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A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF CAMILLA HALL

by

Harvey H. Honig

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June

1978

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is particularly indebted to the members of his dissertation committee, Dr. Alan De Wolfe, Dr. Frank Kobler, and Dr. John Shack, for their willingness to sponsor and facilitate this research. There are innumerable people who have been of assistance in carrying out this project on both a personal and professional level. I would particularly like to thank Rev. and Mrs. Hall for the invaluable time they gave to this project as well as the courage they displayed in encouraging its undertaking. I felt that I have been particularly fortunate in obtaining support and assistance from professionals who were willing to give of their time and effort simply out of interest in this project. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Jo Ida Hansen and Dr. John Brentner of the University of Minnesota and Dr. Lee Roloff of Northwestern University. In addition I received help from many other colleagues who assisted in analyzing the data who are too numerous to mention individually.

I am also grateful to the many friends and colleagues of Camilla Hall who were more than cooperative in sharing what they knew and remembered of Camilla.

I would also like to thank two good friends and colleagues, Dr. Kenneth Schedler for many invaluable suggestions and criticisms, and Lois Khan for her suggestions and encouragement throughout the project.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the constant help and support throughout the project which I received from my wife, Vivian.

PREFACE

This thesis is written in a somewhat more subjective and literary style than is common for graduate theses. An objective style is usually maintained to deliver us from what A. J. Ayer calls "the egocentric predicament" (1969, p. 79). All too often, however, the effect is to impede communication and to deliver us into another dilemma, the Cartesian split of the objective and subjective. In point of fact, as the physical sciences are now reminding us, when we discount the subjective factor, we decrease rather than increase the accuracy of our observations.

This style is also supported by recent changes in the APA Publication manual (1974). In the words of this publication:

Absolute insistence on the third person and the passive voice has been a strong tradition in scientific writing. Authorities on style and readability have clearly shown that this practice results in the deadliness and pomposity they call "scientificese." Some scientists maintain that this style preserves objectivity, but the validity of this assertion is suspect. . . . An experienced writer can use the first person and the active voice without dominating the communication and without sacrificing the objectivity of the research. If any discipline should appreciate the value of personal communication, it should be psychology. (p.28).

The inquiry here reported is in what Rychlak (1968) calls the dialectical, rather than the demonstrative, tradition. That is, it does not demonstrate the truth of Proposition A and the falsity of Proposition B. Rather, it is truly empirical in its attempt to

describe the reality of the situation as accurately as possible within the limits of our present scientific knowledge, and to take into account as fully as possible the position of the observer and his impact upon the field of study.

LIFE

Harvey Hilbert Honig was born in Stornaway, Saskatchewan, Canada on May 14, 1938. He completed his high school education at St. John's Academy in Winfield, Kansas. After receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree from Concordia College of Ft. Wayne in 1959, he attended Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and was awarded the degree of Master of Divinity in 1963. While serving as a minister in Ohio, he attended Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, receiving a Master of Sacred Theology in pastoral counseling in 1967. In 1972 Loyola University conferred on him a Master of Arts degree in clinical psychology.

The clerkship and internship in clinical psychology were served at Lakeside and Hines Veterans Administration Hospitals in Chicago. Mr. Honig is presently serving as Director of Pupil Personnel Services for the Oak Lawn Public School District 122, and is completing analytic training with the Jung Institute of Chicago.

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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

During the 1960's, much of the awareness of people in the United States was captured by radical groups. This fascination moved even more strongly to the forefront of our national consciousness with the Democratic National Convention in 1968. A small band of radicals, unable to mobilize extensive support among other radicals of that time, nevertheless was able to force themselves on the national political scene through their ability to capture and dominate the attention of the media, and by their shrewd use of theater and mob psychology.

This convention marked a critical point in the evolution of United States politics which has been extensively studied. However, it also marked a change in the perception of radical movements on the part of the people of the United States. The majority experienced a powerful psychological reaction to the events of that period, and powerful psychological forces were released. There was a polarization of reactions, with Mayor Daley and Abbie Hoffman serving as major foci for these reactions. The trial of the Chicago Seven followed, once again with protagonists to crystallize reaction, in Judge Julius Hoffman and Bobby Seale. Reactions to events in this period seemed determined more by perceptual sets within the observers than by the nature of objective events. Moreover, during that period, many of the leaders took on personal identities for the majority of the

people, and were perceived primarily as intelligent, white, middle-class intellectuals. The revolution was coming close to home, and people were identifying the revolt of their own children with the events they saw on the TV screen.

Many people clamored for an analysis. They wanted to know what had happened, and demanded of their experts in human behavior some kind of explanation. In the Chicago area, even the psychological community was polarized. Bettelheim and Flacks emerged as spokesmen for its divergent branches, appearing to be caught up in the very forces they attempted to analyze (see Braden, 1970). The observers were, as in physics, affecting the forces they attempted to observe, and were also caught up in the subsequent fallout. Listening to their debate, the general population seemed to be more reinforced in their previous opinions than enlightened.

The confusion following these events was about to be intensified. During this period, Keniston (1968) published his study of young radical leaders involved in a Vietnam Summer Project with a somewhat optimistic analysis. These radical leaders seemed more idealistic than destructive, and appeared to be well integrated, productive individuals within both the academic and radical communities, although there were personal factors shaping individual involvement and group conflicts affecting the movement. Keniston's analysis was somewhat impersonal, and it remained for a journalist, J. Anthony Lukas of the New York Times, to bring a personal analysis to events (1968). His observations

tended to fit well with Keniston's, and in an afterword he supported Erikson's view that

the values of any new generation do not spring full blown from their heads; they are already there, inherent if not clearly articulated, in the older generation. The generation gap is just another way of saying that the younger generation makes overt what is covert in the older generation; the child expresses openly what the parent represses (Lukas, 1968, p. 446).

Subsequently, even those members of the academic community that had been somewhat supportive and sympathetic to the radical young were disconcerted by the emergence of the Weathermen (Krueger and Silvert, 1975). This group was a study in contradictions that prompted a request for an explanation even more strongly. Breaking with less radical groups, they appeared to be determined not to change the system from within, but to destroy it. This was a group from this country's upper middle-class who emerged from conflict within the radical student movement to dominate America's consciousness. Their personal histories, for the most part, seemed incongruent with the images that dominated the media. Most of the country seemed to view them as spoiled rich brats clamoring for attention (see the portrayal of Marin in Didion's novel, Book of Common Prayer, 1977). However, the one personal account of the Weathermen which emerged, following the explosion of a town house in New York, seemed incongruent with this picture. Again, this study was by a journalist whose attempts at psychological explanation were not very sophisticated, but at least gave us some concrete material to think about (Powers, 1971).

Beyond all this, the cantus firmus to this symphony of emergent conflict and discord was the Vietnam conflict. One

could almost say "Vietnam conflicts" because, as the external was escalated, the internal war kept pace.

However, even as the Vietnam conflict wound down, and the conflict with the country seemed to be diminishing, a new radical group emerged to claim the attention of America as few radical groups had before. The Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), with their killing of a black school superintendent and wounding of his assistant, their choice of a seven-headed cobra as a symbol, and most of all their choice of a victim in Patty Hearst and their subsequent conscious domination of the media, seared our national psyche and commanded burning attention from the time of the kidnapping until the denouement, the dramatic shoot-out and explosion which almost seemed to be staged for national television.

The United States was stunned by the impact of these events. At the time, I was teaching a course in adolescent psychology for working college students of the approximate age range of the members of the SLA. There was a tremendous fascination with the events and personalities of this group, and a need for some kind of explanation, some context of meaning, which I shared. During the following days, a great deal was written about this group and its members, and in the Chicago area we heard particularly about Emily Harris and Camilla Hall, whose parents lived in the metropolitan Chicago area. What we heard of these two seemed only to add to the curiosity: two women from good families, both seemingly well liked and well adjusted, and in Camilla's case the daughter of a Lutheran minister. A sympathetic

article by Ellen Hume of the Los Angeles Times about the members of the SLA and their families, published only a year after their deaths (1975), only provided a few clues to fascinate still further.

Again these events seemed to cry out for some kind of explanation, which could be provided at least in part by psychology. Recognizing this, the Los Angeles Coroner's office attempted what it called a "psychological autopsy," a psychological reconstruction of the motivations of the people who died in the raid, utilizing psychiatric and psychological experts. However, they were unable to complete the study because of the unavailability of data, due partially to a skepticism on the part of the parents that their "psychological autopsy" would be an accurate portrayal, rather than an attempt to justify the actions of the political powers (personal communications, Dr. Noguchi's office, 1974).

It was during this period that I became interested in doing the study myself, partially because no one else seemed to be doing it. It also appeared to me that the task of studying the group in depth would be impossible within the limits of my resources, so I decided to choose an individual to study in depth, from as many perspectives as possible.

I recognized also that there would be problems with this type of study. The first was the question of whether this would be viewed as an acceptable topic, within the historical framework of psychology as an academic discipline. Preliminary research into this area convinced me that there were traditions in the fields of

case study and psychohistory which would provide an acceptable academic context. The second question, posed also by my advisers, was whether there was enough data available. Camilla Hall's parents were interested in understanding their daughter's motivation, and their cooperation provided enough preliminary data to indicate that ample material would be available. The next task, then, was a search for an acceptable methodology from within the field of academic psychology. For this I turned to the available literature.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In reviewing the literature, there seemed to be three major areas of research pertinent to this study. These were the renewed interest in the single case study, the emergence of psychohistory and psychobiography as fields in their own right, and the development of an extensive body of nomothetic studies from social psychology on group and individual factors involved in the development of radicals and the radical movement.

As outlined by Hersen and Barlow (1976), the use of a single case study in scientific research has a long history. They trace it back to Bernard (1957), the nineteenth century French physiologist who argued for the use of the single subject against colleagues who maintained that physiological processes were too complex for experimentation within a single organism. He noted that the site of processes of change is in the individual organism, and group averages and variance might prove misleading. Intensive study of the individual then flourished.

Much of the background of clinical psychology, at least in the psychoanalytic school, developed out of the study of single cases. These were criticized within academic psychology as being too subjective and biased. Hersen and Barlow argue that they failed because these early clinicians were unaware of the basic

principles of applied research, such as the proper definition of variables and the manipulation of independent variables (1976, p. 9).

Allport (1939, 1961) was for a period the only major voice in American academic psychology arguing for the use of personal documents and case study methods in the study of personality. He saw these idiographic methods as complementary to the nomothetic methods more common to the field. In addition, he developed important methods for the study of personal documents in a more objective manner (1942, 1965).

Then Dukes (1965) wrote an important article, one of the first major articles to deal with the case study method. He reviewed studies of single cases in psychological research. He found 246 studies in the literature over the past 25 years, and indicates that a review of these studies reveals "many instances of pivotal research in which the observations were confined to the behavior of only one animal" (p.74). He indicates that single case studies are most valuable in the following situations: (1) when between-individual variability for the factor being studied is negligible, and results from a second subject may be considered redundant; (2) when a single case reported in depth is representative of a larger class or group; (3) when one case provides negative results forcing reconsiderations of a hypothesis which is assumed to be generally applicable; (4) in the case of a rare or unusual opportunity such as multiple personality, congenital insensitivity to pain, etc.; (5) when the research situation involves a long period of time, specialized training, or unusually difficult controls; and (6) when a research simply wants to focus on a problem

in a preliminary way to define questions to be asked and indicating future approaches.

Shontz (1965), in his survey entitled Research Methods in Personality, includes a chapter on the case study approach in which he lists seven possibilities commonly presented in the literature for the use of the case study method. He also deals with the question of bias as inhering particularly in this method.

Granted that this characterization is at least partially valid, it need not be taken as a condemnation of the case study method as a whole. Bias is not invariably detrimental. As with other methods, the critical question is whether case studies are employed appropriately in specific instances to the accomplishment of purposes they serve best (p. 82).

In the meantime, Shapiro (1961) had demonstrated in England that the case study method could be applied in a careful, controlled manner. Many people in the behaviorist tradition were picking up on the example of Watson and using concepts of base rates and intra-subject variability to apply the case study in classic, experimental fashion. The case study had moved full circle, from the dialectical use of the case study in the non-experimental tradition of the early psychoanalytic school, in which the case studies were as much literacy as scientific productions, to what Hersen and Barlow call "the experimental study of a single case" (1976, p. 24).

However, Lazarus and Davidson (1971), who operate from within the behaviorist position, take a mediating view of the role of the case study. They see this method as bridging the clinic and the laboratory, and recognize that

some of the greatest advances in therapeutic theory and practice come through clinical experimentation and innovation, rather than through laboratory research or controlled field trials across large samples of cases. . . . Furthermore. . . the process of discovery that is carried on within the clinical practices of some therapists is the equivalent of research (p. 196).

Lazarus and Davidson also support the use of controlled observation studies, as well as those utilizing a statistical analysis, quoting from Erickson: "The nature and character of a single finding can often be more informative and valuable than a voluminous aggregate of data whose meaning is dependent upon statistical manipulation" (p. 198).

In addition, they provide a set of characteristics of case studies as related to research which have some similarities to those suggested by Dukes and Shontz. There is also a voluminous literature presenting case studies. It is difficult to choose among the many case studies in various therapeutic traditions, but as Marceil (1977) states, the case study "approaches an art form in such phenomenological-existential efforts as Kuhn's (1958) 'The Attempted Murder of a Prostitute,' and Binswanger's (1948) 'The Case of Ellen West.'"

These two case studies are also somewhat more related to the present study than many others in that they do take account of the Eigenwelt, the Umwelt, and the Mitwelt, providing something beyond the intrapsychic dimension. However, even in these classic, existential case studies, although there is an intellectual, theoretical beauty to them, the persons remain somewhat abstract, and though the subjects appear to be somewhat affected by the movements of the time, the historical and cultural connections are explicated only in terms of the subjects' immediate experience of them. They remain much

more within the clinical tradition of the case study as individual pathology rather than the psychohistorical approach.

It is in part because of these limitations that the contribution of the literature on case studies needs to be supplemented by other approaches. The case study approaches in the traditional literature rarely take into account the interaction between the personality of the individual and family, group, and historical processes that profoundly alter the direction of an individual's life. Erikson, in his profound study of Luther (1958) points out that

Only in ill health does one realize the intricacy of the body; and only in a crisis, individual or historical, does it become obvious what a sensitive combination of inter-related factors the human personality is--a combination of capacities created in the present; a combination of totally unconscious preconditions developed in individual growth and of social conditions created and recreated in the precarious interplay of generations. In some young people in some classes, at some periods in history, this crisis will be minimal; in other people, classes, and periods, the crisis will be clearly marked off as a critical period, a kind of "second birth," apt to be aggravated either by widespread neuroticisms or by pervasive ideological unrest (pp. 14-15).

Erikson has demonstrated the usefulness of this method in generating explanatory constructs, and has been one of the pioneers in developing the emergent discipline of psychohistory. Other studies in this area have also demonstrated the importance of understanding the interaction of historical variables and personal dynamics, e.g., Dicks (1972), whose study of some S. S. killers based on clinical test data indicated that these were not pathological personalities in the ordinary sense, but in many cases were men with weak personalities caught up in forces more powerful than their own personalities. It is therefore to psychohistory and psychobiography that I am looking for much of my methodology.

DeMause, editor of the Journal of Psychohistory and one of the leaders in the field, has recently issued an extensive bibliography of the major literature of the field (1975). He describes psychohistory as "a new science of patterns of motivations based on a set of problems, a conscious methodology and criteria of excellence all its own." He states that

What the new psychohistorians are creating is a radical empiricism which moves from actual evidence of childhood and adolescent experience to actual adult motivational patterns, each discovered only through painstaking historical research into the primary documentation. The results contain that element of surprise which is the mark of true discovery. . . (pp. vii-ix).

