Such simile references began to appear in the pages of the *Times* with increased regularity from the 1960s forward, just as they began to appear in the pages of other widely circulated newspapers and periodicals.

Art criticism, given its preoccupation with visual stimuli, has tended naturally toward simile Rorschach references, of course, but so, too, have less obviously well-

²² Jane E. Brody, “Is Subliminal Persuasion a Menace? Evidently Not,” *New York Times*, 17 August 1982. See also: Bosley Crowther, “Screen: A Silent Remade,” *New York Times*, 27 May 1966; Myron Kandel, “Advertising; Bingo Adapted to Sales Drives,” *New York Times*, 25 July 1966; and Alan L. Otten, “Politics and People; Sound Ideas,” *Wall Street Journal*, 31 May 1973.

²³ Janet Maslin, “Film: Richard Pryor in ‘Critical Condition,’” *New York Times*, 16 January 1987.

²⁴ Howard Devree, “Diverse Moderns,” *New York Times*, 7 June 1953; Nan Robertson, “Leather Garments Soar into High Fashion Orbit,” *New York Times*, 1 April 1959.

suited categories of human experience: words themselves, Americans are told by the print media, can be “shaped like Rorschach ink blots”; dining out can result in “Rorschach-like patterns all over your shirt”; a greeting card can offer “a brightly colored stylized version of the inkblots used in the Rorschach personality test”; or a funeral procession can become “a ragged Rorschach blot of mourners.”²⁵ In political journalism, elections in gerrymandered city council or congressional districts have often elicited Rorschach simile references to connote randomness of physical form; five articles in the *New York Times* alone, by five different journalists, made this connection between 1982 and 2005.²⁶

Pop psychology and simile allusions to the Rorschach Test, however, are merely lay references to esoteric practices and implements. Neither one of these modes requires a clinician’s comprehensive understanding of the Rorschach protocols, but at the same time neither one is sufficiently independent of those protocols – especially their visual iconography – to be intelligible to a newspaper or periodical audience without the writer’s inferring a basic level of reader familiarity. Purely metaphorical references to the Rorschach idea, however, are sufficient unto themselves. It is conceivable, in other words, that a reader might encounter the term “Rorschach” in a metaphorical context and infer its meaning without any prior knowledge of the Rorschach Test itself.

²⁵ Marsteller Inc., Advertisement, *Wall Street Journal*, 16 January 1969; Bryan Miller, “Midtown Indian, Downtown Eclectic,” *New York Times*, 27 June 1986; James S. Kaplan, “New Greeting Cards Could Have Saved Day for Miles Standish,” *Wall Street Journal*, 20 August 1970; Arthur Roth, “Marching to Different Drummers,” *Harper’s Magazine* (April 1972), 32.

²⁶ William E. Geist, “The Art of Politics: Jersey District Map,” *New York Times*, 26 January 1982; J. Peder Zane, “Hispanic Group Challenges Redistricting Plan,” *New York Times*, 8 June 1992; Peter Applebome, “The Nation: Fitting Designer Districts into Off-the-Rack Democracy,” *New York Times*, 25 September 1994; Clifford J. Levy, “Court Outlaws New York District Drawn Up to Aid Hispanic Voters,” *New York Times*, 27 February 1997; “One-Size-Fits-Nobody Districts,” *New York Times*, 27 March 2005.

“RORSCHACH” AS METAPHOR

Non-clinical metaphorical Rorschach associations embody the most advanced evolutionary stage of the inkblot idea in American popular culture. The use of “Rorschach” as a metaphor, defined by Frederick Crews as an “equivocal stimulus that elicits self-betraying interpretations on all sides,” began in the 1970s to outstrip all other manifestations of the term in popular media outlets.²⁷ The first metaphorical use of “Rorschach” in a widely circulated American newspaper or periodical was that of Bruce Bliven, Jr. in the *New York Times*. In a 1964 book review, Bliven observed that “composing a New York City book is a kind of projective psychological test, a Rorschach, say; the five boroughs are only a stimulus to which the observer responds according to his personality.”²⁸ Since that time, the subjects of metaphorical Rorschach references in the national print media have run the gamut: Charles de Gaulle, the plays of Harold Pinter, the poem of William Butler Yeats, Pope John Paul II, the word “ambition,” Menachem Begin, the Strategic Defense Initiative, Bernard Goetz, Hillary Clinton, O.J. Simpson, airline accidents, and Barbie among a host of extant examples.²⁹

²⁷ Crews, “Out,” 22.

²⁸ Bruce Bliven, Jr., “To All the Varieties of Our Town, With Love and Dedication,” *New York Times*, 27 February 1966.

²⁹ Stanley Hoffman, “Apostle and Champion,” *New York Times*, 18 December 1966; John M. Culkin, “What’s Pinter Up To?,” *New York Times*, 5 February 1967; William Irvin Thompson, “Walking Out on the University,” *Harper’s Magazine* (September 1973), 74; David Sanford, “The Pope’s Groupies,” *Harper’s Magazine* (December 1979), 89; Joseph Epstein, “The Virtues of Ambition,” *Harper’s Magazine* (October 1980), 41; Sidney Zion, “Begin from the Beginning,” *Harper’s Magazine* (November 1983), 26; Fred Reed, “The Star Wars Swindle,” *Harper’s Magazine* (May 1986), 40; David C. Anderson, “Crime Peril? Or Paranoia?,” *New York Times*, 26 April 1987; Walter Shapiro, “Whose Hillary Is She Anyway?,” *Esquire* (August 1993), 84; Martin Gottlieb, “NOT GUILTY: THE RACIAL PRISM; Racial Split at the End, as at the Start,” *New York Times*, 4 October 1995; Adam Bryant, “F.A.A. Chief Admits Mistakes on

Of particular note is the metaphorical use of “Rorschach” exclusively in the headline or title of a print article, four instances of which appeared in the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* between 1971 and 1994: “Dostoevsky as Rorschach Test,” “Puerto Rico Rorschach,” “A Holocaust Rorschach Test,” and “At Work; Labor-Management Rorschach Test.”³⁰ Such employments of the term indicate a high level of editorial confidence in the reader’s grasp of the Rorschach idea, and to the extent that both the *Times* and the *Journal* have enjoyed high circulation rates for decades – among the highest of any national newspapers in the United States – one might infer a broad acceptance by educated Americans of “Rorschach” as a metaphor (Table 2).

Year	United States Households	<i>New York Times</i> Circulation	<i>Times</i> Readers per 100,000 Households	<i>Wall Street Journal</i> Circulation	<i>Journal</i> Readers per 100,000 Households
1947	39,107,000	538,914	1,378	81,684	209
1952	45,538,000	507,281	1,114	209,203	459
1957	49,673,000	557,224	1,122	420,761	847
1962	54,764,000	680,265	1,242	774,079	1,413
1967	59,236,000	767,239	1,295	989,443	1,670
1972	66,676,000	814,290	1,221	1,249,095	1,873
1977	74,142,000	803,123	1,083	1,407,985	1,899
1982	83,527,000	887,211	1,062	1,927,963	2,308
1987	89,479,000	1,001,694	1,119	1,952,283	2,182
1992	95,669,000	1,110,562	1,161	1,795,448	1,877
1997	101,018,000	1,071,120	1,060	1,783,532	1,766

TABLE 2
New York Times and *Wall Street Journal* Circulation and Saturation, 1947-1997
 (Sources: Editor & Publisher International Year Book, 1947-1997; Census.gov)

Letters to the editors of widely circulated newspapers and periodicals have been another indication of public approbation of “Rorschach” as a metaphor. “Not the least interesting thing about ‘MacBird’ is that it serves as a Rorschach for its audiences,” wrote

Valujet,” *New York Times*, 26 June 1996; Michelle Slatalla, “Wanted: F.O.B.’s (Friends of Barbie),” *New York Times*, 21 January 1999.

³⁰ Simon Karlinsky, “Dostoevsky as Rorschach Test,” *New York Times*, 13 June 1971; “Puerto Rico Rorschach,” *Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 1979; James E. Young, “A Holocaust Rorschach Test,” *New York Times*, 25 April 1993; Barbara Presley Noble, “At Work; Labor-Management Rorschach Test,” *New York Times*, 5 June 1994.

Polly Miller of Cleveland, Ohio, in a 1967 letter to the *New York Times*.³¹ One year later, Tom Miller of New York City, responding to a *Times* film review by Renata Adler, described “2001: A Space Odyssey” as “a searing inkblot of modern thinking man’s apprehension as to the ultimate place of technology in the celestial scheme of things.”³² In 1975, a letter to the *Times* from Raymond J. Leary characterized the photographic portraits of Diane Arbus as “Rorschach images of her subjects; they were achieved through her extraordinary ability to communicate and in turn to free her subjects to pose themselves in their self-fantasy and regalia”; in 1998, a letter to *Harper’s Magazine* by Jeffrey Harper described Tibet as a “Rorschach blot for our own preoccupations.”³³

³¹ Polly Miller, “American Actors: Self-Pitying?,” *New York Times*, 23 April 1967.

³² Tom Miller, “But What a Rorschach!,” *New York Times*, 5 May 1968. See also Renata Adler, “The Screen: ‘2001’ Is Up, Up, and Away!,” *New York Times*, 4 April 1968.

³³ Raymond J. Leary, “Letters: Parks Denies ‘Artistic Pretense,’” *New York Times*, 2 November 1975; Jeffrey Harper, “Tibet or Not Tibet,” *Harper’s Magazine* (July 1998), 6.

CONCLUSION

There are some indications that clinical administrations of the Rorschach Test have begun to diminish in frequency, and that proponents of the inkblot assessment are presently negotiating a set of challenges more serious than any they have faced since the pre-Exner decline of the 1960s. Philosophical differences among psychologists and psychiatrists, aired publicly in James Wood's *What's Wrong with the Rorschach?* and the contentious responses thereto, constitute one of these challenges; economic disincentives, specifically reimbursement refusals for personality assessments on the part of managed care corporations, constitute another.¹ Though a survey of clinicians conducted in the early 1990s indicated that Rorschach Test administrations at that time were reaching over six million subjects per year worldwide, a separate survey published in 1999 found that "seventy-two percent of providers reported...reducing administration of more time- and labor-intensive assessment instruments such as the Rorschach Inkblot Test."²

These developments notwithstanding, one detractor has labeled the Rorschach "the Dracula of psychological tests, because no one has been able to drive a stake through the cursed thing's heart."³ Wood, however, cites as "cause for hope...the attitude of the American public toward the Rorschach," by which he means the growing impatience of

¹ Wood et al., 2. See also Wolfgang Schwarz, "The Search for Hermann Rorschach: A Biographic Quest," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Clinical Psychology* (Fall/Winter 2002), 12.

² Brian T. Yates and Jennifer Taub, "Assessing the Costs, Benefits, Cost-Effectiveness, and Cost-Benefit of Psychological Assessment: We Should, We Can, and Here's How," *Psychological Assessment* 15 (2003), 482.

³ Carol Tarvis, "Mind Games: Psychological Warfare Between Therapists and Scientists," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 28 February 2003, quoted in Paul, 42.

journalists, juries, and other lay persons for the use of the test in judicial and other high-stakes contexts.⁴ Yet beyond the current shake-up within the milieu of clinical psychology, the Rorschach concept continues to expand in the American popular consciousness. “There is one way,” observes Annie Murphy Paul, “in which the Rorschach is indisputably vital, and likely to remain so no matter what the outcome of the psychologists’ debates: as an idea.”⁵

The history of the varieties of Rorschach references in the pages of the *New York Times* certainly bear out Paul’s claim (Figure 6 and Appendix). While the frequency of literal Rorschach references remained essentially flat after the 1940s, the frequency of figurative references increased substantially from the 1970s through the 1990s. More telling still is the growth in the frequency of metaphorical Rorschach allusions in particular, which outpaced that of all other categories through the end of the century.

