

twentieth century. It is clear that the wife of an American president in the 1930s could have had no part in an overt lesbian subculture, but on the other hand Eleanor exchanged passionate letters with the journalist Lorena Hickock. These Doris Faber first tried to suppress out of fear that others might "misunderstand" them, but failing this, she wrote a book, *The Life of Lorena Hickock, E. R.'s Friend* (1980), as a lengthy polemic to the effect that neither "of these women can be placed in the contemporary gay category." Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a noted apologist for the Roosevelt administration, tried to defend the two women by placing them in "a well established tradition" as "children of the Victorian age." It is impossible on the basis of surviving evidence to assert that they had an overt lesbian relationship, but they undeniably had an emotional friendship with homoerotic overtones.

Those attuned to the theme of "great lesbians in history" will no doubt wish to include such a notable as Eleanor Roosevelt on their list, while her enemies will seize upon the label as a confirmation of their dislike. The affairs of the heart are not so easily categorized as the alliances and affinities of political life. Eleanor Roosevelt overcame the feminine shyness and passivity into which she had been socialized to play a role in American politics of the 1930s that was not in her husband's shadow, and possibly she overcame sexual conventions as well. Her need for intense female companionship may have been the equivalent of male bonding—with its nuances and ambiguities. Her role as promoter of women's rights and as a symbol of the emancipated woman of the New Deal era is her chief legacy to the lesbian/feminist movement of today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Doris Faber, *The Life of Lorena Hickock, E. R.'s Friend*, New York: Morrow, 1980; Jess Fleming and Colleen M. O'Connor, *Eleanor Roosevelt: An American Journey*, San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1987.

Evelyn Gettone

## RORSCHACH TEST

The Rorschach test is the invention of the Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach (1884–1922), a disciple of Eugen Bleuler. In 1921 he published *Psychodiagnostik*, which was the outcome of a decade of work with a very large number of bilaterally symmetrical inkblot cards administered to a variety of psychiatric groups. After supplementary testing with so-called normal subjects, retarded persons, and other special categories he issued the first German edition with its 10 standard cards that have been used ever since. The crucial feature of the test is that there is no meaning in the inkblots, it is simply "projected" from the mind of the subject onto the shapes and colors which he sees on the cards. The projective principle had been familiar to artists since the time of Leonardo da Vinci; new was its application to depth psychology. The test was scored primarily for the ratio of color to movement responses, and Rorschach's somewhat typological scoring system was based upon a combination of the observable with clinical insight or intuition. In the 1920s some 30 titles relating to Rorschach technique were published, in the next decade some 200 more, and in the following decades the literature swelled into thousands of items.

The popularity of the Rorschach stemmed from a time when psychoanalytic views predominated, and inner processes and the unconscious were the object of clinical assessment. Enthusiastic users claimed that the Rorschach test was a foolproof x-ray of the personality not subject to any situational set, but others rejected the test and predicted its abandonment. The current mean of opinion is that "The Rorschach is a field of study in research which permits workers to investigate such diverse concepts as body image, primary process thinking, hypnotizability, orality, and ego strength." It is further understood that the Rorschach is a complex instrument that cannot yield a simple

score, rather the entire configuration must be compared with the clinical picture obtained from other procedures such as psychiatric examination.

From 1945 onward, a number of investigators sought to establish the usefulness of the Rorschach test in the diagnosis of male homosexuality. In a paper of 1949, W. M. Wheeler developed 20 content signs which he attempted to make as unambiguous and objective as possible, and found a low, but consistently positive relationship between them and clinical diagnoses of homosexuality. Five years later, R. Shafer published a book in which he outlined a number of themes in Rorschach content relating to homosexuality.

In 1954 Evelyn Hooker set out to compare the incidence of the Wheeler homosexual content signs in the Rorschach protocols of overt male homosexuals as compared with the protocols of heterosexuals, and also to compare the two groups with respect to the frequency of occurrence of Shafer's content themes relating to homosexuality.

Hooker's findings, published four years later, were that the Wheeler signs did, as a whole, differentiate a homosexual from a heterosexual group, but only when matched pairs were considered. When highly qualified Rorschach experts attempted to distinguish the homosexual records, the process was marked by uncertainty and precarious vacillation. Agreement was primarily in the correct identification of records characterized by open anality, perverse or parhedoniatic sexuality, and "feminine emphasis." In other words, the Rorschach test served to diagnose homosexuality correctly only in a limited number of cases in which specific elements of personality distortion were present. The relationship of the Rorschach picture to overt behavior depended upon many complex variables in the subject's life situation which tended to be overlooked in the clinical picture of homosexuality that prevailed in the 1950s. Continued use of the Rorschach technique

alone for diagnosis of homosexuality, without other substantiating evidence, Hooker concluded, would lead to erroneous findings, both positive and negative, and perpetuate false concepts that disregarded the cultural aspect of the problem by focusing on the supposed clinical one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Evelyn Hooker, "Male Homosexuality in the Rorschach," *Journal of Projective Techniques*, 22 (1958), 33-54; R. Shafer, *Psychoanalytic Interpretation in Rorschach Testing*, New York: Grune and Stratton, 1954; W. M. Wheeler, "An Analysis of Rorschach Indices of Male Homosexuality," *Journal of Projective Techniques*, 13 (1949), 97-126.

Warren Johansson

## ROUGH TRADE

See Trade.

## ROUSSEL, RAYMOND (1877-1933)

French poet, novelist, and playwright. Roussel was born into an upper-class Parisian family, friends and neighbors of Marcel Proust. Jean Cocteau (who spent time with him in a drug treatment program at St. Cloud) called Roussel "the Proust of dreams."

The young Raymond studied piano, composed songs but at seventeen turned to poetry because "the words came easier." Publication of his first book *La Doublure* (1897) led to a deep depression and treatment by the noted psychiatrist Pierre Janet, who published an account of his patient. Another book of poems, *La Vue* (1904), followed and two novels, *Impressions d'Afrique* (1910) and *Locus Solus* (1914).

In 1909, Roussel won a gold medal for his marksmanship; he was an avid chess player and adored the writings of Jules Verne. He was an early fancier of **camp** since he enjoyed melodramas and in 1914 had his own *roulette* (housetrailer) built.