Erikson has been one of the leading contributors to the development of this discipline with his volumes on Luther (1958) and Gandhi (1969). Much of the development of his thinking in this field has been compiled in a series of essays entitled Life History and the Historical Moment (1975). He provides an example of intelligent psychological analysis interacting with historical and social research. In addition, his development of ego psychology allows him to focus on development as well as pathology.

Many of the leading figures of the movement currently operate out of the psychoanalytic tradition, and Mazlish has compiled a significant group of writings from this perspective in Psychoanalysis and History (1971). Others, such as Renshon (1974), take a more eclectic approach. There are many other significant volumes listed in the De Mause bibliography.

Another more eclectic, academic approach to political psychology is found in Knutson's excellent Handbook of Political Psychology (1973).

One of the chapters in the section on methods of inquiry is a discussion of the contributions of psychobiography by Glad. She states that "Despite certain brilliant achievements, psychobiography as a research form is just now beginning to win general acceptance" (p. 296). After a history of the development of this research form, she outlines prevailing assumptions which have in the past detracted from the value of psychobiography, e.g., emphasis on the pathological and psychological reductionism at the expense of environmental forces, but points out areas in which it has been very useful and offers contributions for the future. In her view, in spite of the traditional problems in obtaining data, one can gather

sufficient information on an individual to warrant a psychological explanation. Memoirs, letters, speeches, artistic productions, public documents, newspapers, interviews with associates, and oral histories can all provide clues to the subject's personality which the astute observer can then piece together into an explanatory framework (p. 313).

These are the data sources which will be utilized in this research. She also suggests some methods for integration and interpretation. In short, in addition to the literature on case studies, there is a rich body of literature and an academic tradition which has developed in recent years which can provide the background for this research approach.

In addition to this literature on idiographic methods, there is also a body of literature applying more nomothetic methods to the development of the revolutionary personality, particularly the research tradition of social psychology. Gurr (1970) has done some of the most extensive theory building, utilizing the frustration-aggression model

of Berkowitz to develop a fairly complete predictive model for the emergence of revolutionary groups. Smith (1969) studies a group of radical leaders within the university context using Kohlberg's theory of stages of moral development, and discovered that most leaders tend to be at the advanced stage of internalized moral concerns, but a subgroup of radicals tends to be at a less advanced, egocentric stage of development, and tends to use the movement as a screen for their own needs. Schwartz (1972) has developed a conceptual model for the process of alienation, which he sees as the first stage of the psychology of revolution, using the conceptual theories of social psychology. These models are of some use in providing general hypotheses, but are of limited use in achieving an understanding of an individual.

In contrast to the above efforts is an interesting analysis of revolution by Krueger and Silvert (1975). In a chapter called "The Psychological Model," in which they provide a good overview of psychological research and commentary on student protest, they note a wide range of value judgments in these writings. They go on to suggest that

One characteristic, however, is common to almost every psychological explanation: a tendency to explain away the subjects of the actions, the students. They pigeonhole them either (1) social-psychologically (protest is the product of an overpermissive socialization resulting in spoiled, intolerant, irresponsible adolescents with infantile responses; (2) sociologically (activists come from professional, upper middle-class, liberal families and are outstanding students with strong academic commitments and a "basic allegiance to creedal American ideals"); (3) psychiatrically (protest is the result of traumatic early childhood experiences and rebellion

against parents); (4) situationally (student protest is a pattern of adjustment to the "depersonalized," "dehumanized" college education of today or to the status inconsistencies students encounter in contemporary American society); and finally, (5) generationally (student protest is an outgrowth of adolescence, a transitory phase whose difficulties result from changes in society). / References are cited for each of the positions/

These explanations not only negate the students as subjects of the protest, but in their emphasis on mental, subjective, or atypical factors they are also inherently ahistorical and overlook the rootedness of the protest movement in a set of social circumstances (pp. 35-36).

This is an important caveat against seeing the radical point of view from a totally psychological standpoint. Perhaps, as the authors indicate, the radical response can never be totally understood in psychological terms, since it expresses a transcendent hisotorico-political position as well as the personality of its proponent. Nevertheless, as with Erikson's study of Luther, psychological investigation can give us the human, determined side of the equation which is an important part of our understanding.

THE METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The choice of method was governed by the nature of the problem and the sources of knowledge available. It appeared to me that a much more accurate picture of Camilla Hall could be developed by assembling as much data as possible and treating it from several perspectives, to generate a general interpretation (a dialectical approach), than by beginning with an hypothesis (demonstrative method). In point of fact, the methods are not discrete or mutually exclusive. While my approach was basically dialectical, there were times when more demonstrative or linear methods were appropriate in the analysis of the data. I also maintained a constant awareness and concern for the signs of bias in interpretation, while not eliminating the legitimate use of clinical experience (De Mause, 1975, p. 169) and the use of the researcher's own emotions.

The primary goal was to understand Camilla's development, the internal and external forces which shaped her personality and behavior. To some extent, this posed the proverbial problem of the five blind men and the elephant: how to develop an overall perspective that focused on the total personality, and not just a particular, nearsighted perspective. Many writers (e.g., Krueger and Silvert, 1975) warn against attempting to understand the radical movement from a narrow psychological perspective. On the other hand, I began this study trained as a clinical psychologist, with the expertise and experience

that comes from this field, rather than as a historian, sociologist or political scientist. Even a blind expert who looks at a part of the elephant utilizing particular skills will contribute more to understanding than one who has no particular perspective. Nevertheless, the goal was not to understand an aspect of the "elephant," or to prove that it acted in certain ways because of neurotic factors, but to attempt to understand the elephant from a particular perspective by integrating that knowledge into the total field. That is, I have attempted to understand Camilla Hall by utilizing those perspectives that allowed a higher level of abstraction and interaction with other viewpoints, while including an attempt to understand her own subjective processes. Fiske (1971) discusses this problem in the measurement of personality and utilizes the same example (see pp. 62-67).

This perspective seemed to be provided by integrating all three approaches outlined in the previous chapter. It seemed important to utilize some of the objective methods suggested particularly by Allport and Glad for analysis of personal documents, but also to integrate the broader social, historical, and clinical perspectives provided by the psychohistorical tradition. This methodology is outlined in more detail below (p. 24ff.) In addition, it seemed important to understand the radical movement from the nomothetic perspective provided by Gurr and others.

My primary intention was to assemble as much data as could conveniently be gathered for analysis, without a preliminary bias or hypothesis. It was tempting to select an hypothesis and

attempt to prove or disprove it, e.g., that Camilla was motivated by pathological needs, or that, on the contrary, she was an integrated personality; or to select a particular theory, e.g., unconscious rebellion or identification, and attempt to prove or disprove it.

Instead, I chose to operate phenomenologically, without a preliminary hypothesis or theoretical perspective. I was rather like a psychological detective, looking for all the relevant clues without deciding who the suspect is beforehand. The good detective and the good scientist are similar in that a particular technique or point of view is less important than powers of observation and intelligent analysis: the ability to be open to any detail, no matter how insignificant it may appear, while being able, at the appropriate time, to order the details into some kind of consistent analysis. Many of the classic case studies have failed, not because of a failure to use the scientific method in its narrow sense, but because the clinician ordered observations to fit a predetermined theory. It is true that the final interpretation requires some kind of hermeneutical or theoretical framework, but at least we can preserve the order of observation followed by interpretation, rather than the reverse.

Several years ago, during my training in diagnostic testing, I encountered an article (which I have been unable to locate) which provided a similar perspective. The article suggested that the good diagnostician use the method of "successive sieves" in gathering and analysing the data. In this method, the clinician initially gathers data without presuppositions, but continues to sift the data through

successive interpretive "sieves." During this process, the data begins to gather in certain clusters, much like a non-mathematical factorial process, until the diagnostic picture emerges from the data. We can compare what the clinician does to theory building in the scientific area. From the basic data he induces concepts to explain the data and forms into a constantly developing system. In Rychlak's terms (1968, pp. 74 ff.), we operate procedurally, using the cognitive method, and then attempt to validate our hypotheses. At this point the clinician utilizes an appropriate theoretical framework to order and communicate the data. It is this process that I have attempted to follow in the study of Camilla Hall.

The search for the data began with extensive reading into journalistic accounts of the events. I studied the contemporary account in the major newspapers and the underground journals, primarily from microfilm sources (Hume, 1975; Sorenson and Hall, 1974; the Berkeley Barb, 1974). I read several popular accounts and analyses, e.g., Soltysik's account (1976) of his search for his sister, who was Camilla's lover in SLA, Weed's (1976) book on the events surrounding the kidnapping of Patty Hearst, Bryan's (1977) book on Joe Remiro, and the interviews with the Harrises in the New Times (1976).

I also read generally in the radical literature of the times (e.g., Goodman, 1970), to understand the thinking emanating from radical groups during this period.

I then began collecting data relating specifically to Camilla Hall. One of the major sources was interviews with people who knew

Camilla well, from different perspectives. These interviews are recorded on cassette tapes, available from the author. The sources are listed in Table 1. I spent a couple of days with Camilla's parents, interviewing them about Camilla, and taking an extensive family history, beginning with the grandparents. I then continued with a developmental and life history, and ended with an account of the final period and the parents' attempts to understand the events of that period. This period presented a dilemma which occurs frequently to the clinician/researcher: that of really attempting to "get inside" the subject and know that subject intimately, to feel those feelings subjectively, without beginning to identify. In particular this was a problem with the parents of Camilla Hall, who were very cooperative people who elicited a natural empathy. I have not had extensive contact with the Halls since that period, partly in order to preserve objectivity and detachment. In the course of this study, I had initially considered seeking some kind of institutional support, but I avoided it partly because I wanted to feel completely free to pursue the answers without pressure. Nevertheless, I was aware of some internal pressure operating at this point, in that I felt it would be difficult to present material negative to the Halls, if such developed. They appeared, however, to be aware of that risk, and to be willing to take it. There was no pressure on me to come to any conclusions or view Camilla in any particular light, but there was obvious concern that I view Camilla from a total perspective. Reverend Hall was particularly concerned with the theology of

revolution (cf. Berrigan and Coles, 1971) and with Kierkegaard's comments on The Present Age (1962), which view he felt Camilla shared. In addition to the interviews, I viewed home movies showing members of the family in typical interactions.

I also interviewed Camilla's supervisors and co-workers at the Hennepin County Welfare Department, where she worked from 1968 to 1970 (Table 1, Tapes 4 and 5). In addition, I traveled to California to interview one of Camilla's high school friends, who became a close friend during the period immediately before she went underground, a woman who lived in the same building with her and had frequent conversations with her during that final period (Table 1, Tape 7). I also had a conversation with Claude Steiner, a West Coast therapist and author of a well known book on transactional analysis (1974), who had known Camilla personally, though not intimately.

The next source, which provided some objective, controlled data, was her student file at the University of Minnesota. In her file were three tests taken during student days: two Strong Vocational Interest Inventories, one taken during her last year of high school and the second during her second year of college; and an MMPI, taken during her second year at college. Experts at the University of Minnesota, where these tests originated, were also kind enough to provide interpretations of these measures. The Strong was interpreted by Dr. Jo Ida Hansen of the university counseling center, who was aware of the subject and her background. The MMPI was interpreted by

Dr. John Brentner, of the university hospital staff, who initially interpreted the profile blind, and then discussed it further with awareness of the subject. The protocols were not available, but the scores of the Strong are listed in Table 2, and the MMPI is recorded in Appendix B.

In addition to the above data, I was given access to other important documents. Of particular interest is her file at the Hennepin County Welfare Department office, which included evaluations by her supervisors and references from friends (see Appendix A). Since these were written before Camilla's death, they were not colored by any reactions during that period. This file also contained a three-and-a-half page autobiography written for the agency by Camilla.

In addition to these documents, I had access to letters to her parents written over the period from 1963 to 1974, including a letter addressed to her parents found on her body (as transcribed by the FBI). There were also a number of poems written during the last few years of her life, in her own hand. These provided extensive access to her verbal style, as well as her primary themes and concerns. (Random samples of her letters and significant samples of her poetry are listed in Appendix C.) An extensive legacy of her art also provided a window to unconscious processes and dominant themes and concerns. I was able to view a great deal of the collection at her parents' home, and made slides of approximately forty works to show to colleagues and art therapists Abby Calisch of Michael Reese Hospital

and Linda Cohen of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, both graduates of the noted training program of Hahnemann Medical College.

I also utilized the extensive pathologist's report on the autopsy (1974) and the report of the ACLU on the final shoot-out (1974).

It became obvious that the problem was not in obtaining enough data, but in proper selection and analysis of the material within the limits of the time and resources available to me. A purely phenomenological approach was no longer possible; there had to be criteria for the selection of data. Several options were open. I could have focused on data supportive to a particular mode of explanation, e.g., information about the family system, or about psychosexual development and unconscious processes, or restricted to her own overt behavior. I decided that my aim would continue to be to provide as full as possible an understanding of Camilla Hall as a person, and data were selected for extensive analysis on that basis.

I would also like to deal with some of the basic questions of research methodology in a more specific, technical manner. This research is basically a study in personality assessment, and although it is not typical of much of current personality assessment, basic scientific and research principles can be applied. Therefore, I would like to relate this research particularly in terms of Fiske's (1971) book on Measuring the Concepts of Personality.

Fiske discusses two basic strategies used in coping with the various extraneous influences on the behavior we wish to observe and measure:

One strategy is to establish conditions that minimize the effects of these outside influences. With this approach, we do not observe the phenomena as they occur in nature, but instead we induce the phenomena under controlled conditions. . . . The other strategy is to have these extraneous influences cancel each other out. In principle, if we observe a particular reaction under all possible circumstances and then average our observations, we can arrive at an index that is largely free of any systematic bias. Such an approach has to assume that no one influence is present a disproportional amount of time, i.e., that it does not affect so many of the observations that it introduces a distortion in our average index. p. 44).

It is obviously the second of these strategies that applies in the present research, since the conditions of data collection cannot be carefully controlled. Dukes supports this approach in $N = 1$ studies and the reliability of sampling data across situations rather than subjects with a quote from Brunswick. "In fact, proper sampling of situations and problems may in the end be more important than proper sampling of subjects, considering the fact that individuals are probably on the whole much more alike than are situations among one another." (p. 74).

In Camilla's case, I have attempted to guard against systematic bias or distortion of data samples by having many data sources across the span of an extended period of time and across many situations. I feel this is particularly important in studying a research subject who tends to arouse strong positive and negative responses.

However, in addition to guarding against bias in data sampling, we need in this case also to guard against bias in the interpretation of our data. Basically, we are asking how dependable our data sample

is (Fiske, 1971, p.46), and this is usually discussed in terms of the concept of reliability, or the extent to which measurements agree with each other, across times and situations (convergent validation). However, it is important to note that a complete understanding and explanation also has the task of recognizing the differences or inconsistencies in results from different sources or opinions.

In interpretation, we are also looking for the validity of the interpretation. While an $N = 1$ study is not as readily subject to objective statistical confirmation, it can utilize the same basic concepts. Again, in data interpretation we can guard against bias by either of the two strategies outlined above. We can check the reliability across subjects (e.g., many judges rating the same MMPI) or across situations (different judges approaching the data from differing perspectives). Again, this second strategy has been followed in this research. There are analyses of the different data sources by experts (Strong, MMPI, art, poetry), analyses by people who knew only the barest biographical details, such as age and sex of the subject (MMPI, art). There are also observational samples taken from work situations (work file). However, there are additional reliability checks, e.g., two experts giving independent judgments (art therapists). These procedures are again used to guard against systematic bias or distortion, and to provide a measure of objectivity (cf. Table 1).

However, as indicated above, in addition to the traditional research methodology used in the measurement of personality and

the case study model, I have utilized the methodology of psychobiography, particular that outlined by Glad (1973).