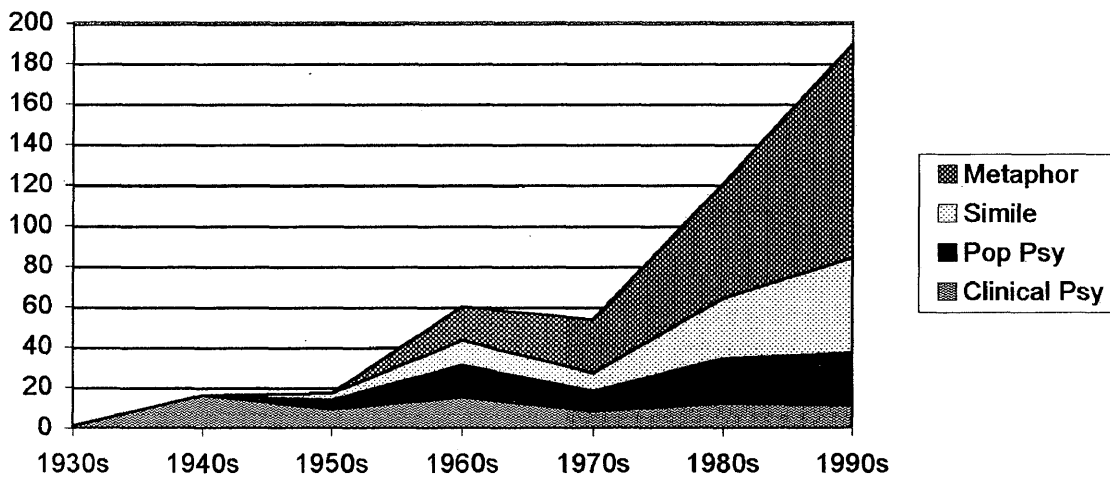


FIGURE 6
New York Times Rorschach References by Type, 1930-1999
 (Source: *New York Times*)

⁴ Wood et al., 323.

⁵ Paul, 42-43.

Clearly the Rorschach Test embodies attributes whose appeal extends beyond its clinical implementation and beyond its visual iconography – its symmetry (to which even simile allusions do not always hew) and its blurry boundaries. Cultural artifacts in the form of late-twentieth-century American newspaper and periodical articles imply an understanding of the Rorschach that bespeaks its sympathies with the hallmarks of modern existence – the slipperiness of meaning and the radical empiricism of experience that esteems the interpretation of the thing as highly as the thing itself.⁶ Moreover, the spondaic, Germanic phonic impact of “Rorschach,” like that of its peer-term “Gestalt,” reminds us of its roots in psychoanalysis. Surely the “Johnson Inkblot Test,” had it ever existed, would not have fared so well in the popular imagination.

The evolution of the word “Rorschach” in the popular mind from a technical term to a generic metaphor is not without precedent – “litmus test,” “Catch-22,” and “Potemkin village” all come to mind as having evolved along similar trajectories – but it is nevertheless unique in meaning. The Rorschach idea apprizes optical sensory impressions and reinforces the American myth of personal uniqueness, both of which resonate in our highly visual and solipsistic age. William Faulkner’s Addie Bundren in *As I Lay Dying* postulates that a word is “just a shape to fill a lack.”⁷ The word “Rorschach,” shape-shifter though it may be, affirms Addie’s theory of language – ever the more sincerely, perhaps, by virtue of the shape-shifting itself.

⁶ William James, *Writings: 1902-1910* (New York: Library of America, 1988), 826. “The generalized conclusion is that therefore the parts of experience hold together from next to next by relations that are themselves parts of experience.”

⁷ William Faulkner, *As I Lay Dying* (New York: Vintage International, 1990), 172.

APPENDIX

NEW YORK TIMES RORSCHACH REFERENCES: 1927-1999

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
9/11/27	Germans Study "Inner Life"	Herman G. Scheffauer	Clinical Psych	Psychology	such books as Rorschach's treatise upon "Psycho-diaognostik" began to pave the way for the new science, characterology [the science of reading and cataloguing the human spirit and mind]
2/22/35	Prison Psychoses Reduced by Play	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	The ink spot test is a method used by psychiatrists to probe into the fantasy content of the human mind as a diagnostic measure.
4/7/40	Men Know Women, Psychologists Say	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Psychology	The clues used by Dr. Piotrowski are ink blots in fanciful patterns.
3/22/42	Clinical Psychology at Bucknell	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Education	Advanced psychology students at Bucknell learn the techniques of administering, scoring and interpreting the Rorschach test
9/17/44	Clinic in the South Seas	Colin McPhee	Clinical Psych	Anthropology	A final summary of Alorese character is made by Emil Oberholzer in his analysis of the Rorschach psychological tests given by Dr. Du Bois
7/1/45	Various Reasons Why We Behave Like Human Beings	Robert K. Merton	Clinical Psych	Anthropology	Among the data collected for the Alorese were life-histories and a series of Rorschach personality tests
7/6/46	Psychologist Sees Children Hurt by "Short-Cut" Tests and Quacks	Catherine MacKenzie	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Among types of personality tests that work well are the Rorschach Test (inkblots), Dr. Krugman says
4/27/47	Mental Treatment - Method Devised for Separating Curables from Incurables	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Easily curable mental patients can be separated from relatively resistant ones by techniques based on the analysis of results of two personality tests
5/21/47	"I.Q." Deprecated by Psychologist	Catherine MacKenzie	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Dr. Krugman described the types of personality tests known as "projective techniques," notably the Rorschach Examination, standardized ink blots that mean different things to different persons.
9/14/47	New Psychology Course	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Education	The courses will include lectures by authorities on the Rorschach method of testing personality
9/8/48	VA Mental Patient Paints with Toes	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Psychology	Dr. Burgemeister summarized the techniques as the Rorschach inkblot test
9/19/48	Headache Clinic Eases Emotions	Lucy Freeman	Clinical Psych	Psychology	At the clinic each patient undergoes a medical and neurological examination and receives tests such as the Rorschach, which provide an understanding of his emotional background.
1/15/49	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Herry O. Teltscher	Clinical Psych	Politics	why not consider more seriously the results of projective tests, such as handwriting analysis and the ink-spot (Rorschach) test, which consider the personal characteristics of the Presidential candidates in relation to the public
4/24/49	Chess Men and Chess Mentality	Edward Lasker	Clinical Psych	Entertainment	Followed the method of the Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach, which involves responses to symmetric shapes
5/14/49	Emotions of Baby Held First to Gain Similar Personality Problems Found in Patients with Tuberculosis and Schizophrenia	Lucy Freeman	Clinical Psych	Psychology	In eighty cases Rorschach tests were given to the mothers.
7/10/49		Waldemar Kaempffert	Clinical Psych	Psychology	In the experiments the subjects are given the Rorschach or "ink blot" tests
10/7/49	Finds No TB Link to Schizophrenia	Lucy Freeman	Clinical Psych	Psychology	All [tubercular and non-tubercular subjects] received the Rorschach or "ink-blot" test
11/13/49	Executive Testing for 60 Companies	Alfred R. Zipser, Jr.	Clinical Psych	Business & Finance	The program embodies the basic principles used by the United States Army in officer selection during the war. Some of the techniques include the Rorschach test.
1/15/50	Psychiatry Clinic Held Successful	Lucy Freeman	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	described the use of the Rorschach Test data to identify group therapy behavior in a clinical setting
10/28/50	Adoptive Parents Undergo New Test	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	The Rorschach "ink-blot" test to detect possible personality disorders is the one used.
1/21/51	Six Abstractionists Defend Their Art	Aline B. Louchheim	Popular Psych	Art	Others consider looking at these pictures the equivalent of a personal and untabulated Rorschach test.

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
10/7/51	Do You Remember When You Last Died?	Rollo May	Popular Psych	Psychology	Dianetics thus consists of guiding the patient into a realm where he can exercise any fantasy which pops into his head, somewhat as a person projects his own problems into the Rorschach ink-blot
12/28/52	For the New Year - Some Resolutions That Might Help Give the Art World Clarity and Light	Aline B. Louchheim	Simile	Art	I will not describe any abstraction by saying it looks like a Rorschach test.
1/4/53	Camera Notes - City College Institute to Show Its New Films	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Among the films are "How to Give the Rorschach Test"
1/18/53	Students to Show Films - Institute of City College to Mark Its Tenth Anniversary	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Founded to meet the Government's need for specialists to produce wartime information and training films, the institute is said to be the only film school to specialize in the educational and documentary types.
6/7/53	Diverse Moderns	Howard Devree	Simile	Art	At the Artisans Gallery V.C. Igarta is showing a group of water-colors which at first glance suggest Rorschach tests.
3/7/54	Random Thoughts on the Theatre	Lester Markel	Popular Psych	Theater	There are various divisions into which playwrights may be sorted. There is the division according to Rorschach: the inspired ones and the mechanical ones.
4/18/54	On the Local Scene	Stuart Preston	Popular Psych	Art	non-representational shapes just symbolize different things to different people. The Rorschach tests prove that.
7/24/55	Education News - Yeshiva	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Education	A special summer workshop in the Rorschach Test has been announced by Yeshiva University
1/8/56	New Approach to Mental Illness	Leonard Engel	Clinical Psych	Psychology	[image]
2/18/56	City College Film Students Focus Cameras on Many-Sided Gotham	Milton Esterow	Clinical Psych	Education	The institute has completed films for various City College departments - on art, fencing, and the Rorschach test.
9/16/56	Clinic Offers Aid to 300 Facing Jail	McCandlish Phillips	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Intelligence tests, Rorschach and other projective tests follow
4/20/58	Seminarians Get Personality Test	Stanley Rowland, Jr.	Clinical Psych	Education	The testing is in three parts: a written self-evaluation by the candidate, projective personality tests such as the Rorschach test, and an interview
4/1/59	Leather Garments Soar into High Fashion Orbit	Nan Robertson	Simile	Fashion	With a total lack of inhibition, he has printed lace designs and Rorschach splashes onto leather
5/31/59	When the Public Judges the Court	Alan F. Westin	Popular Psych	Justice	since justices do not allow themselves to be polled or given Rorschach tests
2/4/60	Psyche Revealed by Object "Game"	Emma Harrison	Clinical Psych	Psychology	famous ink-blot test
3/6/60	Emotional Catalyst	Edmund Fuller	Simile	Books	caustic title superimposed upon the bold black and red of a Rorschach blot. Some expectation of a cool, detached writer is awakened by this presentation.
7/3/60	The Secret of Gustave Moreau	Dore Ashton	Simile	Art	Some paintings are loose, with amorphous blots and Rorschach-like shapes.
10/19/60	Yule Cards Now on Sale	UNKNOWN	Simile	Art	the trend is toward contemporary religious designs and away from "Rorschach test" abstracts
11/13/60	Wanted: Spouses	Gay Talese	Clinical Psych	Matchmaking	She gives each of them a Rorschach test and handwriting analysis
11/20/60	Africa Harks to Satch's Horn	Gilbert Millstein	Clinical Psych	Music	Armstrong submitted to a Rorschach test
6/25/61	Search for the Spacemen	C.B. Palmer	Clinical Psych	Outer Space	By interview and such methods as the Rorschach test, the effort is made to find the deeper makeup of the man
12/1/61	Art: Collages by Jay Milder Are at the Stone Gallery	Brian O'Doherty	Simile	Art	variations on Rorschach ink blots, around which she has improvised some demonic faces
2/18/62	Research Marches On	Harold Helfer, ed.	Popular Psych	Matchmaking	[image]
4/1/62	The Mysterious Visitors	John Canaday	Simile	Art	[image]
5/26/62	Screen: A Silent Remade	Bosley Crowther	Popular Psych	Theater	Pretty soon he is showing her dirty pictures (they turn out later to be Rorschach tests)
7/24/62	Advertising: Bingo Adapted to Sales Drives	Myron Kandel	Popular Psych	Books	I love to take Rorschach tests. The inkblots never dirty my hands. But they are full of dirty pictures. Color them off-color.
9/25/62	A Vote for Power	Robert L. Teague	Popular Psych	Entertainment	battle will be raged [sic] with Rorschach ink blots
11/21/62	Testing Is Scored in Picking Clergy	Emma Harrison	Clinical Psych	Personality Testing	He said that the Rorschach ink-blot test was not suitable to determine a candidate's aptitude for the ministry.

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
4/9/63	Nursery School Is First Step to College	Marilyn Bender	Clinical Psych	Education	Intelligence tests and psychological tests like the Rorschach are not given to three and four year olds in most nursery schools. They are more popular at the kindergarten level although the public schools and several private schools do not use them.
11/3/63	Reader's Report	Martin Levin	Popular Psych	Books	shrewd enough to out-think a Rorschach test
12/8/63	Reviewed In Brief	William Goyen	Simile	Books	[Hole in Your Head, The Magic Blot]
1/20/64	Ruby Defense Based on a Mental Report	Jack Langguth	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Dr. Schafer has spent more than 10 hours administering tests to Ruby
3/10/64	Yale Psychologist Testifies	Homer Bigart	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Dr. Schafer, by employing psychological tests such as the Rorschach (ink blot) test, had reached the independent conclusion that Ruby was suffering from a psychomotor variant of epilepsy
5/3/64	Art Notes: Biennale	Grace Glueck	Simile	Art	three-dimensional Rorschach
6/7/64	To All the Varieties of Our Town, With Love and Dedication	Bruce Bliven, Jr.	Metaphor	Books	Composing a New York City book is a kind of projective psychological test, a Rorschach, say; the five boroughs are only a stimulus to which the observer responds according to his personality
12/27/64	How Not to Make the 10 Best	Eugene Archer	Simile	Film	the Cockney killer became a screaming psychopath who paints Rorschach images on his bedroom walls
2/27/66	Rorschach Blots for Adolescents	Donald Barr	Metaphor	Books	these books serve somewhat as Rorschach blots on which the adolescent readers project concerns
3/7/66	Books of the Times: The Message and the Maze	Eliot Fremont-Smith	Popular Psych	Books	seeing pictures in the Rorschach tests
3/23/66	Two One-Acters	Stanley Kauffman	Popular Psych	Theater	worried girl's self-administered Rorschach test
4/26/66	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Fashion	examine the scales. They are the Rorschach of the reptile world.
7/15/66	Larsen Turns to Fabrics for Fashion	UNKNOWN	Simile	Fashion	The pattern resembles vertical stripes of Rorschach test blots
12/18/66	Apostle and Champion	Stanley Hoffman	Metaphor	Books	De Gaulle is a Rorschach test.
2/5/67	What's Pinter Up To?	John M. Culkin	Metaphor	Theater	What does "The Homecoming" mean? What does a Rorschach test mean?
4/23/67	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Polly Miller	Metaphor	Theater	Not the least interesting thing about "MacBird" is that it serves as a Rorschach for its audiences.
5/26/67	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Books	[image]
7/16/67	The Social Voyeurs Look at Chicago	Clive Barnes	Metaphor	Dance	Dancing is conceived to be a person's subjective response to an ambiguous stimulus
8/28/67	Only a Few Win Catskills Mating Game	Malcolm W. Browne	Clinical Psych	Matchmaking	to determine a guest's compatibility with other guests [the questions include] an abbreviated Rorschach test
9/11/67	WBAI Put Off Air as Vandal Wrecks Transmitter Here	Robert E. Dallos	Metaphor	Music	This isn't a program. This is a Rorschach test.
10/29/67	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	George Tabori	Popular Psych	Theater	sounds as though he had been reading Rorschach cards rather than watching a play
12/7/67	Beaton Decorates a Suite	Marilyn Bender	Simile	Fashion	The living room carpeting looks like a Rorschach test. [image]
4/4/68	The Screen: "2001" Is Up, Up, and Away!	Renata Adler	Metaphor	Film	By the end, three unreconciled plot lines are simply left there like a Rorschach, with murky implications of theology.
5/5/68	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Tom Miller	Metaphor	Film	a searing inkblot
6/2/68	In the Eye of the Beholder	C.D.B. Bryan	Popular Psych	Books	SCENE: The consulting room of a well-known analyst and authority on the Rorschach
7/23/68	Electric Circus Mixes Its Media	Donal Henahan	Metaphor	Music	These events, you see, are something of a multi-dimensional Rorschach test
10/1/68	Nixon's Television Spots Emerging as Hard-Hitting	Maurice Carroll	Popular Psych	Politics	voice musing about an inkblot
10/13/68	Selling the Product Named Hubert Humphrey	Thomas J. Fleming	Popular Psych	Politics	[in a Humphrey ad] a man was asked to comment on what he saw in a Rorschach ink blot
11/10/68	Skulduggery in the Vatican	John Casey	Popular Psych	Books	It wouldn't be hard to devise a Rorschach test to discover the naturally inclined and talented thriller writer.
1/12/69	The Connecticut: Can the River Be Saved from Its Own Beauty?	Evan Hill	Simile	Environment	Like an ugly Rorschach blotch, the Springfield area population stains the valley
3/10/69	The Invisible Menace	John Leonard	Metaphor	Books	It is a sort of Rorschach test, assuming the shape of our own fantasies
3/11/69	Psychologist, Testifying for the Defense	Douglas Robinson	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Sirhan's Rorschach ink blot test
3/12/69	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Metaphor	Theater	almost a Rorschach. I urge you to take it

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
3/13/69	Psychologist Says Sirhan Was "Killing" His Father	Douglas Robinson	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	"I can't score it any other way. This is the way that Rorschach set it up."
3/14/69	Sirhan Expert Used Words Like a Book's	Douglas Robinson	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	The tests, which included the Rorschach ink blot, were given to Sirhan in his jail cell
3/18/69	Sirhan Prosecution Asserts	Douglas Robinson	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	His diagnosis he reached after examining the scores of a series of tests. Among them was the Rorschach ink blot test.
3/23/69	An Assassin on the Couch	Lacey Fosburgh	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	There were his Rorschach visions of crushed frogs and ballet dancers, fried legs and "a profile exploding". Everyone searched to find the images Sirhan had seen.
4/8/69	Sirhan Jury Told Test Scores Err	Douglas Robinson	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	By now, no one on the jury should be unfamiliar with each and every ink blot in the Rorschach test
4/13/69	America's Great Hopes, White and Black?	Charles Marowitz	Metaphor	Theater	he has given me a Rorschach drawing instead of a coherent piece of work
4/16/69	Harvard Yard: A Low-Pressure Scene	Robert M. Smith	Metaphor	Education	The display became a sort of shifting Rorschach blot
7/10/69	Books of the Times: WWII as a Rorschach Test	John Leonard	Metaphor	Books	It is a dangerous game, using the war as a private Rorschach
9/5/69	The Screen: "Nanami"	Roger Greenspun	Metaphor	Film	all too willing to forsake the ideogram for the Rorschach blot - to drown the expressive image in a deluge of cloudy significance
10/5/69	Because We Want to Be In, Not Out	Walter Kerr	Metaphor	Music	as random as the Rorschach blot
11/9/69	I See the Child as a Last Refuge	Isaac Bashevis Singer	Simile	Books	When a lion is drawn for children, he should look like a lion and not a hedgehog with antlers or a Rorschach inkblot.
11/30/69	What, You Never Learned to Read Music?	Donal Henahan	Popular Psych	Music	Rorschach Symphonic Sonata
12/15/69	Chow Chow Best at Worcester	John Rendel	Popular Psych	Canines	Wildwind's Rorschach
4/11/70	Experts Reject Plan of Ex-Nixon Doctor	Jack Rosenthal	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	Dr. Hutschnecker proposed use of techniques like the Rorschach ink-blot test to identify children "who have violent and homicidal tendencies"
6/7/70	Voices of Harvard '70	Richard Todd	Metaphor	Education	rulers and revolutionaries leap out of the scene as if it were a Rorschach test
10/28/70	Crossword	Will Weng	Crossword	Crossword	
1/10/71	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Lewis Mumford	Popular Psych	Books	The closest parallel comes perhaps in the Rorschach psychological test
6/13/71	Dostoevsky as Rorschach Test	Simon Karlinsky	Metaphor	Books	[headline only]
6/25/71	Flashy Loners, Distinctive Neurotics	William N. Wallace	Popular Psych	Entertainment	Pro football has become so specialized that a Rorschach test is as important as a can of film.
9/5/71	What's at the Movies?	UNKNOWN	Simile	Film	a kind of Rorschach-blot doubling of images
9/5/71	A Report from the Majority of the World	James P. Sterba	Simile	Commentary	tiny red Rorschach-like patterns every 20 feet or so
10/3/71	This Publisher Dares	Gene Thornton	Metaphor	Photography	a kind of Rorschach test to which each person brings his own meaning
12/26/71	East Hampton from the Catbird Seat	Jean Stafford	Popular Psych	Art	deranged rooflines and appurtenances that could be photographed and used as cards in the Rorschach test for particularly disturbed paranoids
1/23/72	An Accidental Man	Nora Sayre	Metaphor	Books	many respond to her work as though it were a batch of Rorschach tests
2/18/72	What is Robert Coles Saying?	Christopher Lehmann-Haupt	Metaphor	Books	Dr. Coles's studies are as inconclusive as a Rorschach test.
11/5/72	Breaking Up and Working Loose	Nora Sayre	Metaphor	Books	"Up the Sandbox!" has been like a Rorschach test for many readers
3/19/73	Going Out Guide	Richard F. Shepard	Simile	Food	not to mention the Rorschach-blot art
7/22/73	BQLI Bulletin Board	UNKNOWN	Popular Psych	Music	Jazz Combo Rorschach
8/5/73	Crossword	Will Weng	Crossword	Crossword	
12/2/73	Book Review	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Books	The sixties as a Rorschach test
1/29/74	Film Advertisement	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Film	Film is like a Rorschach test gone mad and delivers in style
3/5/74	From Star to Satellite	Anatole Broyard	Metaphor	Books	treat her as an idol, an icon, a Rorschach blot
4/28/74	Complete Fairy Tales and Stories	Gerald Weales	Metaphor	Books	Andersen provides a kind of Rorschach
6/30/74	Jazz/Rock/Folk/Pop	UNKNOWN	Popular Psych	Music	Jazz Combo Rorschach
11/27/74	For Fowles, Novel Mostly Means New	Mel Gussow	Metaphor	Books	For me, a story is much more of a Rorschach test.
3/1/75	Yearning	Lorraine Dusky	Clinical Psych	Gov't Programs	a psychologist evaluated her Rorschach
3/3/75	Critic's Notebook: All About Movies	Nora Sayre	Metaphor	Film	But movies tend to be our contemporary Rorschachs
5/25/75	An Open Letter From Tom Laughlin	Tom Laughlin	Popular Psych	Film	one is free to ramble on almost as if in a Rorschach test