For many of the psychoanalytically oriented psychobiographers, the primary source of validation has been the method of internal cognitive consistency, or agreement with theory. While this method has some validity, it has not always encouraged objective checking against external sources of validity. Therefore, many more recent psychobiographers have emphasized more objective measures, but as Glad indicates, there are limitations to this approach.

In terms of scientific rigor, this approach (emphasizing objective measures and quantitative techniques) has much to recommend it, but as a research technique it is likely to have a limited use in psychobiography. In covering an entire life, the biographer is required to draw from a wide variety of sources; intuitively, he may discover that some are more important than others (Garraty, 1957, p. 219; Holt, 1961). In the Hughes study, for example, themes apparently unimportant by quantitative measures (for example, the number of references to "reason" in his speeches) were shown--through an investigation of the teachings of his parents, church, and school authorities--to be the keystone of his ideological system. This finding could not have been determined by any formula for collecting and handling the data announced at the beginning of the project; it was based, instead on an interplay between theoretically based "hunches" and flexibility in the choice of trails leading to data (see the method of successive sieves outlined in the first part of this chapter). Furthermore, in comparative biography one may have to rely on data types that are not comparable in quantitative terms. Any available source must be used when one is trying to capture relevant but slippery facts about diverse individuals, who may have left quite different trackings behind them (p. 314).

However, at the same time, she indicates that:

Because the psychobiographer may attend to some unusual and varied data forms and because his personality may influence what he can get and how he interprets it, it is particularly important that he follow traditional rules for data collection and management. In interpreting data which is often fragmentary and sometimes internally contradictory, he is well advised to follow guidelines such as those

suggested by Allport (1942) in his "Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science." . . . Equally important is the requirement that his sources be given, so that the credibility of his sources and his relative objectivity in employing them can be checked. (p. 315, 316)

For this reason, in addition to the usual citations, I have prepared a table (Table 1) listing all of my data sources and where the material is available.

The final methodological question is that of generalizability. As Dukes (1965) and others have indicated, generalizability is not always a required or desirable feature of $N = 1$ studies. In fact, one of the reasons for such a study may be the very uniqueness of the personality and the factors involved. This is, nevertheless, one of the desirable goals of scientific research, and one of the reasons for doing this study is because Camilla may be representative of a larger group of people. Nevertheless, the immediate study can only stress the reliability and the validity of the findings under present conditions, and it would remain for a separate study to determine to what extent and under what conditions these findings can be generalized. This is the way scientific research has typically proceeded: isolating particular factors in a single instance, then generating hypotheses which are studied in similar instances involving additional subjects.

Finally, in terms of methodological considerations, there has been a concern for basic accuracy of the data. Therefore, all data (not interpretations) were checked by two sources: Camilla's parents and Mary Pearson, who was Camilla's roommate during her last year at the University of Minnesota and maintained a friendship with her over subsequent years.

THE DATA

In this chapter, the data about Camilla Hall are presented, along with interpretations of particular data samples, where appropriate. (For a list of the sources of data, see Table 1.) In the following chapter, there will be an analysis and integration of all the data presented. During her last two years of high school, until she moved to California, Camilla was known as Candy, but for purposes of stylistic consistency she will be referred to as Camilla.

Camilla Hall was born March 24, 1945, at 3:12 p.m., in St. Peter, Minnesota, where her father was Chairman of the Department of Theology at Gustavus Adolphus College. Her father had gone to Seattle, Washington, to preach at a Lenten service, so Camilla encountered one of the realities of being part of a minister's family from the very beginning.

CAMILLA'S FAMILY BACKGROUND

Camilla's paternal grandfather, George Daniel Hall, was born on a farm in Sweden in 1370. He had about six years of schooling, interrupted by farm work, sickness, and storms. At the age of 18, he decided to emigrate to America. He came from a religious family which belonged to the pietistic movement that affected much of Europe and America, a populist movement emphasizing immediate, experienced religion and reacting against institutional formalism.

Table 1

List of primary data sources utilized in
research on Camilla Hall

- I. Interviews taped on five 90-minute and two 120-minute cassette tapes. On file with the author.
- A. Tapes 1 - 3 are 90-minute tapes of interviews with Rev. and Mrs. Hall, the parents of Camilla, and Susan O'Brien, a high school friend.
 - B. Tape 4, also 90 minutes, includes interviews with Alan Carlson and Jean Bigelow. Alan Carlson was one of the supervisors at the Hennepin County Welfare Department, and Jean Bigelow was a friend and co-worker. This tape also includes the beginning of Dr. John Brentner's analysis of the MMPI.
 - C. Tape 5, also 90 minutes, includes the rest of Dr. Brentner's analysis, an interview with Dolores Peck, Camilla's primary supervisor at the Hennepin County Welfare Department, and Dr. Jo Ida Hansen's analysis of the two Strong Vocational Inventories.
 - D. Tape 6, 120 minutes, includes interviews with Rhonna Landy, a co-worker in Minneapolis who

Table 1 (continued)

also moved to Los Angeles, and Betty Esbjornson, who was also a co-worker in Minneapolis. Camilla stayed with Betty and Dick Esbjornson when she moved to Topanga Canyon, near Los Angeles.

- E. Tape 7, also 120 minutes, includes the interview with the friend from Minneapolis who later lived in Berkeley, who asked not to be named.

II. Camilla's student file from the University of Minnesota. These materials are on file at the University of Minnesota.

- A. Two Strong Vocational Interest protocols. Cf. Table 2 for the scoring profiles.
- B. An MMPI. Cf. Appendix B for a copy of the protocol listing Camilla's scores.
- C. College entrance tests.
- D. Transcripts and grades.

III. Hennepin County Welfare Department personnel file. This file is available at the Hennepin County Welfare Department in Minneapolis. The following materials from the file are included in Appendix A:

- A. Three letters of recommendations from friends.
- B. Supervisor evaluations from Duluth.
- C. Camilla's autobiography submitted at the time of her application.
- D. Camilla's application.

Table 1 (continued)

Additional evaluations are included in this file for each six month period.

IV. Letters and poems written by Camilla. The original copies are in the possession of Rev. and Mrs. Hall, but the following are on file with the author:

- A. Forty-five letters written from 10-5-64 to 12-8-73.
- B. A copy of the final letter found on Camilla's body.
- C. Twenty poems written by Camilla.
- D. A written analysis of the above materials by

Dr. Lee Roloff.

Selected letters and poems, including the final letter, are included in Appendix C.

V. Paintings and drawings, including a sketch of a children's book with illustrations by Camilla. Some of these are in the possession of the Halls, but at times selected paintings are on exhibition or in the possession of other people, including members of the collective.

The following materials are on file with the author:

- A. Approximately 40 slides of Camilla's paintings.
- B. Cassette tapes of comments by art therapists Abby Calisch and Linda Cohen after viewing the above slides.

VI. The complete autopsy report prepared by Dr. Noguchi, chief medical examiner for Los Angeles County. A copy of this report is available from the author.

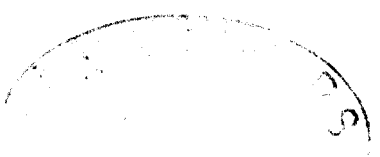
Table 1 (continued)

- VII. A report issued by the Los Angeles chapter of the ACLU entitled "Issue of adequate warning to occupants of the house and residents of the community." This is an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Camilla and her fellow members of the SLA, questioning police procedures. A copy is available from the author.

When he came to America, he worked on a farm in New Jersey and was active in the local Mission Covenant Church. His innate talent and interest were noticed, and he was urged to become a minister.

His first marriage was a short history of tragedy. A deformed child was born, who spent most of a short life in an institution near Chicago. His wife died of consumption after a year or two of marriage. He then took a little church in rural Nebraska, and there married a young woman who played the organ in one of the churches he served. Her family had moved to Nebraska to homestead after being burned out by the Chicago fire. While they were serving parishes in Kansas and Nebraska, their four children were born: Clarence, who became a Lutheran pastor and the President of the Nebraska Chapter of the Augustana Synod; then Elsa, who married a medical doctor in General Practice in Albert City, Iowa; Dorothy, who married a mail carrier in Albert City, Iowa; and George Fridolph, Camilla's father, who was born July 24, 1908. The family moved to the Humboldt Park area of Chicago (1913-1920), but the Rev. Hall, Sr., had difficulty making the transition from Swedish to English, so they moved to Lanyon, Iowa, where they stayed until his death in 1927.

Camilla's father was thus the youngest of four in a high-achieving family, upwardly mobile in a socio-cultural rather than an economic sense. He was born in Stromsburg, Nebraska, spent most of his grade school years in Humboldt Park, an area of Chicago with mixed ethnic populations, and then went to high school and college in the rural midwest. In grade school he was advanced a year.



Predictably, he was a high achiever in high school, on all athletic teams as well as in declamation and drama. He attended Augustana College in Rock Island, and was oriented toward extra-curricular activities, particularly music. After travelling in Europe with the school band, he wrote a book which was published when he was 19. When his father was known to have cancer, the family decided he should go to school all year, to get as much as possible before the money ran out. He went to Iowa State one summer, and graduated from college in a little over three years. He then went to Augustana Seminary, and here he became more academically oriented. He heard Dr. E. J. Goodspeed, a noted New Testament scholar, speak at a dinner club and decided to study with him. He came to the University of Chicago Divinity School, and attended while serving the Ebenezer Lutheran Church part time. Although he had not originally intended to work for a degree, he obtained a Ph.D. from the divinity school in New Testament Studies at the age of 25. Thus, he was not only the youngest in his family, but generally a year or two younger than his classmates during his educational development.

He was ordained in 1934 and served a Lutheran church for two years in Gary, Indiana, with a congregation of steel workers struggling through the depression. In 1936 he went to Bethany College, in Lindsborg, Kansas, as a religion instructor. In 1937 he met and married a young art student, Camilla's mother. He was called to Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota, in 1938, where he stayed until 1954. During this period, he served as chairman

of the Religion Department and as Vice President of the college.

Camilla's maternal grandfather was born in Nebraska in 1874 to a family of German immigrants. Her maternal grandmother came from Germany at the age of 5. Both were youngest children of prominent families, but as younger children were left nothing. Both families settled in Holton, a town in central Kansas. Mrs. Hall describes her parents as having a good, solid marriage. Her father started a newspaper in a small town in Missouri. They moved to Coffeyville, Kansas, where he wanted to start a newspaper, but the loss of one eye in an accident forced him to give up the newspaper and open a furniture store. He was also very active in the local Methodist church, where he served as Sunday School Superintendent, and was often told he should have been a preacher. (He had brothers who were teachers and preachers.) He was an inventive man, mechanically skilled as well as creative, and he developed an awning business. He was a practical, hard-working man, an idealist and something of a dreamer. His wife worked hard, helping him in his business ventures and sewing clothes for the family. There was never quite enough money, but somehow their dream of four children completing college was achieved.

The oldest daughter, Naomi, became a teacher and a drama coach. The second, Josephine, became a medical technician, raised a family, then returned to high school teaching. Lorena, Camilla's mother,

was the third of four daughters. Helen, the fourth, was a very clever writer who married and did free-lance writing in the Boston area. She was a very private, independent person. Both Helen and Naomi died of cancer.

Lorena was a shy, self-conscious child who liked to lose herself in drawing. When the time came for college, she did not feel mature enough, and worked for a year and a half to save money. She attended Junior College in Coffeyville, then went to Oklahoma College for Women for one year. She transferred to Bethany College to study with Birger Sandzen, a midwestern painter whose work she liked. During her senior year she was asked to be an assistant in the art department, and was asked to teach part time the following year. She married George Hall the day after her graduation, May 30, 1937. She continued some work and teaching in the field of art until the birth of George Terrence (Terry) in 1941. Peter Kermit was born in 1942, Camilla in 1945, and Nan in 1947.

Brief accounts of Camilla's siblings follow, as described primarily by Lorena Hall. Terry, she reports, was the kind of child who seemed like an older brother from the day he was born, and always seemed exceptionally mature for his age. His mother felt he would probably have become something like a minister. However, when he was 7 years old, while the family was vacationing in Colorado, he became seriously ill. He appeared to recover, but died as they were returning home, in Rapid City, South Dakota. The cause of his death was later diagnosed as myocarditis,

possibly caused by a cold. Camilla was three years old at this time.

Peter Kermit Hall was born May 17, 1942, and though he and his brother were like twins in some ways, always wearing the same clothes and very close, he is described as entirely different. He was a "little Rascal," moving all the time, who had to do everything his own way. His mother feels that he would have been a brilliant, creative person, and remembers that his first-grade teacher always talked about his accomplishments. Peter died on March 1 at the age of eight of nephritis, after a month in the Mayo Clinic. Camilla was five at the time, and Nan had celebrated her third birthday the day before.

Nan was born February 28, 1947, when Camilla was twenty-three months old. She was born with a congenital hip defect, and required a great deal of attention. From the beginning she liked pretty, frilly things, and received much attention, especially from people outside the family. She frequently underwent manipulative procedures, and had to relearn to walk seven times. The family was very involved with her. During Camilla's middle high-school years, Nan began needing more medical attention, and the family was told that she probably would not live to adulthood because she had also developed nephritis. In spite of all medical efforts, Nan died December 15, 1962, when Camilla was seventeen and in her senior year. The day before, Camilla had been named "class clown" of her high school class of 1963.

CAMILLA'S LIFE

Camilla appears to have passed through the early developmental stages at the usual rate; nothing unusual is recalled. When she was about a year old, the family moved east, to Upsala College in New Jersey for a one year teaching assignment, to permit Reverend Hall to study with Tillich and Niebuhr during a sabbatical year. The second semester he took over a church and parsonage in Stanford, Connecticut, in addition to his studies, and it was here that Camilla learned to walk. They moved back to St. Peter and Gustavus Adolphus, and when Camilla was between two years and thirty months old, she developed pneumonia and was in the hospital about ten days. There were no complications, but she was isolated from the family, and when she came home she was "so happy she couldn't cope, but turned around and refused to look at any of them."

It was also during this period that Camilla had to cope with the appearance of a younger sibling who demanded a lot of attention, and there were times when Camilla was jealous of all the attention shown to Nan. In this period, too, the family was pounded by the successive blows of the deaths of Terry and Peter. The family was generally very close, with a lot of family activity and trips. Terry and Peter had been particularly close, and Camilla had been close to Peter.

Before Camilla was born the family had considered going to Africa, to help meet the needs of a wartime mission field, but passports for the children were denied. However, in 1951, when Camilla was six, Reverend Hall was asked to go to Tanganyika, East Africa, where he was the education secretary for the Lutheran church in the Northern and Tanga Provinces, having responsibility for about 300 teachers and 30,000 students in 85 schools. He traveled a great deal during this period, and Camilla and Nan spent much time with their mother, who was also Camilla's teacher for her first and second grade work, using materials provided by the school in St. Peter. Her playmates were African children, but there was also contact with other white children from missionary families living nearby. Camilla and Nan learned to play shepherds flutes and home-made stringed instruments and exchanged songs with the Africans. They viewed this as a happy time, but returned after one two-year term, in 1953, because Nan needed medical attention which was not available there.

After a year in St. Peter, Reverend Hall was asked to go to New York to be Secretary of Missions for the Lutheran World Federation Commission of Younger Churches, which involved a lot of overseas travel. The family settled in Montclair, New Jersey, where Camilla and Nan attended an excellent but demanding school. Camilla had some difficulty with math, as this had not been emphasized in Africa, and had to struggle to overcome it. She continued her interest in music, playing the mouth organ.

After several years in New York, Reverend Hall accepted a call to Arlington Hills Lutheran Church, on the East Side of St. Paul, Minnesota. This was a large and desirable church, but the decision to accept was also motivated by Nan's need of treatment, as this church was near Children's Hospital. After two years Reverend Hall went to the University of Minnesota as student pastor, and Camilla completed her high school years at Washburn High School.