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11/2/75	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Raymond J. Leary	Metaphor	Photography	[Arbus'] posed portraits were Rorschach images of her subjects
11/23/75	The Assassination	James R. Phelan	Metaphor	Gov't Programs	the evidence for and against the "single bullet" has been a sort-of Rorschach ink blot in which different examiners seem to see what they wish to find.
2/8/76	Alfred Rosenberg Saw a Bat	Joel Kovel	Clinical Psych	Books	obtained a set of Rorschach records
2/15/76	Some Red-Hot Plots for Moguls of Mayhem	Murray Macht	Clinical Psych	Film	Professor Zelnick has been conducting a series of Rorschach tests on sociopathic broccoli.
2/15/76	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Books	[image]
3/17/76	The Brakes on the Pram	Anatole Broyard	Metaphor	Books	As a lover, William is rather a Rorschach blot: he could mean anything.
3/29/76	They Wear Their Art on Their Shirts	Ruth Robinson	Simile	Fashion	liken to a giant Rorschach test
4/25/76	The Dying Speak for Themselves	David Dempsey	Metaphor	Television	Rorschach test for the viewer - a kind of death and configuration from which everyone can extract his own meaning
5/29/76	Crossword	Will Weng	Crossword	Crossword	
7/4/76	The Case of the Vanishing Mommy	C. Christian Beels	Popular Psych	Commentary	If we turn now from Mom, who is, after all, a literary creation, to the mother of the psychotherapists - Our Lady of the Rorschach - who is supposed to be a personage of scientific substance, we find that more has been added to the myth of the mother.
9/24/76	Hayakawa-Tunney Senate Race a Study in Contrasts	Wallace Turner	Metaphor	Politics	"I'm a political Rorschach test. People see whatever they want in me."
10/2/76	An Alas for the Career of Diplomacy	Smith Simpson	Metaphor	Gov't Programs	our diplomatic Establishment becoming a kind of Rorschach inkblot interpreted in response to individual stimuli
1/5/77	TV: Surrounded by Violence	John J. O'Connor	Metaphor	Dance	company's repertory is not a series of Rorschach tests open to interpretation
1/23/77	The Gamesman - Tom Sawyer in the Executive Suite	Michael MacCoby	Clinical Psych	Business & Finance	Price's Rorschach responses indicate that he is sparked, energized by the competition.
1/30/77	The Gamesman	Robert Lekachman	Clinical Psych	Books	Some of the interviews extended over many hours and all of them were supplemented by answers to a detailed questionnaire and to a standard Rorschach test
3/13/77	Speaking Personally: The Camera Tells All	Harry Kursh	Simile	Photography	a small, kidney-shaped blob that looks like a discarded Rorschach ink blot
4/21/77	About New York	Francis X. Clines	Popular Psych	Justice	a jagged Rorschach of the dark side of someone somewhere in the city who has been surprising young women on the streets and shooting them point blank
4/24/77	The Street-Wise City Tree	April Koral	Metaphor	Environment	"It's become like a Rorschach test -- and every time I take it I see something different."
11/27/77	The Murderous Mind	Michael Selzer	Clinical Psych	Justice	Without identifying it as Eichmann's Rorschach, she sent the record to 10 of her associates
3/2/78	The Minimal Apartment: It's Nothing	Joan Kron	Popular Psych	Interior Design	A peek into his closets is more revealing than a Rorschach test.
3/12/78	At Home: Fire Company	Anatole Broyard	Simile	Interior Design	A fire is like a Rorschach test: they see in it whatever is uppermost in their minds
3/19/78	Early Fowles	William H. Pritchard	Metaphor	Books	no more significance than a Rorschach test
3/20/78	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
4/3/78	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
5/7/78	Paperbacks: New and Noteworthy	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Books	serves as Rorschach tests for readers to impose upon themselves
1/14/79	A Native on His Native Land	Amos Elon	Metaphor	Books	gorgeous, telling Rorschach blobs
1/21/79	Cleanliness Can Also Be Next to Weariness	Shelby Moorman Howatt	Metaphor	Commentary	Alice's cautionary tale is a kind of Rorschach test
2/9/79	Film: Altman Offers Apocalyptic Fantasy	Vincent Canby	Metaphor	Film	movie functions mostly as an animated Rorschach test
4/4/79	Blessing of Food and Family: A Passover Memoir	Mimi Sheraton	Simile	Commentary	would soon bear Rorschach blots of red wine and beet-colored horseradish
5/13/79	Grigorenko Gets a Second Opinion	Walter Reich	Clinical Psych	Psychology	A three-hour battery of psychological tests was administered by Irene P. Stiver, including the kinds of interpretive, projective tests (such as the Rorschach "ink blot" test) that could reveal the presence of paranoid signs
8/9/79	Music: 4 by Avant-Garde	Donal Henahan	Simile	Music	hope that the listener could make butterflies or eagles of them, as in a Rorschach test
12/9/79	The World According to Garlic	Jean Strouse	Metaphor	Food	garlic Rorschach test: it is seen as a remedy for whatever illnesses people are particularly anxious about

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12/29/79	Long December Shadows	Richard L. Faust	Simile	Commentary	I watched Rorschach join with Ovid
2/24/80	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
3/9/80	The Art of Selling Politicians Like Soap on TV	Alex Ward	Metaphor	Politics	No one would mistake the George Bush commercials for a Rorschach pattern.
4/24/80	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
4/29/80	"Inkblot Test" Proves Strong Despite Years of Misuse	Dava Sobel	Clinical Psych	Psychology	the Rorschach inkblots themselves have never changed
7/20/80	In Quest of the Essential Mozart	Donal Henahan	Metaphor	Music	No wonder Mozart has been a musical Rorschach test for subsequent generations.
10/28/80	Carter and Reagan Ads Try to Hit Right Negative Note	Bernard Weinraub	Metaphor	Politics	"The little girl ad was like a Rorschach test."
1/6/81	Stage: "Beyond Therapy" by Durang at Phoenix	Mel Gussow	Metaphor	Theater	It may even give some people a Rorschach of recognition.
2/1/81	New at Harvard: Self-Assessment 101	Ann Crittenden	Clinical Psych	Personality Testing	He wrote an autobiography, took Rorschach tests
3/1/81	Nature vs. Nurture	Howard E. Gruber	Clinical Psych	Books	had one psychologist administer Rorschach personality tests to his 24 individual cases
3/24/81	Books of the Times	John Leonard	Metaphor	Books	["The Temptation"] is a Rorschach test
4/4/81	Mental Tests on Hinckley May Take Up to 3 Months	Robert Pear	Clinical Psych	Justice	The pictures often include ink blot designs from the Rorschach test
5/3/81	Follow-Up on the News; \$75,000 Art for Jail	Richard Haitch	Simile	Art	looking to some like a 5-by-4-foot question from a Rorschach test
5/24/81	Movies Alter the Image of the South	Eli N. Evans	Metaphor	Television	One could feel it in the national Rorschach of the networks in television shows such as
7/5/81	Arts & Entertainment Guide	UNKNOWN	Popular Psych	Music	Rorschach jazz combo
7/18/81	Debates on Tax Cuts Display Conable Before a National Audience	Maurice Carroll	Simile	Politics	A politically-attuned reader of the Rorschach test could, perhaps, trace the path of the tax-cut legislation through the Conable portfolio.
9/3/81	A Sharp Focus on World of Rorschach	Francis X. Clines	Clinical Psych	Psychology	No ink blot jokes, no ink blot happy hour, and, in fact, no ink blots were evident today as the International Rorschach Society cast a businesslike silhouette
10/30/81	Haig Watchers Report Turbulence Over His Style	Bernard Gwertzman	Clinical Psych	Politics	Mr. MacCoby said that he gave the Rorschach inkblot test to eight of the "best" department leaders
12/13/81	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
1/11/82	Relationships: Changing Values in Money and Love	Georgia Dullea	Popular Psych	Matchmaking	"Money reflects what the Rorschach test reflects - the different ways people see the world."
1/26/82	The Art of Politics: Jersey District Map	William E. Geist	Simile	Politics	evoking responses as varied as a Rorschach test
6/20/82	A Contrast in Early American Portraits	Gene Thornton	Metaphor	Photography	Or are we merely using them as Rorschach inkblots for our own feelings?
8/17/82	Is Subliminal Persuasion a Menace? Evidently Not	Jane E. Brody	Popular Psych	Psychology	"holding advertisers responsible for one's erotic musings is analogous to accusing Rorschach of insinuating particular themes into the inkblots."
11/2/82	Pilobolus: "Elegy for the Moment"	Jennifer Dunning	Simile	Dance	strolling Rorschach blots
11/7/82	Dance: Debut of Murray Louis's "Many Seasons"	Anna Kisselgoff	Simile	Dance	Rorschach-test backdrop designs
12/19/82	How Conflict Gave Shape to "Tootsie"	Stephen Farber	Metaphor	Film	"making a film is like taking a Rorschach test. You can't hide who you are" [Sydney Pollack]
12/26/82	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	Janice W. Bottenus	Clinical Psych	Psychology	deviser of the totally-symbolic Rorschach inkblot test
6/19/83	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Cars	Do you see a practical car or a performance car?
6/23/83	Books of the Times	Christopher Lehmann-Haupt	Metaphor	Books	"The Hemingway Women" also functions fascinatingly as a kind of Rorschach test of the reader's attitude toward Hemingway.
6/26/83	It Isn't How, It's How Many	UNKNOWN	Simile	Politics	didn't need a Hermann Rorschach to figure out its meaning.
8/7/83	Where the French Dine in London	John Vinocur	Popular Psych	Travel	If maps were Rorschach tests, the Gallic brain, fixing on Spain, would probably respond: noise-cheap-hot.
9/25/83	Video Art: Ready for Prime Time? After Dallas, The Fantasies on Prime-Time Keep Multiplying	Helen A. Harrison	Simile	Video Art	blending a kind of electronic Rorschach blot with readily recognizable illustrations
10/16/83		John J. O'Connor	Metaphor	Television	pop Rorschach test of standard fantasies
11/27/83	Studying Tastes of "New" Consumer	Lawrence Van Gelder	Popular Psych	Business & Finance	co-author of a textbook on the Rorschach test
12/25/83	For a Change, a Musical Makes a Stab at Reality	Benedict Nightingale	Simile	Theater	an amorphous Rorschach blot, into which anyone may read anything
3/1/84	Hers	Phyllis Rose	Metaphor	Education	all literature as a Rorschach test
5/3/84	A Blaze of Neon-Bright Colors Marks Fall Fashion Show	Bernadine Morris	Simile	Fashion	ink blot motif suggestive of a Rorschach
5/6/84	Folk, Fine and Ceramic Art	Patricia Malarcher	Simile	Art	as one might peruse a Rorschach test
6/18/84	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	