As her mother describes her, Camilla had been at times a very stubborn and strong-willed child. Shortly after she started first grade, she made it plain that she did not like wearing dresses. She preferred basic, simple clothes. Although a bit overweight, she was an active, energetic, athletic child. A friend a year older remembers her as something of a tomboy, loving to play cowboy and Indian games. She liked people, always wanted friends, and in the earlier years was like a little puppy, demanding so much attention and affection that she sometimes alienated people because she was so anxious to make friends. Her mother recalls that she was always apparently happy, never obviously depressed. As she grew older, she was considered independent, but very affectionate and considerate.

In high school there was some conflict with parents, particularly because of loyalty to her peer group, which meant a great deal to her. Camilla began smoking during her last high school years, buying cigarettes out of her allowance. Her parents disliked this, but did not forbid it. Like her father, during this period she was

more active in extracurricular and social activities than in academic work, but a friend recalls her as having impressive intellectual capabilities when her interest was aroused, as in a Shakespeare course. Her account of her high school years lists her as participating in several talent shows, the class play, the Quill Club, and Hi-Y. She was voted into the school's Hall of Fame.

During her second year, Camilla requested an open house party, which her parents permitted. Word was passed around at the preceeding football game that evening, and according to police accounts about 4,000 kids showed up at a party that had been planned for 50. Police were called, but little damage was done.

Camilla dated during high school, but more socially than seriously, and never appeared to have a crush on anyone or stay with anyone more than a few months. She constantly displayed the sense of humor which got her designated as "class clown" in her yearbook. According to Reverend Hall, there were many talents and abilities of which he was unaware and which her Washburn classmates told him about later. According to a high school friend, she was one of the few at that high school to be able to cut across group lines, and would befriend people outside of her group while remaining accepted within it. She disliked the name Camilla, and during her junior and senior years was known to everyone as Candy.

Camilla and her sister Nan were close during this period, and much of the family activity centered around Nan. They had been told two years earlier that Nan might not live to adulthood because of

nephritis. After Nan's death during her senior year, Camilla cried and wanted to go home when she saw Nan's body in the casket. However, Camilla appeared later to take the death in stride, and she received a good deal of support from her friends. When the family returned from the burial in St. Peter, Minnesota, they found that students from Washburn had gotten into their home, set up a Christmas tree, and decorated it.

After Graduation, Camilla took a summer job at the University of Minnesota Student Center and enrolled in a course at the university. She was not favorably impressed, and, to the family's surprise, decided to enroll at Gustavus Adolphus together with a few of her friends. At the same time, her parents moved to Maywood, Illinois, where her father began teaching at the Lutheran seminary. She describes her experience at Gustavus:

Our dorm was divided into sections composed of 12 girls each rather than corridors with individual and private rooms. Because of this constant contact, I came to know these girls very well in a relatively short time. As far as close contact with other people goes, my freshman year at Gustavus was the most rewarding year of my college career. I did not feel, however, that I was getting as good an academic education as I had expected from college and so I transferred to the University of Minnesota. (Autobiography, Appendix A).

Her father's comment was that the girls were so involved in each other socially that they were not very involved in the life of the school, and only one or two returned to Gustavus after the first year. It also appeared that one of the problems of attendance at Gustavus was that Camilla was known as her father's daughter.

When Camilla's parents moved to Maywood, they rented out their Minneapolis home with a stipulation that the room and bath over the garage would be available to Camilla. When she went to the University of Minnesota, Camilla moved in there and lived with the family of renters during her junior and senior years. She was pretty much on her own, but did develop ties, particularly to the ten-year-old son, becoming a substitute for his older married sister.

At the University of Minnesota Camilla majored in the humanities, which she described as the attempt "to understand, the intellectual products of a culture or age, what it meant to be a human being in that period," and from this to achieve "an awareness of what it means to be a human being in the twentieth century." Her grades in this area were usually A's, but in other areas, particularly in required courses, they covered the whole range. She did not appear particularly motivated to achieve high grades, but she did appear interested in intellectual questions.

During her junior year her parents went on a tour of mission fields in South America, and Camilla accompanied them. They spent a share of the time in the villages and slums. Soon after she returned, she decided to move closer to campus because, "I was missing out on a lot of student activity. . . The renters (with whom she lived) were not particularly interested in my studies or 'intellectual discussions' and thus I felt I was missing out on an important aspect of college." (Autobiography, Appendix A). She shared an apartment with the daughter of a man who had been successful in the candy business,

but many others flowed in and out of the apartment. During this period there were increased indications of the development of a social conscience, and Camilla was very active in campus anti-war activities. Newspaper accounts indicated she was involved in gay rights activities, but according to her roommate of that period, Mary Pearson, this was not true. She began refusing to pay the excise tax on her telephone bill as a war protest. Most of her expenses were provided through summer and part-time jobs and loans.

As graduation approached she went through a period of indecision. Job prospects were not good at the time, and she was thinking of selling aluminum cookware, but after trying her sales pitch a few times, she took a civil service exam and became a caseworker for the Minnesota County Welfare system in Duluth. On her application she is listed as five feet five and a half inches tall, and weighing 155 pounds. She began her position as a probationary worker August 21, 1967, and after a six-month period was given a one-step merit increase and placed on permanent status. Her supervisor evaluates her as having "excellent natural qualities, the foremost being her concern for people. This is self-evident in her relationships with both clients and the agency staff. She works with enthusiasm, meets deadlines readily, and is always willing to accept additional assignments." He views her as having limited knowledge of the behavioral sciences, but learning on her own. He criticizes her "tendency to make emotional decisions, limiting planning to immediate needs and reacting to crisis situations." However, he also states that she "recognizes her

limitations, has a good desire to learn, and accepts criticism well." He sees her as lacking in confidence because of her limited knowledge, but as having the motivation and capability to be a good social worker. (See Appendix A).

Camilla was anxious to return to the Minneapolis area, however, and transferred to the Hennepin County Welfare Department in Minneapolis in May, 1968. Her final evaluation there referred to her warm, exuberant personality and deep concern with people, which allowed her to form excellent peer and client relationships. They indicated that they were disappointed that she was leaving, and saw her as having good potential for a career in social work. While in Duluth she joined the Duluth Caseworkers Association and applied for membership in the Lake Superior chapter of NASW. She also composed a theme song for a foster home recruitment drive and performed it on TV and radio.

In Minneapolis, as in Duluth, she was assigned to work with unwed mothers, and while her initial evaluation was still very positive, some tension began to develop with the system within which she worked and with her supervisor, Delores Peck, a traditional worker who believed in working within the system. Camilla became increasingly frustrated at her inability really to solve the problems of her unwed mothers within the constraints of the welfare system. In an evaluation of December 19, 1969, she was rated as performing only adequately.

(See Appendix A). Her strengths were listed as her involvement with her clients, and her inability to tolerate social injustice. However,

she was criticized for her impatience with agency red tape and policy changes, and her neglect of routine work and dictation, although she was cited as having good work habits. In an interview with this supervisor, Mrs. Peck indicated that she had always liked Camilla, but was bothered by her impatience, and was particularly bothered that when Camilla left at the end of February, 1970, she failed to come in for her exit interview and left without authorization.

Another supervisor still with the department, Alan Carlson, felt that these qualities were what made Camilla a good worker, and was completely positive in his evaluation. While he was not her supervisor, she frequently discussed her situation with him when her supervisor was not in. He described her as seemingly happy, never depressed, having a good rapport with others. He saw her as intelligent, interesting, and talented. In response to my questions, he felt that her impatience and frustration with society were not out of hostility, but rather of an ability to cut through the morass to see what needed changing. She was also viewed as very self-demanding, crushingly so.

During this period Camilla was also increasingly involved with anti-war activities and worked on an underground newspaper. At one point she was very critical of her father for not taking a strong-enough anti-war stand, and when her mother tried to calm her, they got into an argument during one of the weekly telephone calls in the family. During the 1968 election campaign she went to a Wallace rally to protest. The police fired tear gas into the

protesters, and she felt that her eyes suffered permanent damage, though she had been severely near-sighted all her life, and usually wore thick glasses.

Camilla was experiencing frustration on several levels during this period. (See letters, Appendix C; interviews with co-workers, source indicated in Table 1, tape 4). On the level of her agency work, she was constantly frustrated by the inability of the welfare system to meet the needs of the unwed mothers she worked with. She was also sharing the frustrations that thousands of liberal Americans were experiencing at this time because of their seeming inability to affect the war policies of their government. On a personal level, she was experiencing frustration in regard to relationships with men. During her college years, she had gone for a long period with a young man whom she had brought home to Maywood to meet her parents. He had been waiting for a job in the Peace Corps, but when it finally came through, he did not take it. Soon after that, the relationship seemed to play itself out. She had dated someone in Duluth who proposed to her, but she did not care for him that much. Now, back in Minneapolis, she dated a variety of men, including black men, but somehow always ended up getting hurt. As a co-worker put it, she would always be open and trusting, expecting a man to want to experience the same openness, but men never seemed to appreciate her inner beauty. She was experiencing frequent headaches and stomach problems. The frustrations of her job seemed at times more than she could take.

An artist friend had moved out to Topanga Canyon in the hills above Los Angeles with his wife, a former co-worker of Camilla. After driving out for a visit, she decided to move there. She stayed with the couple initially, but some minor strains developed in the relationship, and she found a place and friends of her own. She had intended to write songs, but started making line drawings, and gradually expanded into a whole range of drawings and paintings, which she sold inexpensively in parking lots and art fairs. She had gone out with \$1200 which she was able to save from her pension fund. This was a productive period, a period when she seemed to put old friends behind. It was characteristic of her to enter totally into a new experience once she had left the old. She changed her name back to Camilla, and made a conscious decision to seek for deep relationships with women rather than men. This was the only major decision she had been unable to share with her parents. She always intended to, but could never quite bring herself to it. She related to new friends, rather than those she had known from Minneapolis. The headaches disappeared and she seemed to feel more free. She became a vegetarian, and stopped smoking, insisting that others do the same.

She went to Berkeley in 1971, and liked the feeling, the atmosphere, the intellectual stimulation, the way people seemed to be making new lives for themselves. She moved up to an apartment on Channing Way, where one of the residents was Pat Soltysik. Camilla and Pat fell in love, and though they never lived together, they

shared a great deal, and this was seemingly a period of intense happiness for Camilla. She wrote poetry for Pat, and in one of her poems gave her the nickname "Mizmoon", which seemed to carry a special significance. Another resident of the building was an old friend from high school days, who was now in theater. They found they had a lot in common, and during the years 1972-1973 spent a lot of time talking together.

Suddenly Camilla dropped her art, and took a job as a gardener with the Oakland Park District. She had appeared to lose interest in national politics, and had not even bothered to vote in 1972, but became very active in the women's movement, particularly in helping to organize her co-workers to demand equal rights and equal pay. However, problems developed in her relationship with Mizmoon, and she became restless. Her parents helped finance a trip to Europe, and although she went on a hitchhiking, hostel tour through Holland, Spain and Greece, she did not stay as long as they expected. She came back to Chicago, and indicated that she had been lonely in Europe. She telephoned Mizmoon and arranged to meet her in Denver. She drove out, and they enjoyed a tour of the southwest of which Camilla wrote glowing reports. Her parents thought she was growing, maturing out of her extreme radical period, and she seemed to be appreciative of the good things in the country.

Her job with the park district was only for the summer months but she did not seem too concerned, and continued to line up gardening jobs. During this period she developed a beautiful garden for her own apartment, and spent a lot of time outdoors, camping.

According to a friend from Minneapolis, during this period she developed some problems with her kidneys. She went to a doctor, but did not have much faith in standard medical treatment, and relied more on herbal, natural treatments. Sometime during the latter part of 1972, she became involved with the SLA, but little was known of her activities. She went home to Chicago for the Christmas of 1973. It was a normal time, in which she helped her mother with her plants, and said she wanted to see the old movies of the family, including pictures from the only Christmas that the children were all together.

During this visit, in conversation with her parents she showed a frequent apocalyptic strain. She expected a severe depression, and questioned whether the country would survive it as we know it. On the way to the airport, she said grim things about how serious the situation was in our country. This was the last time her parents would see her alive.

This must have been an extraordinary period in Camilla's life. Shortly before her visit home, the SLA had killed Oakland's school superintendent (November 6, 1973), and during this period, they were preparing for the kidnapping of Patty Hearst, but there was no indication of anything unusual during her visit. Her parents were never aware of any dramatic radical change, but in retrospect thought that something seemed different. She seemed older, and had lost her usual sparkle. It bothered them a little, and they blamed themselves for not being able to open up to her. They also stated later that,

"We had not known of her illness that fall. She did not tell us until Christmas because she thought we would be deeply worried assuming that she was developing familial nephritis, the same disease that had killed Peter and Nan."

Even after the kidnapping in January, Camilla spoke to her friends about her plans to take a job as a gardener. She made many applications for work and wrote to her parents about them. Then, she disappeared. She had asked her parents to take her pet cat when she visited them, but they felt it would be cruel for them to try to keep the cat, and she gave it to a family at the animal depot who had come seeking a pet.

The next appearance of Camilla was when she and other SLA members robbed the Hibernia Bank on April 15, 1974. A friend of Camilla called the Halls to warn them that her picture would be appearing. During this period they had frequent visits from the FBI, but no specific charges were made. It was still hard to believe it was Camilla who appeared in the photographs of the robbery. She had always been so near-sighted as to be helpless without her glasses, and had never been able to wear contact lenses, but in the pictures she seemed to operate as part of the precision team without wearing glasses. This prompted a Swedish newspaper man and some friends to speculate that this was not really Camilla, or that there were two Camillas.

Camilla disappeared again with the SLA, and nothing further was known of her until the tragic end, the shoot-out in Los Angeles. Camilla Hall had for most of her life been radically opposed to any violence—to the point that even during those final months, she took

snails from her garden and carefully removed them to a new site so they would not be hurt. A convinced pacifist, she died in what some have called the most violent, explosive peacetime confrontation in American history.

How much Camilla and the other SLA members participated in this violence is a matter on which the Los Angeles Police Department and other investigators (cf. ACLU report, 1974) differ. It is known that Camilla had become proficient with a gun, and according to at least one observer, handled it with confidence, as an extension of herself. The ambiguity, the complexity of this picture continues until her final moment. The tiny house in which the SLA was confined exploded into flames after an enormous amount of tear gas had been projected into the building. Camilla Hall and Nancy Ling Perry attempted to leave the building, crawling out an entrance at the rear. The top of Camilla's head was blown off by police fire, allegedly as she fired a revolver at members of SWAT Team II. Others, including the ACLU, feel that both women were attempting to surrender. Nancy Ling Perry was apparently shot in the back as she tried to drag Camilla back into the house. In any case, Camilla's body was dragged back near a corner of the house, where it was not discovered until two days later, on May 19. Her body had been badly burned, and was beginning to decompose. Camilla had come a long way from St. Peter, and in the letter to her parents which was found on her body, she indicated that she was there by conscious, aware choice.

CAMILLA AS OTHERS SAW HER

Early descriptions of Camilla by her parents and childhood friend give us a picture of a somewhat overweight, strong-willed, independent child who at times was jealous of her younger sister. We also have a picture of a child who was very affectionate and considerate, enjoyed school, needed a lot of attention and affection, and was something of a tomboy—very active and athletic. She wore basic, simple clothes all of her lifetime—not masculine, but functional rather than beautiful. Her mother described Camilla as having her husband's temperament and gifts. She was interested in everything, very creative. They also describe her as someone that they never knew to be really depressed. Although she did not like to practice music or do routine work as a child, and was not particularly studious, she was constantly learning new things and improving her abilities. She always had a few close friends, and always seemed to have a good time. She at times resented going to church, and felt that it was important for her to be good because it was something she wanted rather than something imposed on her. She rebelled against institutional religion fairly early. Later she is described as like her father in sharing some of his more philosophical interests, but like her mother in enjoying cooking, entertaining and the arts. Her mother indicates that the one thing she would have changed about Camilla would have been her lack of patience in certain areas.

Susan O'Brien, a friend from high school who has been doing research for a book on Camilla, remembers her as one who was able to move across lines of the social system. Susan remembered that her original reaction to the SLA was that they were a bunch of kooks, but when she discovered that Camilla was one of them she changed her perception and they became individuals. Camilla had more of an impact on her than anyone else in her class of 500, enough to involve her in trying to understand and write about Camilla in terms of a personal quest. She had recalled Camilla as one who befriended many who needed befriending, including herself. (Interview recorded on Table 1, tapes 1-3).

Another source of data about how people saw Camilla is the letters of recommendation written by three friends when she applied for a job with the welfare department. While letters of recommendation, particularly from friends, are not notably objective or sources of negative information, nevertheless they do share some consistencies in the way they portray Camilla. (These letters are included in Appendix A).

The first letter is from Kathy Wennberg, a friend who had known her for nine years. She described Camilla as always having more than her share of friends, and as someone

who has always been able to bring out the best in everyone by being interested and sincere about what interests them. She has such a variation of types of friends that sometimes I wonder what she can find to have in common with them.

She also describes Camilla as very stable, able to weather disappointment and tragedy without giving up. She describes Camilla as never making

snap judgements, but thinking things through carefully. She sees her as open to criticism, trying to please, something of a perfectionist who listens to others, but always wants to try her own way first. She also sees Camilla as being verbally gifted, as always interested in her world, and as talented. The one demurrer she offers is a suggestion that perhaps Camilla dressed too informally, perhaps in compensation for her body build.

The second letter is from a friend who had known her through college, Mary Stewart. Mary indicates that Camilla had helped her and many others through difficult periods. She describes Camilla as very open and direct with people, one who enjoys meeting and knowing all kinds of people. She describes her as dependable when doing something she enjoys, but less so with "busy work." Mary agrees that Camilla is open to criticism and suggestions, as well as new ideas, and that she expresses herself well. She indicates that when they met Camilla was unsure of herself in serious conversations, but now was more confident.

Her one reservation was the Camilla was not always effective in organizing and budgeting her time, though she was learning.

The third letter is from another friend through four years of college, Elizabeth Thrig. Similarly, Elizabeth describes Camilla's ability to put any person she meets at ease. Her earliest recollection of Camilla is how she was notably instrumental in creating fellowship among shy and timid college freshmen, going out of her way to be friendly. She sees her as never erecting any

artificial social barriers with anyone, as one who became known as "Mother Mil" because girls with problems would take them to her because of her ability to put people at ease and listen. She sees her as someone who is able to make a considered and mature judgement of complex situations, and able to adjust to situations easily. She also sees her as one who was able to manage the practical affairs of her own life well, being independent and able for the most part to support herself.

Elizabeth also states that one of Camilla's most appealing traits "is her genuine enthusiasm for people, literature, and other fine arts." She sees her as having the rare ability to go beyond what is covered or required in class, and remembers her being involved in many lively intellectual discussions. She also refers to her ability to teach herself to play guitar. Her summary of Camilla states that her

good sense and basic sense of humor, combined with all the other traits I have mentioned, ultimately presents a picture of a person of empathy with, and deep understanding and sympathy for fellow humans.

Allowing for the exaggeration produced by the circumstances, we still have the picture of someone who comes across as particularly gifted in her relationships with other people, and as someone with an insight, a good listener.

I interviewed Alan Carlson and Delores Peck at the Hennepin County Welfare Department in Minneapolis, who had known her well over the two years she worked there, and they picture her as someone who always seemed happy--no one ever saw her depressed. She was interesting, intelligent, talented, and seemed to relate well to others. She

was described as dressing in loose-fitting, baggy clothing that was comfortable and without pretense. They never saw any indications of hostility or rebellion from any personal motivation, but an impatience with the slowness of the system and a concern for the client. The supervisor who criticized her impatience and neglect of the more mundane activities still supported a very positive description of Camilla as a person, and indicated that she had personally liked Camilla very much, though she was hurt by her abrupt departure.

In answer to questions about whether they could have foreseen Camilla's role with the SLA, or whether they were surprised by it, one supervisor said he was not surprised at her radical politics, but was very surprised at the direction it took, since she had been very much of a pacifist and could not stand to see anyone hurt. A co-worker and former friend said she was not surprised because Camilla was a person who followed the logic of a position to its bitter end, and was very self-demanding. (Table 1, tapes 4 and 5).

One pattern that emerged in these interviews and later ones was that people who were not ordinarily sympathetic with the methods of the SLA were very uncritical about Camilla. The impression was that, while it had initially created some cognitive dissonance, their regard for Camilla was so positive that it lent integrity to her actions. They could not see her as acting out of anything but integrity. All of the people I met appeared to have some difficulty resolving that conflict, but none resolved it by viewing Camilla in a negative light. They tended in some cases to postulate wild

theories, such as the existence of two Camillas (even though they held this theory more out of emotional than rational reasons, and none very seriously), or to see the action of the SLA in a more positive light.

Extended interviews in Los Angeles, with two friends who talked about the period just after she moved to California, revealed some details which in retrospect were very interesting. (These were friends who worked with Camilla in Minneapolis, but also moved to California. See Table 1, tape 6). While Camilla's letters home were very positive about her new life, these friends picture Camilla as not revealing her usual cheerful smile, and as much more angry during this period. Her discussions on politics were more angry, and one of them indicates that when she heard the SLA statements, they sounded in many ways like Camilla at this time. Also, Camilla seemed to need to put her old relationships behind her, and her relationships with her friends from Minneapolis developed some strains. There was a kind of suspiciousness and touchiness about her during that period which was unusual for Camilla. When her parents visited, there were arguments with her father, and on one known occasion an angry outburst that he treated her like a little girl, although this was not evident to her friend. Camilla seemed to be in competition with her father, and to resent his seeming perfection. Nevertheless, there was a lot of positive interaction and discussion during this period as she struggled to establish herself as an artist. She was active not only as an artist, but in struggling with the mundane requirements of "making it," learning the ways to survive as a struggling artist.

The final interview in Berkeley was with a friend who had known Camilla casually in high school, but had known her intimately during the final two years before Camilla went underground. (See Berkeley interview, Table 1, tape 7). This friend asked not to be identified. She was one of the women with whom Camilla left her art just before she disappeared, and was active with these five other women in forming the Camilla Hall Art Collective. They had many long conversations during that period.

She was the only one of the group willing to talk to anyone about Camilla, and was willing to talk with me only because the Halls had approved it, but once we began talking was very open, sharing her intense pain over the events of that period. She indicated that she had never been able to understand Camilla's involvement with the SIA, and never knew of it until Camilla's picture appeared after the bank robbery, even though they had many intimate conversations. Although herself politically liberal, she had been very negative about the kidnapping, and thought it was a stupid, politically naive action. The strange thing was that when she expressed these feelings to Camilla after the kidnapping, Camilla agreed with her! She had never known Camilla to be anything but straight with her, and can't believe that Camilla was knowingly deceiving her. Camilla remained aboveground during this period, immediately after the kidnapping to the end of February, and talked of taking a gardening job in Palo Alto. In retrospect, she thought Camilla served as a lookout for the group during this period.

This Berkeley friend has a recurring dream which has continued to preoccupy her, sometimes even during waking hours. This dream began to occur right after the shoot-out, before Camilla's body was found, when there was still hope that she was alive. She dreamed that Camilla had come to her late at night, very tired and muddy, and that she had taken her into her basement to hide her and provide for her. She asks Camilla to explain to her why she did it, and Camilla starts to speak--but in the dream either no words come out, or they are somehow electronically scrambled. Camilla seems to be talking ordinarily, but is unable to produce a coherent message. This dream is to me a striking symbol for the dissonance that Camilla produced in many people, and of their need to understand and give meaning to her life and death.

This Berkeley friend has since discovered, in talking to other friends who knew Camilla during this period, that in her political conversations, Camilla tended to talk just to the left of whomever she was talking with. She does not understand why.

This friend also indicates that during her final months (at least as early as December), Camilla had been having kidney problems. She had gone to an M.D. for medication, but distrusted the standard medication, and had begun treating herself with garlic tea and other natural remedies. Her theory is that Camilla was afraid she was dying of the same malady that had plagued her siblings, and had chosen involvement with the SLA as a way to commit suicide. She acknowledged that this theory had many problems, but no other way of understanding Camilla's actions made sense to her.

There was also a conversation with Claude Steiner, a well-known transactional analysis therapist from the Berkeley area, who was noted both for his work with a therapy collective in which he had had contact with a number of radicals, and for his writing in the field of transactional analysis. He had some contact with Camilla in a few casual situations, and she had worked for him occasionally as a gardener. His impression of her was someone who always seemed happy and smiling. She was very nearsighted, but really loved and was interested in plants. At parties she danced with a lot of joy and vigor. He thought she was unusually good-natured, zesty, full of life, very trusting. She was also a militant feminist with strong opinions, who was quite verbal. He was very surprised at the time to find out that she was part of the SLA. He had worked with Mizmoon, and had seen some indication of the anger and hostility in her, and was not really surprised about her involvement. Camilla, by contrast, he viewed as a trusting, nearsighted person psychologically as well as physically, a person of the heart who was probably swept into the group by her relationship with Mizmoon and wasn't able to get out of it. He thought that she probably had nothing to do with the murder of Foster. He also knew her during that final period, just before she disappeared.

This, then, is the many-faceted picture of Camilla Hall as viewed through the eyes of people who knew her well, a picture for the most part at variance with the image of the radical, gun-toting revolutionary we saw in the papers.

CAMILLA AS SHE REVEALED HERSELF

The first source of data in which Camilla reveals her own personality is the two vocational tests she took: one at the end of high school, in 1963; and one when she was transferred to the University of Minnesota, in 1964. I was given an evaluation of this data by Dr. Jo Ida Hansen, an expert in the interpretation of the Strong on the counselling staff of the university. (Table 1, tape 5). I was not allowed to copy the protocol, but I did list the major categories, which are given in Table 2. She was aware of the identity of the subject, but knew little about Camilla's life before the period with the SLA.

According to Dr. Hansen, we have a fairly typical profile for a college student of her age, with fairly consistent profiles, good differentiation, and interests similar to those in the verbal/linguistic field.

In both versions, Camilla is consistently low on what used to be known as the "homemaker" scales in earlier days, which suggests she was interested in an education rather than a husband. The musician/performer scale is frequently high in college students, and may be affected by an anti-military set.

The 1964 profile emerges as one frequently encountered, the artist/social worker profile. Dr. Hansen indicated that she had fairly often encountered people who entered one vocationally while

Table 2

Results of Strong Inventories

- 1963 A category: Musician Performer
- B category: Dentist/Engineer
- B category: Music Teacher, Author, Librarian,
 Social Science Teacher, Psychologist
- B category: Artist
- Rejected category: Elementary Teacher, Phys. Ed. Teacher,
 Social Worker, Secretary, Lawyer,
 Housewife, Home Ec. Teacher,
 Occupational Therapist,
 Math and Science Teacher
- Masculine feminine score: approximately 32.
-
- 1964 A category: Author (highest), Artist, Librarian,
 English Teacher, Musician Performer
- B category: Social Worker, Music Teacher
- C category: Steno, Secretary, Psychologist
- Rejected category: Home Ec. Teacher, Dietician, Nurse,
 Math and Science Teacher,
 Occupational Therapist
- Masculine feminine score: approximately 42.

while pursuing the other avocationally, with social work being the usual vocational choice. Thus her profile is fairly predictive of the patterns Camilla did follow vocationally.

The one element she indicated was a little surprising was the low M-F scale. She indicated that a high M-F score was usually consistent with more cultural/aesthetic interests, and a low score with more "realistic," mechanical/outdoor/business interests. Usually someone with her artistic/verbal interests would score above 50, but in the first she scores in the 30-35 range, although there is an upward movement on the second. Consistent with this is the decrease in the dentist/engineer category. There appears to be somewhat of an increase in more humanistic, people-oriented interests, and a decrease in the more "realistic" areas.

Typical descriptions of people with the 1964 profile according to Holland (1976) would be: Emotional, sensitive, creative, likes to work independently, interested in people.

There was a punched-out score on the 1964 blank which was in the area which was frequently used for academic orientation. Camilla scored very high on this, and if it is her academic achievement score, it would be typical of people who continue toward the doctorate. Unfortunately, Dr. Hansen felt there was no way of checking for sure, as the company that in all probability did the scoring had gone out of business the previous fall.

The second source of standard test data is an MMPI that Camilla took as part of her orientation when she entered the University of

Minnesota as a sophomore in 1964. Again I was not allowed to copy the protocol, but the scores are copied onto a protocol which can be viewed in Appendix B.

The following interpretation draws extensively on an interpretation by Dr. John Brentner, a clinical psychologist on the staff of the university hospital at the University of Minnesota and an expert on the MMPI. He initially viewed the test blindly, with no data on the subject except age, sex, and the circumstances of admission. (Table 1, tapes 4 and 5).

Camilla's MMPI would, according to Dr. Brentner, be fairly typical of a normal college student. He cited a study which indicated that 25% of Midwest college women had high point nine profiles. He described a typical woman with this profile as someone who is active, energetic, restless, possibly talkative, with a surprising lack of depression for a college student at that time. There were reasonably feminine interest patterns, and little anxiety or neuroticism. In fact, he would wonder at the absence of anxiety and depression, and see some possibility of denial of anger and hostility, with possibly a cyclical pattern of euphoria and activity followed by fatigue and depression. There is a normal social rebelliousness, but she is otherwise a socially conforming, "cheerleader" type. She appears to get along well with her family. He also cited a recent study of psychiatric inpatients that showed low 6 profiles to be associated with denial of anger and resentment, with reaction formation. She tended to be a doer rather than a thinker, and demonstrated none

of the usual existential distress found in college students. When I revealed the identity of the subject and reviewed some of her background with Dr. Brentner, he was very surprised and interested, and very supportive of the study. Again in the MMPI we have data which show an apparently normal, well-adjusted typical college student, somewhat extraverted and active. However, there are ambiguous hints of a subterranean denial and resentment, and perhaps depression. The validity scales indicate that this is a valid test, without excessive defensiveness.

Descriptions of this type of code profile which emphasize the pathological and are based on elevated profiles suggest that

the most salient characteristic of the 49/94 individuals is a marked disregard for social standards and values. They frequently get into trouble with the environment because of antisocial behavior. . . . (these) individuals are narcissistic, selfish, and self-indulgent. They are quite impulsive and are unable to delay gratification of their impulses. They show poor judgement, often acting without considering the consequences of their acts, and they fail to learn from experience. . . . (they) tend to be ambitious and energetic, and they are restless and overactive. They are likely to seek out emotional stimulation and excitement. . . . Beneath the facade of self-confidence and security, (they) are immature, insecure, and dependent persons who are trying to deny their feelings. (Graham, 1977)

No one who knew Camilla during her lifetime would have applied this description to her, but I am certain that many who did not know her personally would apply it to her based on her final actions, and feel that this was the true Camilla. However, it must be kept in mind that in this approach, every profile is pathological in one form or another, and that it would not ordinarily be applied to Camilla's profile, as indicated by Dr. Brentner.

Camilla also revealed herself through her art. During the two years she worked as an artist after going to California, she produced a great volume of paintings, drawings and prints, and supported herself by selling her work at local shopping centers and galleries which were set up for itinerant artists. I was able to view a good many of these works at the home of Rev. and Mrs. Hall, where the collective had sent the art collection. Her art reveals a great deal, but the message is not always clear, and seems to be affected to some extent by the perceptual set of the viewer.