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7/10/84	Do Dreams Really Contain Important Secret Meaning?	Daniel Goleman	Metaphor	Psychology	Dreams are like a Rorschach inkblot
7/15/84	On A Diet	William Matthews	Popular Psych	Poetry	What Rorschach saw in ink
7/15/84	Self-Absorption Filtered Through Artistic Sophistication	Andy Grundberg	Simile	Photography	Rorschach-blot drawings
9/6/84	Theater: A "Dream" Outdoors	Stephen Holden	Metaphor	Theater	"A Midsummer Night's Dream" is a kind of artistic Rorschach test for theater companies
9/28/84	Diner's Journal: A "Barnyard" Restaurant That Specializes in Pork	Bryan Miller	Simile	Food	making your shirt resemble a Rorschach test
10/18/84	"Guardian," a Thriller on Crime	Stephen Farber	Metaphor	Film	script proved to be something of a Rorschach test
11/11/84	The Learning Disabled: Case Study of One Teen-Ager	Sharon Johnson	Clinical Psych	Education	Another extensive evaluation was made, including the administration of the Rorschach personality test
11/30/84	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Business & Finance	in Black, White, or Rorschach Red
1/16/85	New Jersey vs T.L.O.	Justice Brennan	Metaphor	Gov't Programs	The Court's decision jettisons the probable-cause standard on the basis of its Rorschach-like "balancing test"
1/27/85	Pranks of a Nobel Laureate	K.C. Cole	Metaphor	Education	worse than a Rorschach test
3/16/85	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
4/1/85	Cabaret: Chicago City Limits	Stephen Holden	Popular Psych	Theater	brillo pads instead of inkblots for Rorschach tests
4/2/85	"Joe Egg" Lead Is a Whole Parade	Leslie Bennetts	Metaphor	Theater	It's like a Rorschach test.
4/11/85	Hers	Francine Prose	Metaphor	Art	pre-Raphaelite Rorschach
4/21/85	Theories and Conspiracy Theories	Philip Taubman	Metaphor	Books	The crisis over the downing of KAL 007 thus served as a sort of political Rorschach test.
6/11/85	Growing Up in Swimsuit Business	Bernadine Morris	Metaphor	Fashion	Swimsuits are as revealing as a Rorschach test
6/11/85	Sample Bazelon Views	David L. Bazelon	Popular Psych	Gov't Programs	I didn't need Rorschach tests
9/5/85	Hers	Maureen Mullarkey	Metaphor	Art	Art has become a mammoth Rorschach
9/19/85	A Mother and Daughter vs. the College Admissions Process	Barbara Lazear Ascher	Metaphor	Education	Rorschach reaction to the appearance of students and campus
9/22/85	Only Two Sexes, Both Crazy	Susan Fromberg Schaeffer	Popular Psych	Books	Rorschach House
10/27/85	Cappadocia	Henry Kamm	Simile	Travel	Shapes that allow the imagination as much free flight as Rorschach tests
11/10/85	Three Pianists and Two Violinists in Recitals	Tim Page	Metaphor	Music	This allusive musical Rorschach must be recomposed by every successful interpreter.
12/31/85	Scientists Find City Is a Series of Varying Perceptions	Daniel Goleman	Metaphor	Commentary	a sort of urban Rorschach
1/10/86	Uncle Sam Speaks	Francis X. Clines	Metaphor	History	will offer a kind of Rorschach of American history
1/12/86	Lobster Psychology	Craig Claiborne	Metaphor	Food	lobster is the gastronomic equivalent of a Rorschach test
2/16/86	Early Shepard Play at Hartford Stage	Alvin Klein	Metaphor	Theater	forceful, verbal, hallucinatory Rorschach test
2/20/86	The Matchmakers Who Will Pair Up Clients and Decorators	Carol Lawson	Popular Psych	Matchmaking	her Rorschach test, a show of 70 slides
2/22/86	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
2/25/86	Triptych Is Focus of Church Debate	Douglas C. McGill	Simile	Art	"It was almost like a personal Rorschach test."
4/20/86	Mummenschanz Is Back, With a New Bag of Tricks	Glenn Collins	Metaphor	Theater	serve as a Rorschach for the audience's fantasy projections
5/4/86	Former Disco Sounds a New Note	Florence Fabricant	Simile	Food	the tablecloth may look like a Rorschach test
5/25/86	Agnes Varda: She Aims to Unsettle	Annette Insdorf	Metaphor	Film	a Rorschach test as well as a structured piece of film
6/2/86	The Opera: "Werther"	Tim Page	Simile	Opera	all-purpose Rorschach backdrop
6/8/86	Dining Off the Greats and Other Diversions	Anatole Broyard	Metaphor	Books	New York intellectuals are a Rorschach test for critics.
6/27/86	Midtown Indian, Downtown Eclectic	Bryan Miller	Simile	Food	Rorschach-like patterns all over your shirt
6/28/86	Nicaragua, Reagan, Sandino	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Politics	a political figure can become a kind of Rorschach test
7/30/86	The Pop Life: Evolution of Psychobilly on Cramps Album	Robert Palmer	Popular Psych	Music	guitarist Poison Ivy Rorschach
8/3/86	Craxi Spins in Italy's Revolving Door	E.J. Dionne, Jr.	Metaphor	Politics	something of a Rorschach-test party
8/19/86	Widely Used Mental Test Undergoing Treatment	Jane E. Brody	Clinical Psych	Psychology	more subjective appraisal that might come from a psychological interview or a person's interpretation of a Rorschach ink blot
9/7/86	Stage Designer Becomes the Show	Barbara Delatiner	Simile	Theater	some of his work looked like a Rorschach test
10/12/86	The Game of Life, Played by Computer	Karla Jennings	Simile	Business & Finance	Rorschach test in narrative form
1/14/87	The New "Competitiveness" Fad	Robert B. Reich	Metaphor	Commentary	"Competitiveness" has become America's great national Rorschach test
1/16/87	Film: Richard Pryor in "Critical Condition"	Janet Maslin	Popular Psych	Film	wildly erotic possibilities in some Rorschach inkblots

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1/18/87	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	John Rewald	Popular Psych	Art	submitting works of art to a kind of Rorschach test
2/22/87	Comics and Cards	Lynne Ames	Popular Psych	Comics	Rorschach wears a mask that resembles the Rorschach ink blots
3/6/87	In Museums and Galleries, a Video Wonderland	William Zimmer	Simile	Video Art	animated Rorschach blot
3/22/87	St. Louis Sculpture Park	Ingram See	Simile	Art	For this Rorschach you don't need a psychiatrist
4/10/87	Art: Works by Lois Lane	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	Rorschach-like blurs
4/26/87	Crime Peril? Or Paranoia?	David C. Anderson	Metaphor	Justice	[Goetz's] case quickly evolved into a Rorschach test
4/26/87	In the Natural State	Pete Dunne	Simile	Environment	its leaves shaped like a Rorschach flashcard
7/10/87	7 of Warhol's Final Paintings	Roberta Smith	Popular Psych	Art	his more recent "Rorschach" series
7/18/87	Crossword	Eugene T. Maleska	Crossword	Crossword	
7/21/87	The Stage: "Psycho Beach Party"	Stephen Holden	Simile	Theater	Rorschach-inkblot backdrop
9/12/87	Rash Rush to Denounce High Schools	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Education	This humanities test was also a Rorschach test.
9/13/87	Desk Tops Tell All	Daniel Goleman	Metaphor	Business & Finance	The desk has become a type of Rorschach test
9/20/87	Bones of Contention	Robert Wright	Metaphor	Books	science of human origins comes out looking like a competitive Rorschach test
9/23/87	Metropolitan Diary	Roger Granet	Simile	Poetry	Rorschach remnants of August
9/27/87	"Fatal Attraction": Slickness as Art	Janet Maslin	Metaphor	Film	amounts to a fascinating Rorschach test for the audience
9/27/87	Not Everything Causes Cancer	Anna Fels	Metaphor	Books	Cancer has always been a kind of Rorschach test
11/6/87	Stage: "Into the Woods," from Sondheim	Frank Rich	Simile	Theater	woods whose Rorschach patterns...keep shifting
11/12/87	ADVERTISEMENT	ADVERTISEMENT	Popular Psych	Business & Finance	It's time to seek professional help
11/22/87	Bill Forsyth's Rorschach Test	Erica Abeel	Metaphor	Film	But he does venture that "Housekeeping" has almost a Rorschach quality
2/21/88	'88 Winter Olympics: Sports of the Times	George Vecsey	Metaphor	Poetry	sort of a Rorschach test for poets
3/20/88	Cher: Yes? No? (Check Only One)	Stephanie Brush	Metaphor	Music	Cher has always been something of a public Rorschach test
4/22/88	'68 Passions Replayed at Columbia	Eric Pace	Metaphor	Education	I sometimes say that 1968 is like a Rorschach test
5/23/88	Using Arts to Help Heal the Mind	Steven Erlanger	Clinical Psych	Art	After all, Hermann Rorschach was a physician
6/26/88	More than Sex, More than Money	David Black	Metaphor	Books	becomes a literary Rorschach test
6/26/88	Diane Keaton Grapples with Sex and Maternity	Leslie Bennetts	Metaphor	Film	"The Good Mother" provides something of a Rorschach test, its interpretation varying from individual to individual
6/26/88	About Books: The Sunburned Brain and Kafka's Postcards	Anatole Broyard	Popular Psych	Books	Apparently I failed my Rorschach test and I must take it again
7/8/88	Theatrical Trickery and Sly Improvisations at Summerfare Festival	Stephen Holden	Simile	Theater	the images transform and dissolve like a grandly designed Rorschach test
7/24/88	Art View: Faces in the Shadows: What Do They Mean?	Michael Brenson	Popular Psych	Art	people approaching paintings as a find-the-bunny puzzle or Rorschach test
8/6/88	U.S. as Peacekeeper: When Role Blurs	Bernard E. Trainor	Clinical Psych	Military	future incidents like that involving the Vincennes may not be prevented by simply modifying training schedules and administering Rorschach tests
9/23/88	Review/Art; Kenny Scharf Grows Up	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	splotch of red felt on a ground of white that simultaneously suggests blood, Pollock and Rorschach
11/3/88	Psychologists Shouldn't Take the Witness Stand	Harold J. Fine	Clinical Psych	Justice	projective techniques, such as the Rorschach..., were neither psychometrically formulated nor clinically constructed for the adversarial procedure
11/3/88	The Reagan Campaign Magic: He Isn't Running, but He's Winning	Julie Johnson	Metaphor	Politics	Asserting that the public is "a sort of Rorschach test," Mr. Barber said American voters have "romanticized" the President
11/5/88	Reviews/Music; An Aural and Visual Trip in Search of Separate Roots	Stephen Holden	Simile	Music	after-images that melt and reform like giant butterflies or a perpetually transforming Rorschach pattern
11/9/88	Why Michael Dukakis Lost	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Politics	no appraisal of the Dukakis loss can ever be more than a Rorschach test
11/13/88	The Nation: Split Decision	E.J. Dionne, Jr.	Metaphor	Politics	Mr. Bush was a successful candidate in part because he made himself into a kind of Rorschach test of Republicanism
11/13/88	New and Noteworthy	George Johnson	Metaphor	Books	the science of human origins comes out looking like a competitive Rorschach test
11/20/88	D.C., The Other Washington	Marianne Szegedy-Maszak	Metaphor	Politics	"Washington" may be the ultimate Rorschach test for Americans