I know that after her death a showing of her art was held, and many people were deeply moved by it. From the comments they wrote at the exhibition, they saw it as evidence that she was a deeply sensitive, open, caring person. I also responded positively to her art, and the person that I felt was behind this art. I had about forty slides of her paintings done from negatives.. I initially showed them to approximately five colleagues in the field of therapy who were either analysts or in the final stage of analytic training. I tried to have them react to the paintings before telling them who Camilla was, but because they were aware of my project, most of the discussion was with full awareness of the subject. They felt that there was a lot of distortion and anger in the paintings and had a strong sense of unease after viewing them.

I then showed the slides to an art therapist from Michael Reese Hospital, Abby Calisch, telling her only that this was a non-hospitalized twenty-nine year old female, and that I wanted her

to tell me as much as she could on the basis of the paintings. The following are some of her impressions. (Table 1, V).

She viewed the drawings as high-level productions, integrated, direct, well done, by someone who was able to direct unconscious energy in an integrated fashion to relate something to the viewer. Some of the figures have very definite, powerful expressions, but the eyes are very prominent. They were frequent animal/human caricatures that seemed to be a vehicle for social commentary. Nevertheless, at times the figures look ominous, sinister, and disapproving of the viewer. There is also a great deal of humor in the pictures, and a sense of childlike playfulness. Some of the paintings were very harsh, demanding, strident, while others were soft, hazy, indistinct. There was an impression of someone who was going through some major changes. The use of images and vivid colors suggests and evokes very powerful feelings, but in a controlled, directed way. Many of the pictures have two major figures: either male/female figures that at times seem to blend in identity, or a powerful, huge figure and a tiny, insignificant figure. At times the huge figure is threatening or holding captive the smaller figure, but at times the smaller figure seems to be controlling the larger.

Her impression was of a person with two distant parts: one was playful, childlike, "floaty," lyrical in a specific, defined way. The other was a very controlled, powerful, aggressive, possibly critical person. This latter part often seems to have someone watching him or be watching someone else. It was hard to tell if this

represented an internal struggle or a struggle with the environment.

There was a sense that at the time of one series Camilla was very depressed, and possibly at times anguished. Ms. Calisch felt the artist might have problems with male relationships, and was very involved generally with the problems of relationships, but experienced her as someone she would probably like, with a lot of capacity to integrate feelings, and a lot of drive and motivation to accomplish things. Camilla seemed pretty well integrated in terms of her ability to function, but there was some concern about the images of watchfulness verging on paranoia, and the critical, suspicious side.

As a check on the reliability of this interpretation, I showed the same slides to another art therapist, Linda Cohen, also a graduate of the art therapy program at Hahnemann Medical College and currently on the faculty of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. The basic personality description was quite similar, particularly in the emphasis on the dual nature of the personality, the critical, suspicious flavor verging on paranoia, and the strong evidence of periods of depression. Ms. Cohen emphasized more strongly the defensiveness of the many cartoon-like characters, and the negative self-image which seemed to stand out in her productions. There was extensive agreement between the two in their assessment of Camilla, but Ms. Cohen tended to shade it somewhat more negatively. She pointed out, however, that judgement about appropriateness or pathology of the defense mechanisms

used is dependent more on external functioning and was more difficult to judge from the artistic productions.

In understanding Camilla through her own productions, I also had access to an extensive selection of her writings in three forms: a number of poems in her original hand, an extensive file of letters to her parents covering the years 1964 - 1974, and an autobiography that she wrote in 1967 when applying for a job with the welfare department. (See Appendix C for samples of the poetry and letters, and Appendix A for the autobiography). The file of letters was extensive, covering much of that period, but there were gaps caused by the fact that some of the more political letters were earlier eliminated by her parents out of concern for their possible implications. Perhaps this selectivity reinforces an overwhelming impression of the letters as a whole: these letters are too good to be true! The first few letters reflect someone who is capable of human foibles, who can even say something mildly critical of another person. After that, we have a perfect, loving daughter, who is never angry with her parents, always understanding, never demanding, and seems to communicate on a level of genuine intimacy. She also almost never has anything negative to say about her own life, and never reflects any depression or loneliness. There is a lot of chatter about the minutiae of life, like a description of a block party or a camping trip, etc. It almost sounds like a series of letters to a close college friend.

There are heavy, negative images in the letters, but they all have to do with social and political problems, never with personal

problems or feelings. The personal images are all positive, and there is almost unreal quality in the juxtaposition of some of the innocent chatter from someone who in the final letters was involved with a group plotting to kill Marcus Foster and kidnap Patty Hearst. The only jarring note comes in her comments on society, or her final note in which she expected fascism or chaos at any moment.

The poems express a yearning, a desire for a transformation, and for freedom, but again there is little reflection of any despair or real view of the negative side of life in its concrete manifestations.

The autobiography (Appendix A) also has a seeming innocence, almost a naive, girlish quality about it, but there are a couple of unusual features. Camilla begins with a short comment about the death of her brothers. One is immediately struck by this as the lead paragraph. However, this is stated tersely, factually, with no feeling, no elaboration, no indications of any impact on her life. This is followed immediately by a lyrical innocent description of life in Africa, which sets the dominant tone for the rest of the autobiography. In addition, there is a strange discrepancy in a couple of crucial dates. Camilla gives her age at the time of Nan's death as fifteen, when she was a senior in high school. It appears strange that she would not recall that she was seventeen during her senior year. (Camilla's reference is to Nan's age. Nan died at age fifteen). She also gives her age as four at the time of Terry's death, when she was actually three. Perhaps there was some distortion and compression of these events on an unconscious level.

The above descriptions are personal reactions and impressions to this written material. I wanted additional input from more objective sources. I felt that the kind of objective analysis technique using content analysis suggested by Allport (1965) were beyond the scope of this thesis, and would have involved a separate topic in themselves. So, I again turned to an expert, and asked Dr. Lee Roloff, a professor of interpretation at Northwestern University and a man with extensive training and interest in the therapeutic analysis of poetry and other forms of written communication, to offer his reactions to these writings.

Dr. Roloff comments on the poetry as follows:

The predominant sense of the poems is that they are attempts to link the speaker to a feeling. The images are sparse, and when they occur, they erupt from the page—primitively, suddenly, and violently. The writer is a person for whom feeling is autonomous, unconscious, violent. . . . Hence I would not be surprised by a history of depression, as well as a history of masked depression. There are images of 'mirrored' self. . . . There's a sense in the poems that (Camilla) had a very fragile ego, that her only sense of confirmation came through others. In her poem, the first line of which is 'Keya shares her sunshine. . . : .,' (Camilla) plays with the masculine principle of sunshine as a life sustaining force but would 'bite off' the plant that has been nurtured by it. . . . I would not be at all surprised that she possessed enormous latent hostility at/for her father, but because of his 'powerful sun quality' could not consciously confront him. . . . The 'Reflections of a Pimple' is the clearest expression of her psychological state that you are going to find in the poems. . . she makes her position perfectly clear: 'I am a blemish.' What kind of blemish was she? On herself? This is a very strange reflexiveness and narcissism. On her family? This is more credible. The shadow side of her personality never found adequate form of expression as far as I can determine.

He also comments that in terms of structural analysis she uses space in a way that suggests that negative space is as important as

the words and their locations, and that the poems yearn for completion, that which is between the lines. There is also a freedom from form, a refusal to conform to any conventions of poetry.

Dr. Roloff read through the entire set of letters on two separate occasions, and indicated the following reactions:

The first matter that fascinates me is the degree and extent to which Camilla feels the necessity to be accountable. . . . In a psychological sense she was never free, never felt free, and only gave a sense of freedom in her shared fantasies.

It is the 'fantasy' world that is the second motif that haunts the letters. Always she suggests to her parents that other places are more alluring, more attractive, more suitable. . . for her than where she is. This obviously becomes a critical factor in the development of her personality for the 'revolution' will eventually create the Eden that she has become radicalized to. . . . There's an untrust-worthiness to her reportage—a 'will to see' rather than a 'seeing' that has a dispassionate quality.

. . . I thought her thinking of herself as a 'glory hound' is quite accurate. She never got enough ego gratification in life, and died in the pursuit of it. A poignant and powerful saga.

When I first received this analysis from Dr. Roloff, I was very surprised by it. It was greatly at variance with the portrait of Camilla that she reveals directly, and also at variance with Camilla as others saw her. My initial reaction was that he was influenced negatively by his knowledge of Camilla and her revolutionary past, but I had been exposed to other analyses by Dr. Roloff, and had never experienced him before as being negatively predisposed or influenced by the beliefs or life style of an individual. Nevertheless, this is still a possibility, and one that it is not possible to check out within the constraints of this research, at this point in time.

As I continued to ponder the materials, however, I began to feel that although this also was a one-sided portrayal of Camilla, it was

based on a reality that was there in the written materials, even if not evident to the casual reader. As in the MMPI and the paintings, we have the image of a darker, more shadowy side that is never revealed to the world. And it is perhaps an accurate reading between the lines. The lines themselves reflect such a positive persona, that the space almost necessitates, by contrast, an emphasis on that shadow personality which is not directly revealed. At any rate, Camilla seems to reveal herself again as a more complex personality than she revealed to her friends and her family, and perhaps more complex than she fully realized herself.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERPRETATION

What, then, can we say of Camilla Hall? What kind of person was she? Why did she join the SLA? What can we learn from her? These questions are extremely difficult to answer in any straightforward manner that provides cognitive consistency and solid certainty. Camilla was a complex person, and the circumstances of her life add a complexity and ambiguity that make this the most difficult case I have attempted to analyze. Although the data is ample, the interpretation of the data is somewhat ambiguous, giving little satisfaction to our needs for classifying and pigeonholing. To make the matter more complex, the interpretation of the data is affected by the position of the viewer much more than in ordinary cases, and by how much one views the context of the events.

To attempt to answer the first question: What kind of person was Camilla Hall, I will review the data, and move toward a synthesizing of the data which involves some interpretation, but leave a more theoretical interpretation for later, utilizing a second level of abstraction.

First of all, regardless of our viewpoint, the data suggest that at least in certain areas at certain times of her life Camilla was a highly developed, well-integrated, creative individual who

was very concerned about other people and the problems of her day. Whether viewed in terms of Kohlberg's stages of moral development, Maslow's hierarchy of needs, or Freud's criterion of the ability to work and love, she would have been rated as a person who is highly developed. I am fairly certain that in 1967, at the time of her graduation from college, if Camilla had undergone a fairly intensive psychological examination for something like a peace corps application, she would have been accepted, even as in the next few years people with some psychological sophistication tended to evaluate her positively.

Certainly there is also for us, as for those who knew Camilla, a need to answer the question in a way that brings cognitive consistency. The temptation is also for us to evaluate her actions in the SLA in a positive way, assuming that a person like Camilla would not have joined it unless there was some kind of valid motivation; or if we begin with the a priori assumption that the actions of the SLA were irrational, to look for signs of irrationality in Camilla. And, it is true, we can find indicators that could be built up into a case for pathological motivation. Many interpreters would point to a problem in sexual identification, based on her wearing of functional clothing and her change from a heterosexual to a predominantly lesbian orientation. Other interpreters would point to the suspicious, paranoid orientation that was only hinted at by a reaction formation in the MMPI, but became more pronounced later, as indicated by her suspiciousness of her friends in California, the somewhat paranoid quality of her art,

and her eschatological, paranoid thinking in her final months, in which she expected the entire structure of the United States to collapse.

There was also a preoccupation with death during those final months. Soltysik (1976) reports one of her friends as telling him that she kept a loaded shotgun in her kitchen, and that, "the idea of death had been preying heavily on her mind at nights, and that she had trouble at first accepting it as a reality." (p. 183).

However, even the above data is ambiguous, particularly viewed in personal and historical context. There may have been a need on Camilla's part to identify with her lost brothers. There may have been a need to stake out an identity separate from Nan's, who always wore frilly dresses, even as the brothers seemed to divide roles in the family. Neither the Strong nor the MMPI indicate sex role disturbance, but rather the Strong apparently moves toward greater consistency and sense of identity. Her supervisors and co-workers describe her dress as functional rather than masculine, and attribute her dress style to her aversion to a feminine persona, in which she was ahead of her time. Certainly her clothing would not have been viewed as abnormal at the University of Chicago or Berkeley. Also, her switch to lesbianism seems to have been a rationally considered decision which many other women of that time experienced in response to the women's movement (e.g., Mitchell, 1966), and seems to have brought positive satisfactions to her. Her only ambivalence seems to have been in relation to her parents' acceptance, not in relation to her choice.

Similarly, her paranoia must be viewed in context of the movement and the times. In viewing the movie Black Orpheus, we see a woman engaging in what seems to be obviously seriously disturbed behavior, until we see it as part of a religious context. Similarly, psychology has come to understand in recent years the political implications of diagnosis, and the importance of understanding class and group behavioral contexts. Likewise, it is important to understand that during those years, among liberal/radical groups, what we would label as "paranoia" was viewed by them as the only possible view of the political structures of that period. I remember reading in the Chicago Seed, an underground newspaper published during those years, interpretations of the establishment which seemed very paranoid, but in the light of subsequent events turned out to have a hard plausibility. Camilla shared a context of belief with many other people which went something as follows: the death of Kennedy in 1963 marked the beginning of the takeover by the military-industrial complex which led to the complete breakdown of democratic government. Subsequent political decisions were managed rather than democratically produced, as demonstrated by the Chicago Democratic Convention, in 1968, the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and the entire course of the Vietnam War. The experience of powerlessness and inability to change the course of the nation, combined with constant surveillance and provocation by intelligence groups, led to a feeling of loss of control, of needing to do something radical to change the course of events before all freedom was lost. The point is not that this view

was an accurate interpretation of political reality, but that it was an alternative that rational people with adequate reality testing shared. (This view is described in her letters and interviews with her friends. See Table 1).

The question of Camilla's relationship to the SLA is difficult to keep within an objective context. On the other hand, we cannot judge Camilla by an a priori judgement of the SLA and its actions; nor can we sever the rest of Camilla's life from this period. Her life moved toward this action as the culmination, and unless we view it as a meaningless aberration, we need to include it as part of the context within which we view Camilla. In judging the SLA and Camilla, it is easy to confuse political and psychological evaluations. Even a psychological evaluation is somewhat difficult on an objective basis, but it appears that even for those who would have approved of the political context and motivation of the SLA, there would be questions of the efficacy and rationality of their actions. As a symbolic, psychological movement, it had enormous effectiveness. However, the members of the SLA seemed often to be moved more by autonomous complexes and by their own symbolic personal needs than by any rational movement toward revolution. From descriptions of their activity during their final days (Harris and Harris, 1976; Payne, Findley and Weber, 1976), it appears that consciously or unconsciously the SLA was moving toward and inviting the final confrontation. After all their skill at eluding the dragnet, it was almost as if they had chosen to end their flight. Several

of the people with whom I spoke in California (Table 1, tapes 6 and 7) talked about their instant feeling that these people were determined to commit suicide on a grand scale. Even here, however, one could argue that this was the only choice that made sense for them, and allowed them to achieve a martyrdom and closure to their actions that could not have been achieved otherwise.

Another way of eliminating our cognitive dissonance would be to assume some dramatic intervening variable to change Camilla's personality drastically. We could assume, as many middle-class parents have in other circumstances, that she was a perfectly good child before she got into drugs and went straight to hell in a handbasket. However, for Camilla there is little evidence of any hard drug usage, and no evidence of the kind of structural damage or temporary aberration that would make that hypothesis tenable. We also know that the SLA code was against the use of hard drugs (Pearsall, 1974), and that there was no evidence of any narcotic substances in their autopsy (Noguchi, 1974).

We can postulate that she was an innocent, naive child who fell under the influence of evil companions. There is some data to suggest that she was highly influenced by her love for Pat Soltysik, and several people, including Pat Soltysik's brother (1976, pp. 173 ff.) and the therapist Claude Steiner, subscribe to some version of this theory. I also believe that the data lend some support to this version. It is hard to answer the question of whether Camilla would have been involved in this

movement without the influence of Pat Soltysik. Nevertheless, the data also indicate someone who was very independent and arrived at her own conclusions, who would not act unless she believed in something, who usually fully understood the consequences of her actions, and who fully supported the aims and goals of this movement in her final letter.

Therefore, this theory also cannot be fully supported by the data, and to the extent that it is supported, we still need to answer the question of why she was so susceptible to Pat's influence. We could speculate that one reason that Camilla was so susceptible to the influence of Pat and the other members of the SLA is that in them she recovered her lost sister and brothers. In her poem "For Pat" (Appendix C) she says: "'Sister,' that's what your button said the first time I met you—and I believed you and now I feel it too--sister. . . . Thank you." Hacker (1977) in his description of terrorist groups, as well as the Harris' (1976) own description of the SLA, points to the intense closeness of the group, much more powerful than any family ties. Also, one of those synchronistic details that lends an additional ironical support to this theory is the fact that the date of Camilla's death in the shootout (May 17, 1974) was the birthday of Peter, the brother closest to her, as well as of Pat Soltysik. Another possible answer could again be the application of dissonance theory: that because of her relationship with Pat, she invested much more in the movement than she could justify, and thus needed to believe even more strongly in the validity of her action. There are indications that

this was true for the whole SIA: the initial negative reaction to their killing of Marcus Foster prompted them to put their lives on the line to prove to the world that their actions were justified. It would make an interesting research topic to pursue just in terms of this hypothesis. Nevertheless, I believe that this is only part of the reason for Camilla's involvement, and that this involvement does not come as a radical departure from earlier patterns. I believe that it also fails to do justice to the complexity of Camilla's character. She was not only a naive, innocent, nearsighted woman, but she was a strong, aggressive, determined woman with strong needs to assert her power and her individuality.

Another theory involving an intervening variable is expressed by her Berkeley friend, (See Table 1, tape 7), that Camilla feared the approach of her own death, and SIA involvement as a way of committing suicide. Again, there are data which could support her theory. Camilla certainly had reason to fear death from her kidney problems in light of her siblings' history, and there is ample evidence of her preoccupation with death in her conversation with friends and her parents during those final months. Again there are contravening data. Camilla may have been extremely depressed at an unconscious level, as some of the data suggests. Nevertheless, her friends and her letters reveal her as someone who was still full of life, who enjoyed life, who felt better about herself at some levels than ever before, who was involved in life-sustaining activities such as gardening, and as one who in spite

of all her fears for the country had some personal hopes for the future. Also, the dream of this friend (See interview, Appendix F) does not portray Camilla as one who is explaining her actions in terms of suicide. Rather, her dream portrays Camilla as one who is calmly explaining her position, a position which is incomprehensible to her friend because it is too dissonant with her own values and perceptions. No such dissonance would have existed if Camilla had been explaining to her why she committed suicide. In addition, Camilla was not the kind of person to accomplish her own ends at the cost of death and suffering of others. Perhaps rather than leading to suicide, her kidney problems created a sense of urgency, of lack of time in which to accomplish the necessary changes.

So, we return to the paradox: a seemingly loving, life-affirming woman who engages in behavior that seems irrational and destructive.

One way of resolving the paradox is to adopt a version of Gurr's frustration-aggression hypothesis (1970). Gurr's model is much more complex than can be presented here, but he has suggested a model predictive of the development of a radical movement in a country which is fundamentally based on the paradigm that as frustration of personal needs increases, together with an inability to resolve those frustrations through ordinary channels, the likelihood of aggression, i.e., a radical movement, increases in a country.

Certainly, we could view Camilla's response as related to her own frustration with society as it is presently constituted. Camilla had spent many years attempting to change what she felt to be the

injustices of her world by peaceful, concrete methods that produced results, but these results merely increased her frustration. This was particularly true of her work for the Hennepin County Welfare Department with unwed mothers, and there is ample evidence of her frustration, as indicated by her response to her supervisor, as well as her physical symptoms. She hoped to escape this frustration in the apolitical life of an artist in California, but even there her personal life was inextricably bound up with external forces. Her powerlessness in the face of the establishment was emphasized by the actions of the treasury department and the government in denying her the symbolic protest of withholding the excise tax from her phone bill. Even when she attempted to translate her political goals into the immediate, concrete, non-ideological struggle for women's rights in the Oakland Park District, she met with some success, but more personal frustration, as her job was only temporary. On a personal level, she was frustrated in that Pat Soltysik, the person with whom she had experienced much happiness, was unavailable to her, at least on terms acceptable to her. Pat was unwilling to commit herself to the kind of relationship that Camilla wanted, and though they remained close, Pat moved on to other relationships (Soltysik, 1976).

Another explanatory model which fits in with the above theory could be suggested from the work of Hacker (1977), a psychiatrist who is an expert on the study of the motives and methods of terrorist groups. He cites the Arabs and the Israelis as illustrating a pattern of identification with the aggressor. There is a historical pattern of

the Israelis being victimized by terror (the Nazis), and in turn using the methods of terror on the Palestinians in their quest for their own homeland. The Palestinians, in turn, are good learners, and talk openly about using the methods of the Israelis, the "Zionists" (p. 76). Whether one explains this in terms of identification with the aggressor or in terms of learning theory, it is certainly a repeated pattern. In this way, one could suggest that Camilla, a nonviolent pacifist, experienced a violent, aggressive response to her attempts to change society, and began identifying with those methods. Many people, particularly those who ascribe causation to societal factors, would subscribe to the above views. Even those who viewed her actions as "crazy" or destructive, would say that it was a response to crazy, destructive behavior on the part of the forces she was trying to change.

We are reminded here that the human person, as in the analogy of the elephant, is an extremely complex phenomenon that cannot be isolated under the microscope for single, monotemporal analysis, but shifts with the position of the observer. Even when we take one case, if it is studied in sufficient depth, what initially appears to be simple, determined behavior is complex, multidetermined behavior. The microcosm is as complex as the macrocosm.

Nevertheless, as the elephant cannot be understood totally from the outside, as a stimulus responding to outside factors, so Camilla must also be viewed as determining her own behavior. I also believe there is a way of looking at and understanding Camilla from within that gives some depth and coherence to the above portrayal.

In this understanding of Camilla, we return to her family background (See biography of family above). Camilla came from a very good family on both sides, exemplifying the fulfillment of the American dream at its best. There was an emphasis on achievement, of never losing an opportunity to make something of oneself. The highest ideals were religious and moral. There were no failures, no black sheep, no apparent neurotics in this family history from the time of their arrival in the United States. It was a family that was almost too good to be true. There was tragedy, but there was little time wasted on self-pity or despair. Their pioneer spirit and their religious beliefs incorporated tragedy. Thus, when Grandfather Hall's first wife died, there was little time wasted in mourning. There was little discussion in the family of the tragedy of the first child. When Rev. Hall senior dies, the family continues with plans for the living. Mrs. Hall's father does not spend a lot of time feeling sorry for himself because of his accident and loss of his career, but goes on to a new life. Her younger sister living in Boston tells her family little of her problems and terminal cancer. These are, for her, problems to be born individually, in silence. This is in many ways an admirable attitude, particularly for an earlier generation, but it does have its costs. It is a family with little history of failure, but there are accounts of tragedy and illness.

It is into this family and this tradition that Camilla is born. It was a very close-knit family, in spite of the occasional travels

of the father, and the first years must have been very happy ones for Camilla and her family. Then tragedy struck, with the death of Terry, in a sudden, unanticipated manner, in the middle of a family vacation. At the vulnerable age of three, Camilla had experienced tragedy. However, she experienced it through the feelings and attitudes of her family, at a preconscious level, rather than at a rational, ego level. Then, two years later, tragedy struck again, not as suddenly this time, but still with devastating force. No family, no matter how religious or how integrated, can go through blows of this kind without experiencing some anger, depression, and despair. Even Job became angry with God. Rev. Hall does state that he did experience a momentary anger, but this was fairly quickly overcome. One can only assume that much of the anger and depression was denied and remained unconscious, even though some of it may have been transformed through religious faith.

Frances Wickes (1967), speaking out of years of experience as a therapist working with children states that children frequently live out and experience what is unexpressed in the unconscious of their parents. Their dreams at times reflect more of what is happening in the family and between the parents than what is happening in the young child's life. I think that Camilla must have received some of this kind of unconscious burden.

I would like to place this description within a Jungian theoretical framework. In his model of the personality, Jung talks about the ego, the persona, and the shadow (1958). The ego is basically similar to the Freudian model as a dynamic hypothetical

construct. The persona is that part of our personality which we have adapted to the outside world, our mask, as the Latin word implies. To some extent, it corresponds to our social role, our self as defined by society as well as that which we wish to show to society. If the persona is our self as we wish the world to see it, the shadow is the parts of our self that we want to remain hidden. To some extent, it corresponds to the personal unconscious of Freud. There is something of a dynamic relationship between the persona and the shadow: The more we are forced to live collectively, relating to the expectations of others, the deeper is our shadow.

The role of the minister and the minister's wife entails a highly developed persona. Recently many ministers and other religious, as well as their wives, have reacted against this burden. This theme is treated to some degree by Hillman (1967, p. 66 ff).

This burden is particularly heavy when the minister experiences personal tragedy and loss. In spite of Bergman's movie, The Silence, (Bergman, as a minister's son, is preoccupied with this problem, as seen in his movies of this period), most ministers do not share their despair, anger, and personal anguish with their congregations. They, and their wives, are somewhat trapped by the demands of their role and their belief system. Admittedly this is somewhat speculative, but it also seems to be consistent with the data, and with my impressions of the Halls and events as they occurred then. It is not that Rev. Hall is a man who hides behind his role or that he is unaware of his humanity. Nevertheless, he and Mrs. Hall are

people with powerful, though quiet, personae, and this is one thing that Camilla at times needed to fight against in search for her own identity.

In any case, much of their anger and depression must have remained unconscious and to some extent unresolved, and therefore absorbed by the young Camilla. Some of the fund of basic trust in her universe which she had built up during her early years must have been expended during this period. In addition, during these crucial years, the stage which Erikson (1950) describes in terms of the polarities of initiative vs. guilt, she would have experienced what Lifton (1967, 1970) has called "survival guilt," the guilt that accrued to survivors of Hiroshima and the holocaust, but also occurs in family constellations.

To quote from Lifton:

A central conflict. . . is the problem of what I have come to speak of as survival priority--the inner question of why one has survived while so many have died, the inevitable condemnation in the face of others' deaths. For the survivor can never, inwardly, simply conclude that it was logical and right for him, and not others, to survive. Rather, I would hold, he is bound by an unconscious perception of organic social balance which makes him feel that his survival was made possible by others' deaths: If they had not died, he would have had to; and if he had not survived, someone else would have. This kind of guilt, as it relates to survival priority, may well be that most fundamental to human existence. (1970, p.169)

Furthermore, Lifton has himself related this problem in a more general way to the problem faced by revolutionary youth in our contemporary culture. This generation as a whole grew up under the threat of extinction, and perhaps the profound sense of guilt is related to this survival guilt and the quest for immortality. As Lifton states:

Under extreme historical conditions, however, certain groups—in this case, youth groups—feel the need to cling to the omnipotence provided by a more literal image of immortality, which they in turn contrast with the death-tainted lives of others. When this happens, we encounter a version of the victimizing process: the young "victimize" the old (or older) by equating age with individual or historical "exhaustion" and death; and the "victim," under duress, may indeed feel himself to be "as if dead," and collude in his victimization. Conversely, the older generation has its need to victimize, sometimes (but not always) in the form of counterattack, and may feel compelled to view every innovative action of the young as destructive or "deadly." (1970, pp. 363-364)

Thus the circumstances of Camilla's life make her particularly susceptible to living out a central conflict of our contemporary period. In the same section, discussing contemporary man, Lifton has an additional quote which seems prophetic: "romantic totalism tends to confuse death with immortality, and even to equate them." (p. 365).

I think that this hypothesis is supported by her art work and by the final events of her life. It is also supported by inference in the constant emphasis on how happy she was, by the data of the MMPI. However, Camilla continued to experience a loving family and a protected, happy life during her childhood. The shadow, the anger and doubts about her universe remained underground. Only in her sensitivity to hypocrisy, her early rejection of the established church, her impatience, and her stubbornness do we have the shadow side of the bright, happy, well-adjusted child, but there was no reason for the shadow to emerge until near the end of high school. Then the death of Nan was a prelude to her experience of the shadow side of the world. But this depression, this anger and sensitivity to the injustice and the failure of the world to run smoothly, was breaking out in spite of the almost manic

level of activity, and the constant humor which in so many cases protects from the pain and despair one is really feeling. Camilla was unconsciously responding to that inner pain and despair as she consciously responded to that which she was beginning to experience in her outer world. But because it was experienced in projected form, rather than as coming from within, it was experienced with an intensity and urgency which kept it from being manageable. This must have been experienced very intensively in her work with unwed mothers.

Camilla hoped to escape this conflict by leaving her work and moving to California, but she could not because it was partly within her. Perhaps it was a need to once more externalize the inner conflict that led Camilla to move again in 1971. In her search for the original Eden she moved to Channing Way in Berkeley, the center of political ferment and unrest. Every conflict imaginable centered in this area: class, race, sex, politics, and age. Ironically, the deterioration of the neighborhood, graphically described in one of Camilla's letters, forced her to move again, to another part of Berkeley, but she describes it as a very happy place and period of her life, and wanted to look for another place like it. Even in her art, she continued to experience and express this shadow side of existence. There was the continuing interplay between the lyrical, happy, childlike Camilla, who lived in a world of happy, thurberesque characters, and the critical, aggressive Camilla who lived in a reality that she saw as distorted and threatening to her. Even while she was talking of her freedom there was a loss of that smile which had been so constant. There was the alternation of

elation and depression, of almost manic activity alternating with despair. There was the constant search for something better, the search to regain the lost Eden. I think it is this that explains the discrepancy between the Camilla most people knew and the Camilla projected in unconscious material. It is this that explains the Camilla who could feel very good about herself, yet constantly be struggling with a feeling that something was wrong with her. It was this that gave such a fixity to her view of the world, which made it so dangerous and threatening. In line with Hacker's theory (1977) that with terrorists "one's own aggression is experienced as inevitable self-defense against outside aggression (p. 76)," Camilla in her involvement with the SLA and its activities was defending against a deadly and destructive establishment. Since she could not believe in a God who was running an unfair world that could allow children to die, she was compelled to believe in an all-powerful establishment which controls everything, but in a very unfair and destructive way.

One thing that is constantly emerging in Camilla's writings of the final period is an odd kind of juxtaposition between Camilla the loving daughter, and Camilla the gun-toting revolutionary showing up on the TV screens of the nation. Her anger was never directly mobilized against her parents, because they were always very loving, giving, and accepting. But at some level there must have been a lot of unconscious anger against them for the burden she was carrying. In her final visit around Christmas of 1973, the Halls had some

feeling of regret that they did not push more to really try to come to grips with what she was feeling. Perhaps what she was feeling could not be completely articulated.

At any rate, Camilla's story carries something of the feeling of classical tragedy. In classical tragedy, such as Oedipus Rex, the characters bear a burden of guilt that is more archetypal than personal, that leads them to an inexorable, tragic fate. The power of these classical stories of tragedy comes from their archetypal quality, the fact that they represent a central conflict of their time. I think that this is part of the significance of Camilla for our time. The United States, too, was discovering its own shadow, and its youth were screaming out its existence to their elders, perhaps in anger for their own loss of innocence. For a long time the United States had been passing from generation to generation in its educational system the myth of primal innocence, of god-fearing pioneers who only wanted a new place to practice their religion in freedom. This was a part of the history of the United States, but the shadow side, the hawk-like aggressiveness, began to emerge around this time in our national consciousness. It is somehow synchronistically fitting that the culminating days of the SLA shared headlines with the climactic days of Watergate. Watergate was the other face of the SLA, the results of the paranoid mythology of the members of the establishment, who projected a destructive, aggressive conspiracy onto every movement, and identified their personal destinies with the destinies of the nation, les etat cest moi!!