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2/3/89	Review/Art; Looking Back at Warhol	Michael Brenson	Popular Psych	Art	Warhol made paintings inspired by Rorschach tests
4/16/89	Gallery View; Warhol Before the Soup	Roberta Smith	Popular Psych	Art	big bilateral ink blobs of two works from his Rorschach series
4/30/89	Bill Irwin on Safari in an Urban Wonderland	Patricia Leigh Brown	Metaphor	Theater	'Largely New York' is sort of a theatrical Rorschach test
4/30/89	Paperbacks; Big Little Magazines: A Reader's Guide	Caryn James	Metaphor	Books	Resembling a Rorschach test, "literary journal" is a fuzzy little inkblob of a name
6/25/89	Crafts; A Display Full of Surprises	Betty Freudenheim	Metaphor	Art	a stone becomes a Rorschach test, its uncut form serving as a catalyst to suggest a subject
8/13/89	Film View; Today's Hits Yearn for Old Times	Stephen Holden	Metaphor	Film	a movie that aspires to be a kind of Rorschach test of the American psyche
9/14/89	Design Notebook; A Singular Observer of Everyday Places	Jane Holtz Kay	Metaphor	Art	the landscape is a Rorschach open to any interpretation
9/17/89	Sports of the Times; The New Commissioner Brings Up the Name Joe Page	George Vecsey	Metaphor	Entertainment	Baseball loyalties are a Rorschach test of the soul
11/2/89	Review/Theater; Filling the Stage with a One-Man 'Tempest'	Mel Gussow	Simile	Theater	populating a Rorschach landscape of images almost compels one to try to read the lyrics as though they were Rorschach inkblots
2/11/90	Recordings; British Folk-Pop Flourishes	Stephen Holden	Metaphor	Music	she made studies that led to acceptance in the United States of the psychological test created by Hermann Rorschach in Switzerland in 1921
3/1/90	Grace O'Brien O'Neill, Child Psychologist, 87; [Obituary]	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Obituary	bilaterally symmetrical shapes that resemble a cross between toy tops, ornamental lamp housings and Rorschach blots
3/23/90	Review/Photography; Paul Laster Treads a Painterly Path to Reality	Andy Grundberg	Simile	Art	Art Deco arches in one set and varicolored giant Rorschach blots in another suit Radio City's own lines
4/13/90	Review/Theater; After 11 Years, Easter Returns to Radio City	Richard F. Shepard	Simile	Theater	this is movie making as Rorschach test, a work that splashes so many images across the screen that any objective reading becomes impossible
4/20/90	Review/Film; A Family That Could Drive You Crazy	Caryn James	Metaphor	Film	Part of the reason is that his work is something of a Rorschach test - people tend to read into these deceptively simple buildings what they want to see
4/22/90	Architecture View; Aldo Rossi: Sentiment for the Unsentimental	Paul Goldberger	Metaphor	Architecture	the forecasting survey remains more of a Rorschach test than a clear signal.
5/9/90	The Editorial Notebook; The Crack Leap in Washington	David C. Anderson	Metaphor	Politics	That video has obsessed this city in recent days, becoming a kind of Rorschach test of attitudes on race and government
5/9/90	Barry's Ordeal Accents City's Racial Divisions	Robin Toner	Metaphor	Politics	the way a young architect interprets the buildings of the past can be as revealing as a Rorschach test
7/8/90	Barry's Ordeal Accents City's Racial Divisions	Robin Toner	Metaphor	Politics	a psychiatrist armed with a Rorschach and a battery of other tests
10/7/90	Architecture View; Drawing the Past Is Like Describing an Elephant	Paul Goldberger	Metaphor	Architecture	aides and analysts responded to the...State of the Union Message this week as though it were a Rorschach test
10/12/90	So You Want a Black Director for Your Movie?	Herbert Tarr	Clinical Psych	Theater	...sort of oral Rorschach test. I would read off some of this year's Oscar nominations...and he would say the first thing that popped into his head
2/3/91	Bush Blurs Home Goals	Jason DeParle	Metaphor	Politics	Hopper's paintings lend themselves especially well to the viewer's inclinations -- in the tradition of Rorschach cards
2/24/91	Film View; Stanley Circles the Wolves	Vincent Canby	Popular Psych	Film	To further blur the political Rorschach, an assortment of sovereignty-minded cities and regions have scheduled their own partial boycotts and non-boycotts
3/3/91	Art; On Edward Hopper, Loneliness and Children	Robert Coles	Metaphor	Art	"Short of Breath" is a Rorschach test with moving images instead of ink blots
3/17/91	Sideshow to Soviet Votes: Gorbachev vs. Yeltsin	Francis X. Clines	Metaphor	Politics	I ran a digital Rorschach test to see which sports figures epitomize certain numbers in the jumbled mind of a middle-aged schoolyard kid from Queens
3/21/91	Review/Film Festival; Captive in a Desert Where the Sun Doesn't Burn	Vincent Canby	Metaphor	Film	There is, it seems to me, entirely too much of the Rorschach test in this for a drama's good. All too easily, Mr. Shepard has settled for shapes, not states, of shock.
5/18/91	Sports of the Times; It's Fun Playing the Numbers	George Vecsey	Popular Psych	Entertainment	Vacations are like behavioral Rorschach tests
5/26/91	SUNDAY VIEW; American Nightmare in a Family Restaurant	David Richards	Metaphor	Theater	
8/25/91	The Executive Life; Separating the Fugitives from the Stress Fighters	Nancy Marx Better	Metaphor	Business & Finance	

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
8/28/91	Confirmed Bachelorhood: It May Be a State of Mind	Sandra Blakeslee	Clinical Psych	Psychology	they tended to give unique interpretations in Rorschach tests, he said, and their perceptions were not very accurate
9/8/91	The Nation; Who's Judge Thomas? For Now, It Depends on Who You Are	Linda Greenhouse	Metaphor	Politics	Clarence Thomas is a Rorschach test.
9/20/91	Art in Review	Charles Hagen	Simile	Art	the shadowy figure...is reflected in a negative image in the bottom half of the picture, giving it the quality of a Rorschach ink blot
9/22/91	Please Call Home	Nancy Sharkey	Metaphor	Travel	Getting an unexpected message while you're on vacation is like taking a Rorschach test long-distance
3/13/92	Review/Film; The Star and the Story: Special Effects	Stephen Holden	Popular Psych	Film	But slowly, through word-association games and Rorschach-style tests, his past begins to reveal itself
3/19/92	Analyzing the Analyst's Couch	Meryl Gordon	Metaphor	Psychology	This is a Rorschach test for the analyst
3/22/92	Pondering the Riddle of Creativity	Daniel Goleman	Simile	Art	a visual equivalent to magical surrealism in which murky Rorschach-like subworlds lurk in the corners and shadows
3/28/92	Hockey; N.H.L. Negotiators Talk Into the Night in Toronto	Joe Lapointe	Popular Psych	Entertainment	Sometimes it looks like the most difficult question on a Rorschach test
4/12/92	Beauty; The Secret Spa	Terry Trucco	Metaphor	Beauty	Spa is the ultimate Rorschach test for everything good
5/31/92	Film; Just Whose 'Malcolm' Is It, Anyway?	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Film	Malcolm has, paradoxically, become a cultural and political Rorschach blot
6/8/92	Hispanic Group Challenges Redistricting Plan	J. Peder Zane	Simile	Politics	The result has been the creation of many districts that look more like Rorschach blots than cohesive neighborhoods
6/10/92	The 1992 Campaign; Undeclared Candidate; Some Gaps Emerge in Perot's Appeal	Richard L. Berke	Metaphor	Politics	"He really is everybody's Rorschach block [sic]," Mr. Rove said
6/12/92	Art in Review	Charles Hagen	Popular Psych	Art	Steve Miller combined loosely painted abstract shapes with the splotches of the Rorschach ink-blot test
6/16/92	Star Gazers Bewildered by Odd Galaxies	Malcolm W. Browne	Popular Psych	Outer Space	a lot of those beautiful pictures are as tough to interpret as Rorschach patterns
6/28/92	Crafts; Ways to Embellish the Garden	Betty Freudenheim	Popular Psych	Art	Vibrant glazes flow across them like full-color Rorschach tests, inviting viewers' interpretations
7/19/92	The Prime of Tipper Gore	Celia W. Dugger	Metaphor	Politics	the wives of candidates become a kind of Rorschach test for the nation on what it means to be a woman
7/20/92	Anti-Semitism in 'Batman Returns'? Be Serious; Who's Really Divisive?	Wesley Strick	Popular Psych	Film	the authors are like the patient in the old joke who tells the analyst about the Rorschach test: "I'm perverted? Who's got all the dirty pictures?"
8/8/92	Review/Dance; Pilobolus 1971 to 1992: Evolution in Progress	Jennifer Dunning	Simile	Dance	primordial creatures who join and separate like Rorschach blots
9/24/92	The 1992 Campaign; Political Memo; Backlash for Hillary Clinton Puts Negative Image to Rout	Robin Toner	Metaphor	Politics	Some experts and political observers suggest that Mrs. Clinton has become a kind of Rorschach test
10/31/92	Bikers for Bush-Quayle, No Kidding	Richard Brookhiser	Metaphor	Politics	I feel like I'm wearing a Rorschach blot
11/6/92	Review/Film; Hopping Down the Bunny Trail with Hugh Hefner	Janet Maslin	Metaphor	Film	The documentary "Hugh Hefner: Once Upon a Time" works nicely as a Rorschach test
11/15/92	Theater; He Said/She Said/Who Did What?	UNKNOWN	Metaphor	Theater	On one level, ["Oleanna"] can appear to be a kind of Lady-or-Tiger Rorschach test
12/13/92	Sunday View; 'Woyzeck' Ricochets Through a Mad World	David Richards	Metaphor	Film	The truncated script is not quite a Rorschach test, but obviously a director can forge a lot or a little...out of its odd shapes and blank spaces
1/8/93	Art in Review	Michael Kimmelman	Simile	Art	Clouds of thick white strokes, almost like Rorschach tests, evoke abstract shapes and suggest depth
2/14/93	Film View; Old Wine and New Bottle Add Up to Pepsi	Janet Maslin	Metaphor	Film	Think of it as a free, unsolicited Rorschach test of our national character
2/19/93	Review/Art; Exploring a Labyrinth of Ambiguities	Michael Kimmelman	Simile	Art	There is the "Nude" of 1954-55, a kind of inky Rorschach blot that emerges on close inspection as an elegantly drawn woman
2/26/93	Review/Film; Urban Horrors, All Too Familiar	Vincent Canby	Metaphor	Film	[film] that will function much like a Rorschach test to expose the secrets of those who watch it
3/14/93	Design; Cream of the Crock	Julie V. Iovine	Simile	Fashion	Fauve colors brought sizzle back to tableware, but could you really eat off a Rorschach of orange, black and pink?
4/4/93	College Majors Often Prove Minor	Margo Kaufman	Metaphor	Education	On campus, a field of emphasis was a trusty Rorschach test
4/25/93	A Holocaust Rorschach Test	James E. Young	Metaphor	History	[headline only]
5/13/93	DESIGN NOTEBOOK; As the Shelter World Turns	Patricia Leigh Brown	Metaphor	Architecture	home magazines have been a Rorschach test of American values

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5/29/93	Beliefs	Peter Steinfelds	Metaphor	Politics	But [Hillary Clinton] has also become a kind of national Rorschach test
5/30/93	The Career and the Kimono	David E. Sanger	Metaphor	International	Curiously, the press conference has emerged as a sort of national Rorschach test
6/13/93	ENDPAPER/PUBLIC STAGES; Whose Hillary?	Frank Rich	Metaphor	Politics	Yet her very blankness has made her the country's Rorschach test
6/18/93	Review/Art; Shades of a Rebirth for Painting	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	Ms. Ruyter's images...shift in and out of legibility, like linear Rorschach blots
6/27/93	Thing; The Cake of Cakes	Florence Fabricant	Metaphor	Fashion	A Rorschach test of taste
8/29/93	When, Catholics Ask, Is One Out of the Fold	Melinda Henneberger	Metaphor	Religion	views of the Pope's visit seem to be a kind of Rorschach test for Catholics
9/14/93	TV Sports; There Was a Fight; The Video Proved It	Richard Sandomir	Simile	Entertainment	Mike Ditka didn't fiddle in his pockets, wear an outfit that looked like a Rorschach test or seem distracted
9/17/93	Joseph G. Smith, 66; Helped NBC Choose Peacock as Symbol	Ronald Sullivan	Clinical Psych	Obituary	co-author of a textbook, "Rorschach Interpretation: Advanced Technique"
9/17/93	Pleasures of Reading, Shared and Solitary	Louis Begley	Simile	Commentary	intricate patterns on the ceiling I interpret like a Rorschach test
9/17/93	Art in Review	Michael Kimmelman	Simile	Art	photographic enlargements of smudged fingerprints or Rorschach tests
10/10/93	Clash of the Titans	Eric Scigliano	Simile	Sculpture	thick-legged and small-torsoed like a Gumby toy and ragged-edged like a Rorschach-test blot
10/22/93	Aftershocks of Verdicts Rumble Across the Nation	Peter Applebome	Metaphor	Justice	the verdict reverberated across the United States today, playing out like a Rorschach test of gaping racial divisions
10/24/93	Classical View; Impatience Is Not the Same as Urgency	Edward Rothstein	Metaphor	Theater	Americans are given a sort of religious Rorschach test about the patriarch Abraham
10/24/93	Does Fashion Matter?	Eric P. Nash	Metaphor	Fashion	I think fashion does matter. It's fun, it's interesting, it's a Rorschach test.
11/4/93	Reviews/Fashion; Loud? Flamboyant? It's Oldham's Way	Anne-Marie Schiro	Simile	Fashion	pants suits with Western landscape prints, Rorschach-test patterns and bold checks
1/2/94	Pop Culture; The Arts Hurdle (Limp?) Toward the Millennium	David Browne	Metaphor	Pop Culture	Millennialism amounts to a huge social Rorschach blot
1/6/94	Books of the Times; Sex, Power and a Workplace Reversal	Christopher Lehmann-Haupt	Metaphor	Books	However readers respond to this story, it is important to recognize that the behavior of the two antagonists mirrors each other, like a Rorschach inkblot
1/16/94	It's a Blizzard to You, a Flurry to Me	Matthew Purdy	Metaphor	Weather	But snow is a wondrous Rorschach test, anyway
1/28/94	Review/Theater; A Battlefield of Words and Wills	David Richards	Metaphor	Theater	Harold Pinter's "No Man's Land," which remains as much a theatrical Rorschach test as it ever was
2/26/94	The Ice Queen vs. The Darling of Dysfunction	Trip Gabriel	Metaphor	Entertainment	The skate-off has been a Rorschach of how America sees itself
3/18/94	Reviews/Film; 2 Brothers, Identical Except for One Thing	Caryn James	Popular Psych	Film	He displays giant Rorschach blobs on his office walls as if they were decorative art
4/29/94	Art in Review	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	Almost violent (dare one say Rorschach?) stains
5/8/94	Ideas & Trends; It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World Money Market	Thomas L. Friedman	Metaphor	Business & Finance	The dollar story is the ultimate investor Rorschach test
5/26/94	Review/Art; The New Warhol Museum: A Shrine for an Iconoclast	Roberta Smith	Popular Psych	Art	despite many redeeming moments (the Rorschach and Oxidation abstractions, the Maos and skull paintings)
6/5/94	At Work; Labor-Management Rorschach Test	Barbara Presley Noble	Metaphor	Business & Finance	[headline only]
7/17/94	Classical View; Did a Man or a Woman Write That?	Edward Rothstein	Popular Psych	Music	the patient who sees sex in every Rorschach ink blot, blaming the doctor for the uniformity of his pictures
7/22/94	In Simpson Case, an Issue for Everyone	Seth Mydans	Metaphor	Justice	"It's a Rorschach on race and gender," said Kimberly Crenshaw
8/7/94	FYI: Question	Andrea Kannappell	Popular Psych	Entertainment	It looks like ("calling Dr. Rorschach") a bunch of chicken coops
9/25/94	The Nation; Fitting Designer Districts into Off-the-Rack Democracy	Peter Applebome	Simile	Politics	districts twist and turn across the landscape like political versions of a Rorschach test
10/1/94	302 Querles for Simpson Panelists	David Margolick	Popular Psych	Justice	the opposing counsel will scrutinize the completed forms as if they were Rorschach inkblots
11/4/94	Saluting -- or Doing in -- the Suburban Muse	Amy M. Spindler	Simile	Fashion	This season, there were Rorschach-test prints in indigo blue
11/17/94	Books of the Times; A Mere Plaything, or a Goddess for Her Time?	Christopher Lehmann-Haupt	Metaphor	Books	Barbie became a Rorschach test of attitudes toward femininity
12/11/94	Lugging Her Family's Baggage	Hilary de Vries	Metaphor	Travel	a walking Rorschach test for everyone's travel fears and fantasies
12/18/94	Encounters: 'I Want My Sculpture to Be Only Its Self,' Says Ibram Lassaw	Erika Duncan	Popular Psych	Sculpture	It was almost like a Rorschach test that confesses for you automatically

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1/15/95	THE GREAT IVY LEAGUE NUDE POSTURE PHOTO SCANDAL	Ron Rosenbaum	Clinical Psych	Photography	The rise and fall of "sciences" like Marxist history, Freudian psychology and Keynesian economics suggests that at least some of the beliefs and axioms treated as science today (Rorschach analysis, "rational choice" economics, perhaps) will turn out to have little more validity than nude stick-pin somatotyping
1/27/95	G.O.P. Senators Fire Away at Foreign Policy	Elaine Sciolino	Metaphor	Politics	Granted, a single hearing of the House Committee on International Relations is not a Republican Rorschach test
1/29/95	Ideas & Trends; Whose Memory Lives When the Last Survivor Dies?	Gustav Niebuhr	Metaphor	History	These days, even the recent past is being contested; dates and names have become public Rorschach tests
1/31/95	Ito Shows Displeasure With the Defense	David Margolick	Simile	Justice	failed to secure Mr. Simpson's Bronco, leaving a Rorschach blot of coffee stains on its hood
3/2/95	Fall in Auto Sales Raises New Fears of Slowdown	James Bennet	Metaphor	Business & Finance	monthly vehicle sales have become a kind of economic Rorschach test
3/18/95	Review/Fashion; A Mature Mugler, Demeulemeester and Lang	Amy M. Spindler	Simile	Fashion	a suit with what looked like a velvet Rorschach test on the front
3/19/95	CLASSICAL MUSIC; He No Longer Has to Make Points. He Just Makes Them	Jamie James	Metaphor	Music	music has a unique capacity to function as a sort of Rorschach test of the spirit
3/24/95	ART REVIEW; A Quirky Whitney Biennial	Michael Kimmelman	Metaphor	Art	Biennials are the art world's Rorschach tests
4/2/95	HEALTH CARE; Model AIDS Center Plans to Shut Down, And Patients and Town Wonder What's Next	Norimitsu Onishi	Metaphor	Medicine	Since 1988 the home has been an ever-changing Rorschach test for this borough of 9,700
4/2/95	NEW JERSEY & CO.; The End Is Near for Alexander's Abstract Mural on Route 4	Thomas J. Lueck	Simile	Art	Over the years, it has served as a kind of Rorschach test for countless motorists who have wondered, "What is it?"
4/16/95	ART REVIEW; Of Cages and Mazes: 2 Artists Go Exploring	Vivien Raynor	Simile	Art	His fluid shapes appear to be nonobjective but, sooner or later, hint -- Rorschach style -- at flowers, foliage, parts of the body and the like
5/3/95	Business Travel; Amsterdam's Schiphol is named the best airport in Europe and North America for two straight years.	Edwin McDowell	Simile	Travel	While the Traveller is obviously not inexpensive, the manufacturer appears to be betting that fountain pen purists will consider the price a bargain compared with resembling a Rorschach test
5/14/95	Revelations, Secrets, Gossip and Lies: Sifting Warily Through the Soviet Archives	Steven Merritt Miner	Metaphor	International	the Soviet Union has provided the equivalent of a political Rorschach test
5/24/95	IN PERFORMANCE: DANCE; [2]	Jennifer Dunning	Popular Psych	Dance	Two halves of an inseparable whole came together and could not quite part in "Rorschach 157," the evening's third premiere
7/2/95	SPENDING IT; Mechants of Debt	Saul Hansell	Metaphor	Business & Finance	many of the features that consumer advocates find so offensive...have been designed specifically as a sort of Rorschach test...meant to be attractive to the target group of card holders willing to carry bigger balances at higher rates
7/9/95	Do the Movies Get New York Right?	Caryn James	Metaphor	Film	"Kids" is less a movie than a Rorschach test
7/24/95	The First Lady's Newest Role: Newspaper Columnist	Todd S. Purdum	Metaphor	Politics	If her husband is the President as kaleidoscope, she remains the First Lady as Rorschach test
8/13/95	THE WORLD; Fortune Cookie: Your Ignorance Clouds Asian Joy	Nicholas D. Kristof	Metaphor	International	Asia is sufficiently far away and exotic enough to Americans that it becomes a Rorschach blot on which they perceive their greatest hopes and worst fears
10/4/95	NOT GUILTY: THE RACIAL PRISM; Racial Split at the End, as at the Start	Martin Gottlieb	Metaphor	Justice	Since it first began to transfix the country in June 1994, the Simpson murder case has been a combination soap opera, passion play and national Rorschach test
10/7/95	Journal; The Dole Dive	Frank Rich	Metaphor	Politics	Mr. Powell remains an enigma in any case -- a Rorschach test, as prognosticators are fond of prognosticating
10/8/95	Whose Side to Take: Women, Outrage And the Verdict On O.J. Simpson	Isabel Wilkerson	Metaphor	Justice	This has been a walking Rorschach test
10/19/95	Liberties: Return to Gender	Maureen Dowd	Metaphor	Politics	A friend told me I've turned into a gender Rorschach test
10/25/95	THE U.N. AT 50: THE PRESS; For Many Visiting Journalists, a Different Perspective on New York	William Glaberson	Metaphor	International	The United Nations meeting has been something of a Rorschach test for the world's news media
11/12/95	TELEVISION VIEW; Watching for a Judgment of Real Evil	Alex Ross	Clinical Psych	Television	G. M. Gilbert, an American psychologist stationed at the prison, administered Rorschach tests that were eagerly consumed by experts

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12/4/95	DANCE REVIEW; Myths, Rituals and Hip-Hop in an Evening of Movement and Theater	Jennifer Dunning	Popular Psych	Dance	"Rorschach 157"...was an effectively creepy duet for lethal lovers
12/15/95	Art in Review	Pepe Karmel	Simile	Art	miniature Rorschach blots or smudged whorls recalling fingerprints
12/17/95	Ready When (If E'er) the Muse Strikes	Janny Scott	Simile	Poetry	poems undulate down the page like Rorschach ink blots, each stanza a mirror image of the one before
12/25/95	Shakespeare Resists The Culture Vettors	David Ives	Metaphor	Theater	the culture vettors are looking at a Rorschach blot and trying to make it depict one single thing
1/28/96	Karen Machover, Psychologist, Dies at 93	UNKNOWN	Clinical Psych	Psychology	Like the Rorschach inkblots, the Machover test is intended to serve as a sort of screen on which people project their thoughts, anxieties and conflicts
3/2/96	POLITICS: THE ELECTORATE; Specialists Pay \$50 a Pop To Listen to the Vox Pop	Francis X. Clines	Metaphor	Politics	Hidden listeners had an easier time with Rorschach impressions delivered in round-table bursts to summarize the Presidential rivals
3/25/96	Police Officers Hear Cardinal Firmly Oppose Death Penalty	Frank Bruni	Metaphor	Justice	the Cardinal's speech...played like a Rorschach test
4/7/96	So Visible, but from Which Angle?	Steven A. Holmes	Metaphor	Obituary	[Mr. Brown's] life and achievements already seem to have been transformed into a kind of Rorschach test on race
4/7/96	Is Fashion All Blond? A Spoof Takes Aim	Amy M. Spindler	Metaphor	Fashion	As magazine layouts go, this one could be a Rorschach test of what is bothersome about fashion today
4/14/96	A Sculptor Whose Model Is History	Erika Duncan	Simile	Art	watercolorsEcovered with Rorschach-like inkspots
4/21/96	Whitewater Case at Crossroads, Prosecutor Faces More Scrutiny	Stephen Labaton	Metaphor	Politics	Mr. Starr's predicament stems in part from Whitewater's role as a political Rorschach test
5/5/96	Playing in the Neighborhood	UNKNOWN	Popular Psych	Dance	including "Rorschach 157," by the choreographer Ann Moradian
5/31/96	Old Chinese Rocks: Rorschach Blots in 3 Dimensions	Roberta Smith	Simile	Sculpture	They are in all ways profoundly fugitive, shifting and chimerical, like three-dimensional Rorschach blot
6/26/96	F.A.A. Chief Admits Mistakes on ValuJet	Adam Bryant	Metaphor	Transportation	Like few accidents before it, the ValuJet crash has become a kind of Rorschach test
7/15/96	An Inkblot in Every Pot, or Something	Paul David Wadler	Metaphor	Politics	Campaigns are quadrennial national Rorschach tests
10/4/96	Art in Review; Andy Warhol	Roberta Smith	Popular Psych	Art	idiosyncratic techniques led to the "Rorschach" paintings
11/17/96	Sign Here, and Make That for \$2,500	James Barron	Simile	Fashion	wanted a pen...without worrying about shirt-pocket Rorschach blots
11/22/96	Evelyn Hooker, 89, Is Dead; Recast the View of Gay Men	David W. Dunlap	Clinical Psych	Obituary	Dr. Hooker administered three standard personality tests, including the Rorschach ink-blot test, to two groups of 30 men
2/7/97	Art in Review	Holland Cotter	Popular Psych	Art	oddly gestural and accident-prone in the tradition of Andy Warhol's Rorschach paintings
2/27/97	Court Outlaws New York District Drawn Up to Aid Hispanic Voters	Clifford J. Levy	Simile	Politics	a conglomeration of mostly Hispanic neighborhoods that looks something like ink splatches from a Rorschach test
3/9/97	Others On Stage At The Whitney Show	UNKNOWN	Simile	Art	drawings on paper...that resemble delicate Rorschach tests inhabited by fantastic insects
3/13/97	When a Healer Is Asked, 'Help Me Die'	Elisabeth Rosenthal	Metaphor	Medicine	But the question 'should doctors help patients kill themselves?' has become a Rorschach Test for physicians
4/13/97	Flight 800 Theories Come Out of the Woodwork	Matthew Purdy	Metaphor	Current Events	the investigation has become a Rorschach test, an inkblot of facts and evidence
4/18/97	Art in Review	Michael Kimmelman	Simile	Art	ending up with prints that look like Rorschach tests
6/22/97	Conceptualist Comments on the Soviet Union	Barry Schwabsky	Popular Psych	Art	Since the pairing is arbitrary, the answer would reveal the patient's psychological state, like Rorschach inkblots
8/24/97	How We Down Here View What's Out There	Richard A. Shweder	Metaphor	Outer Space	celestial bodies and spaces of our visible universe have always been a cosmic Rorschach test
9/1/97	This Time, Valentine Wins (but He Is Playing a Dangerous Game)	Claire Smith	Metaphor	Entertainment	body language continues to be mulled like a human Rorschach test
9/13/97	Diana's Death Resonates With Women in Therapy	Jane Gross	Metaphor	Society	He was one of scores of therapists who called Diana...a perfect transference symbol, a Rorschach test
9/18/97	Songs for the Love of Hal Prince	Stephen Holden	Metaphor	Music	This durable, stubbornly enigmatic ballad stands as a kind of Rorschach test for singers
10/3/97	Religious Rally in Capital Is a Test of Faith	Gustav Niebuhr	Metaphor	Religion	The whole process becomes like a Rorschach test
10/12/97	Haiku Populi	Jesse McKinley	Metaphor	Poetry	Perhaps haiku-as-Rorschach is a bit of stretch

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10/17/97	Art Guide	UNKNOWN	Simile	Art	Candice Breitz makes Rorschach-like emblems from fragments of pornographic photography
12/5/97	Art Guide	UNKNOWN	Simile	Art	His Rorschach-like forms suggest roots, fungi, intestines or submarine plants
12/30/97	Success, and Frustration, as Welfare Rules Change	Jason DeParle	Popular Psych	Gov't Programs	Like a national Rorschach, the graphs that plot a falling caseload evoke a mix of hopes and fears
1/25/98	Trading in Wicked Wit	Alex Kuczynski	Metaphor	Society	market indexes following shocking news are a kind of national Rorschach test
2/24/98	A Memoirist Who Disregards the Details	Michiko Kakutani	Clinical Psych	Books	During a Rorschach test, Mr. Heller recalls, he noticed himself "dilating at almost inexhaustible length" on the black-and-white blots
3/26/98	The Ideal Martyr: Oscar Wilde Has the Last Laugh	Matt Wolf	Metaphor	Books	It's as if Wilde's 46 years had become a sort of Rorschach test
4/3/98	Art in Review	Holland Cotter	Simile	Art	Little Rorschach-style blots on paper are made from the residue of pornographic films dissolved in acid
5/24/98	Variety Marks Show of Council's Award Winners	Helen A. Harrison	Simile	Art	image folded on itself to yield symmetrical halves like a Rorschach blot
5/31/98	Aspects of Love: Seven Playwrights on the Sonnets	Andrea Stephens	Metaphor	Poetry	They are these great emotional Rorschach tests
6/17/98	Of Sculpture and the Past Revivified	Herbert Muschamp	Popular Psych	Sculpture	Like a Rorschach blot, then, it ultimately revealed the self
6/23/98	How Aged These Sonnets, but They Doth Speak Fresh	Ben Brantley	Metaphor	Poetry	using the poems as a sort of Rorschach test for [the collection's] different playwrights
7/3/98	Where History and Beaches Meet	Charles Strum	Simile	Travel	eastern Maryland, which itself resembles a Rorschach blot between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean
7/29/98	Waiter, Is There a Translator in the House?	Alex Witchel	Metaphor	Food	menu as literary Rorschach test
8/10/98	S.E.C. signals concern as stock prices of Internet companies ascend toward atmospheric heights	Saul Hansell	Metaphor	Business & Finance	Mirabilis is a perfect Rorschach test for how different investors value Internet companies
8/16/98	Scientists Debate China's Law on Sterilizing the Carriers of Genetic Defects	Elisabeth Rosenthal	Metaphor	Ethics	Excerpts from the law...served as a sort of Rorschach test for some of the thorniest issues in bioethics
8/20/98	A Texas Dark Horse Runs at Full Gallop	Rick Lyman	Simile	Politics	his back a Rorschach test of perspiration
8/28/98	Now, Conflicting Views From Women Who Supported Clinton	Janny Scott	Metaphor	Politics	one of the rare, Rorschach-test moments that come along that really define a lot of inner conflicts
10/16/98	Art in Review	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	some white on black Rorschach images that bring Warhol to mind
11/19/98	Ginkgo Chic: The Feel-Good Hotel	Julie V. Iovine	Metaphor	Beauty	the word "spa," with all of its Rorschach associations
11/22/98	Perspectives on a Brave New World and Some Familiar Ones	Helen A. Harrison	Simile	Art	the Rorschach-like forms take on the aspect of delicate butterflies
11/29/98	Taking Pen in Hand On Life of Dr. Spock	Marjorie Kaufman	Metaphor	Pop Culture	Dr. Spock's manual is a Rorschach test for how we view American families and our society
12/4/98	Warhol's 15 Minutes Tick On, in Abstraction Shows	Roberta Smith	Popular Psych	Art	Warhol's macabre Rorschach paintings
1/21/99	Wanted: F.O.B.'s (Friends of Barbie) Excerpts: The Clinton Case Against Article II, Subpart by Subpart	Michelle Slatalla	Metaphor	Pop Culture	For Ella, the exercise turned out to be a kind of on-line Rorschach test. She created a Barbie who reflected her own personality.
1/22/99	A Change in Style, and Provocative Works Find Success; Artist at Work: An Inside Look -- This is the first in a series of articles examining the creative process	David E. Kendall	Metaphor	Politics	I think what they've, in fact, done is given you a Rorschach test
1/28/99	Out of the Ether, a New Continent of Art	Judith H. Dobrzynski	Metaphor	Art	a 1995 work called "Rorschach Blot"
2/14/99	Too Much Ado	Steven Henry Madoff	Simile	Art	horizontal print that's somewhere between a Rorschach and a Francis Bacon
2/21/99	Molly Harrower, 93, Expert on Rorschach Test	Roselyn Katz	Metaphor	Society	I read the letters as a Rorschach betrayal of the letter writers' own personalities
2/28/99	A Producer's Big-Budget Project Is His Home	Wolfgang Saxon	Clinical Psych	Obituary	Molly Harrower, a clinical psychologist who devised a Rorschach test for use in group therapy, died Feb. 20
3/18/99	In Keyboard Rhapsody With Liszt	Bernard Weinraub	Simile	Art	a Warhol painting that resembles a Rorschach test
3/19/99	Oscar Aftermath: And the Winner Is NotÉ	James R. Oestreich	Metaphor	Music	explore their reactions to this Rorschach test of a composer
3/23/99	The Wrong Way To Punish Beijing	Caryn James	Metaphor	Film	"The Barbara Walters Special" was a more enjoyable Rorschach test
3/23/99		Jeffrey E. Garten	Metaphor	International	one of the ugliest trade debates in many years -- a Rorschach test on China

Date	Headline	Author	Category	Subject	Context
4/9/99	High in the Polls and Close to Home, Bush Navigates by the Center Line	Richard L. Berke	Metaphor	Politics	his carefully wrapped responses are those of the ultimate Rorschach politician: voters can see what they want to see
5/9/99	A Word the Town Did Not Want To Hear: Rape	Maria Laurino	Metaphor	Justice	the rape has functioned as a kind of Rorschach test
5/16/99	Two Artists Sure Enough to Take Chances	William Zimmer	Popular Psych	Art	an occasion for viewers to read images and feelings, sort of like a Rorschach blot
5/20/99	Records Set for 11 Artists in Contemporary Sale	Carol Vogel	Popular Psych	Art	Three bidders were determined to buy Andy Warhol's "Untitled (Rorschach Series)," from 1984
5/21/99	With a Cool Temperament, Giving Warmth to Standards	Stephen Holden	Simile	Music	"Skylark," an artistic Rorschach test of a song organized itself into a pattern that resembled a Rorschach test
5/27/99	A Picky Renovator Tells How It's Done	Donna Paul	Simile	Interior Design	
6/21/99	L.I. Congressman's Gun Votes: Consistency or Calculation?	James Dao	Metaphor	Politics	as much political Rorschach test as legislation
7/9/99	Padding Offshore to His Destiny, Steel Lures and Pride in Tow	Peter van Allen	Popular Psych	Nature	But before I could give him a Rorschach test, he broke free and swam away
7/16/99	Bedroom Odyssey	Janet Maslin	Metaphor	Film	the Rorschach-like ability of this material to envelop audiences in ways unexplained and unexpected
7/20/99	Each Leads to a Different New York	Stephen Holden	Metaphor	Film	the movie itself is a kind of Rorschach test of sexual attitudes
8/9/99	There may be good reasons why minor market rumblings worry those holding Internet stocks	Saul Hansell	Metaphor	Business & Finance	The prices of Internet stocks are a Rorschach test
8/26/99	Saints and Monsters	William L. Hamilton	Metaphor	Art	the Odditorium... was like a Rorschach test
9/12/99	The Annotated Listings -- Art	Holland Cotter	Simile	Art	recent drawings look like a cross between Rorschach blots and mandelas
9/16/99	Can't Read It? You Can Look at the Pictures	Michael Pollak	Metaphor	History	as if it were some kind of medieval Rorschach test
10/3/99	Sailing in Search of Dragons	David Hochman	Metaphor	Travel	The deserted island turned out to be a perfect Rorschach test
10/8/99	Sephora, a luxury beauty products vendor, plans a campaign to raise its profile among consumers	Stuart Elliott	Simile	Business & Finance	The DDB idea was to center the campaign on images resembling the inkblots familiar from Rorschach tests
10/17/99	The Rorschach Chronicles	Margaret Talbot	Clinical Psych	Psychology	Before the Rorschach, a popular 19th-century parlor game called Blotto invited players to assess one another's creativity
11/12/99	Richard Artschwager	Roberta Smith	Simile	Art	That the sky resembles a symmetrical Rorschach blot is a typical Artschwager twist
12/17/99	Art Guide	UNKNOWN	Simile	Art	his clouds can evoke Rorschach blots or ducks on a collision course with each other

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