The SLA and the Watergate leaders projected onto each other their own inner conflicts, and in so doing became identified with the archetypal movements that swept them away. The cynical realism of the Watergate leaders was the other face of the unreal idealism of the SLA.

Is this, then, the true explanation of the life of Camilla Hall? The dialectical tradition of research recognizes that there is no single true way of understanding the reality of a complex personality in historical perspective. The theoretical interpretation outlined above outlines a way of understanding Camilla which seems consistent with the data as well as offering internal cognitive consistency, and would serve as a useful hypothesis for further research. Other people such as Diana Oughton, the Weather radical who was similarly known as a loving, gentle person but blew herself up in a New York city townhouse while making bombs, or the members of the Baader-Mennhof gang in Germany, who could move from working with kindergarten children to radical terrorism, could be usefully studied to see if this hypothesis would be supported with additional people who seem very unlikely candidates for terrorism.

Certainly no theory that simply operates from an internal individualistic psychological viewpoint can adequately understand and explain Camilla. This thesis would simply distort the reality of Camilla by failing to include the historical and political factors which were such an important part of her history. Nor would the antithesis of this theory, a reductive socio-economic-political theory, be more accurate in explaining the causative factors in

Camilla's behavior. A radical emphasis on external causation leads to the kind of projection that in the end plagued Camilla and her friends, even as a reductive psychology often led radicals to distrust psychology and psychiatry. The movement of dialectic demands a synthesis, a transcendent position that incorporates both the psychological and socio-political realities, but maintains its empirical reference point.

Even with such a dialectical psychological viewpoint, the story of Camilla ultimately retains something of an air of mystery, of a symbolic dimension which cannot be totally explicated. There are questions of meaning which cannot be answered by psychological or scientific research. The story of Camilla poses theological and philosophical questions which transcend our empirical limits.

Nevertheless, I think it is particularly important for us in our age to answer these empirical questions which we are capable of answering, and to learn from our individual and group history. It is too painful, too destructive to go on repeating this kind of history, this blind clash of opposites. Perhaps the travail of this period can be the prelude to creative development if we learn the lessons that people like Camilla can teach us.

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APPENDIX A

May 26, 1967

Barbara L. Sundquist
Merit System Supervisor

Dear Mrs. Sundquist:

I am writing this letter in reply to your reference form sent to me on Camilla Hall. I have known Camilla (Candy) Hall for nine years. I have known her as a school mate and also as a very good friend all these years.

In answer to one of your questions: Candy has always had more than her share of friends. People have always been taken in by Candy because she has always been able to bring out the best in everyone by being interested and sincere about what interests them. She has such a variation of types of friends that sometimes I wonder what she can find to have in common with them.

Her emotional and mental stability is very sound. In these years that I have known her she has had her share of disappointments, but never have I seen her act thoroughly disgusted and ready to give up. She has lost two brothers and one sister in her lifetime and both her parents are such good god-fearing people that somehow they've put back together all the "pieces" and go on wonderfully.

Candy uses her judgement to the best of her ability. She never makes a snap-judgement on anything or anyone. She always thinks everything through carefully.

She has always had her ears open for criticism. She wants to do things exactly as you would want them done. I suppose in her own way, she's sort of a perfectionist and realizes that she can't improve something unless someone helps her. But she always wants to try things her own way first.

She has always been able to express herself beautifully. She never seems to have any trouble putting her point across to anyone. She likes people to understand how she see things and will try her hardest to get it across. If she doesn't understand something, she will always try to find out about it and pass it along to you. Her writing is enjoyed by everyone who knows her. She can put together anything from a simple personal letter to a complex poem if she puts her mind to it.

Candy is never bored with having nothing to do. She is almost constantly at her guitar; writing songs and lyrics. This is also something she likes to share, as soon as she has only three words she calls you up and plays them over and over for you. She also writes short stories and poems as I said before, and has had some of them printed up in the school's papers. (Washburn and the U.)

I don't want to make it sound as if Candy's perfect. She's not! I suppose one of the first things you notice about her is her appearance. Candy is not a picture of the feminine lady! She loves to dress casually and sometimes overdoes it. This, I guess, had to do with her being such a big built girl. Also, she's been a student for so long and dressing like it, she doesn't realize that there are skirts and dresses. But I'm sure that as soon as she starts work, this will be corrected.

I hope this information is what you wanted--please feel free to notify me if there is anything else I can do for you or Candy.

Sincerely yours,

Kathy Wennberg
5921-13th Ave. So.
Mpls., Minn. 55417

MAY 31, 1967

2124 University
Des Moines, Iowa

Mrs. Barbara L. Sundquist
County Welfare Merit System
Centennial Office Building
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mrs. Sundquist:

Re: Camilla Hall

I met Camilla (Candy) Hall my freshman year at college which was in 1963. We have been good friends since then. Candy has helped me over many trying periods; she was one person I could always count on to help me. While at school together and since then, I have seen her help numerous people with their problems. One of the reasons she is able to help people is because she likes them and understands them. She is not obsequious in dealing with people but is very open and direct.

Candy enjoys meeting all kinds of people. I'm not sure what your question means when you ask does she have a sincere liking for all kinds of people. If you're asking whether she likes everyone she meets, the answer by any sane person could only be no. If the question means does she enjoy meeting different types of people the answer is a definite yes.

Like many of us, she is very dependable when she feels she is doing something worthwhile. If saddled with "busy work" she will procrastinate.

She is more emotionally stable than most of the people I know. But again your question is misleading, what is emotional and mental stability? By whose standards? Are people mentally stable by spending millions of dollars killing Vietnamese children? Are people emotionally stable when they cry at a sad movie but could not shed one tear over the people in the ghettos and poverty areas? Are people sane when they will not help their fellow man? My definition of mental and emotional stability by which I will describe Candy is that of a social responsibility, a duty to help my fellow man. In the context of my definition she is emotionally and mentally stable.

Candy will accept and profit from constructive criticism and suggestion. She is always willing to accept new ideas and to incorporate them into her thought patterns.

She is able to express herself well verbally and in writing. When I first met her she had trouble in effective serious conversations. She has gotten over a minor inferiority complex and is now more sure of herself in verbal communications.

Candy is learning to become well organized but still has trouble effectively budgeting her time. This evaluation may be unfair because I've never seen her in a job situation. I know with a little training and practice she could learn to better organize her affairs.

Candy would make an excellent welfare worker; she is able to empathize rationally. Her marvellous sense of humor enables her deal with all people. I know she would grow with the job and become a valuable member of your staff.

Sincerely,

Mary Stewart

J U N 2 1967

1227 4th St. S.E., Apt 201
Minneapolis, Minnesota
May 26, 1967

Dear Mrs. Sundquist:

In answer to your request, I shall be happy to tell you what I know of Camilla Hall. Since Candy and I have been close friends during our college years, my observation will be limited to a social rather than a professional view. By giving you some concrete, day-to-day examples of her behavior, I hope to present a consistent picture of her character. I have known Candy for nearly 4 years, since the time we first met as freshmen at Gustavus Adolphus College. Since that time we have maintained a close and affectionate friendship. I know Candy both in the capacity of fellow-student and friend.

One of Candy's most outstanding and immediately apparent traits is her ability to put any person she meets at ease. My earliest recollection of her is how she was notably instrumental in creating fellowship among shy and timid college freshmen. She went out of her way to be friendly with not only me but with many other new students. Everyone appreciated this ability of her's. Since then, I have carefully observed in a number of situations that no matter who the person, he is able to sit and talk with Candy without feeling ill at ease. I have never seen her set up any kind of artificial or social barrier between herself and whomever she is with. I can remember when we lived in a dormitory our freshmen year that many of the girls with problems would go talk them over with Candy, rather than with the housemother or the dorm counselors. As a result of this, we affectionately referred to her as 'Mother Mil.' One important reason for this, in addition to the fact that she puts people at ease and sincerely listens, is the fact that Candy is the kind of person who not only gives respected advice, but who willing receives it herself. I transferred to the University of Minnesota a year after Candy did; she was one of the few people I knew here. Since then she has introduced me to many different kinds of people and I have been proud to introduce her to people I met by myself.

Although Candy and I have for the past 4 years lived in a collegiate atmosphere, she has the ability to adjust to various situations, not only situations involving people of her own age, but also those involving older adults; for example, parents of friends, and professors. Candy is the type of person who, once she has made herself acquainted with the various and complex facets of a situation is able to make a considered and mature judgment of the situation and act in accord with what is required. Although, as I have said, I have primarily seen evidences of this trait in Candy as a fellow-student (for example, in her fulfillment of class requirements) I think that given the chance, Candy will

channel this ability to adjust to the requirements of whatever job she takes after graduation. Outside of the more academic evidences of this ability to adjust to situations, I have observed this ability of Candy's in a more practical sphere; she and I both live in apartments, and we have both learned, for example, aspects of budgeting, housekeeping, cat-rearing and the judicious use of independence. I think it is commendable that at an early age she has been able to wisely regulate her own life at school. She has, for the most part, taken upon herself to financially support herself.

One of Candy's traits which is most appealing is her genuine enthusiasm--for people, literature and other fine arts. For example, after taking an art class at the University, Candy became so enthusiastic that she began dabbling in painting and produced some art work of her own. Another example is the fact that she taught herself to play the guitar; after she had gone as far as she could by ear, she started taking classical guitar lessons from a professional in order to learn the finer and more technical aspects of the instrument and music in general. Her enthusiasm also led her to compose several songs herself. She has worked hard and plays the guitar skillfully and beautifully. Candy and I have taken some literature courses together at the University. Judging from her class performance, I think she has the rare ability to go above and beyond what is covered or required in class. I am sure that many of my fondest memories of college will center around the lively and excited discussions Candy and I held about books we had read, plans we were making, and different philosophies we held. Although I have emphasized Candy's enthusiasm so far as it has been generated by an aesthetic and intellectual atmosphere (since her capacity for the past four years has been that of a student), I firmly believe that her enthusiasm will continue to expand to include more practical situations, since she already has a very good start in that sphere, as shown by some of my earlier comments.

In answer to your question about Candy's ability to express herself in both speaking and writing, I know that Candy, as a Humanities major, has had to do research on certain topics for certain classes, and in addition to turning in a paper, has had to lecture her class and then lead discussion afterwards. This not only builds poise, but also provides practice in both verbal and written communication. In addition, Candy and I have often read, discussed, and criticized each others papers. As a fellow student, I often envy Candy's ability to express herself, both verbally and in writing, with insight and imagination.

In summation, I think Candy's good sense and basic sense of humor, combined with all the other traits I have mentioned, ultimately presents a picture of a person of empathy with, and deep understanding and sympathy for fellow humans.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Thrig M A Y 31 1967

Form 12-48

EVALUATION AND RATING SCALE
ST. LOUIS COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Anniv. Date - Mar. 1 ✓

EMPLOYEE NAME

CLASSIFICATION

SECTION & UNIT

RATING DUE

Cardella HallCase Worker IDuluth-Intensive1/1/63 (CP)

A. Personal Qualities and Attitudes. Consider such qualities as:

1. Personal appearance and grooming
2. Professional integrity
3. Judgment
4. Tact

5. Loyalty
6. Maturity
7. Resourcefulness
8. Enthusiasm

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100
		84		

Indicate standing in appropriate square.

B. Social Work Skills. Consider the following areas:

1. Knowledge appropriate to experience level.
2. Diagnostic skills appropriate to experience level.
3. Treatment planning and implementation.
4. Involvement-knowing families, concern for clients, empathetic interest.
5. Focus and purpose of activity.
6. Ability to communicate: oral and written.

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100
		83		

Indicate standing in appropriate square.

C. Relationships. Consider the following areas:

1. Client
2. Public

3. Intra-agency (Co-workers, supervisor, administration)
4. Inter-agency

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100
		85		

Indicate standing in appropriate square.

D. Case Load or Job Management.
Take into consideration:

(Omit for Supervisory or Administrative Personnel)

1. Organization of work.
 - a. Work assignment completion.
 - b. Priority setting.
 - c. Adherence to schedules.

2. Initiative.
3. Use of resources.

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100
		84		

Indicate standing in appropriate square.

E. Supervision and/or Administration. (Use for Supervisory or Administrative Personnel Only)
Consider these factors:

1. Ability to get the job done.
2. Teaching ability.
3. Ability to recognize and develop potential in supervisees.
4. Ability to evaluate staff fairly and accurately.
5. Ability to contribute to policy or program development.
6. Ability to promote high morale.

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100

Indicate standing in appropriate square.

RECAPITULATION

Personal qualities and attitudes

Social Work Skills

Relationships

Caseload or Job Management

Supervisory and/or Administrative Skills

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-85	86-95	96-100
		84		
		83		
		85		
		84		

TOTAL

336 FEB - 1 1963

RATING: TOTAL SCORE 336 + 4 = 84

Original starting date - 8/21/67

Date started present position - 8/21/67

U	M	S	P	O
0-69	70-79	80-83	86-93	95-100
		84		

U - Unsatisfactory
M - Marginal
S - Satisfactory
P - Proficient
O - Outstanding

Salary increases will be granted as follows:

Unsatisfactory - Grounds for dismissal.
Marginal - No merit increase with a re-rating following six months.
Two consecutive marginals constitute grounds for dismissal.
Satisfactory - 1-step merit increase.
Proficient - 2-step merit increase.
Outstanding - 3-step merit increase.

Additional Comments and Goals for Future Development: Miss Hall has excellent natural qualities, the foremost being her concern for people. This is self-evident in her relationships with both clients and the agency staff. She works with enthusiasm, meets deadlines readily and is always willing to accept additional assignments.

Miss Hall has a good moral background, but does have some limitation in areas of behavioral science. She has sought out reading material on her own and is beginning to make progress in this area.

Miss Hall has reached a plateau of functioning. There is a tendency to make emotional decisions, limiting planning to meeting immediate needs and reacting to crisis situations. She recognizes her limitations; has a good desire to learn and accepts criticism well.

Miss Hall is somewhat lacking in confidence, primarily related to her limited knowledge of policy and casework skill. She finds it difficult in some situations to be frank with her clients. Miss Hall also is lacking in her basic knowledge of resources which causes minor delays in planning and implementation of planning. Miss Hall has both the motivation and capability to meet the challenge and needs of Social Work.

GOALS: 1) To improve basic procedure and policy knowledge by concentrated effort of review of manuals and memoranda. 2) To improve casework skills: a) to complete an outside reading list, b) to concentrate on case-planning of both long and short term goals, c) to meet problems on an objective basis, d) to participate in meetings, conferences and personal contact with the resource agencies in community, e) to be aware of situations in which there has been a tendency of avoidance of problems and to face them frankly with the client.

DATE: 1-15-68

Supervisor's Signature: [Signature]

DATE: 1-15-68

Caseworker's Signature: [Signature]

DATE: 1-15-68

Signature of Supervisor of Evaluator: [Signature]

Director

Board granted permanent status as a Case Worker I effective 8/21/69.

Administrative Action

1/20/69

Date

CASEWORKERS COMMENTS:

None

Autobiography for County Welfare Merit System

Camilla C. Hall

I was born in St. Peter, Minn. in 1945. I had two older brothers and a sister two years younger than I. When I was four my brother Terry died and when I was five my brother Peter died.

When I was six we moved to East Africa where my father was an education inspector. My mother taught me first and second grade because there were no English speaking schools near where we lived. My playmates were mostly little African boys and girls who lived in grass huts and had little or no clothing. We were not near other Americans or any commercialism so my sister and I made toys like the Africans did out of sticks and strings and rocks and old wrapping paper. When Christmas came we decorated our tree with bits of tinfoil and threads and colored paper. My sister and I learned to play shepherds flutes and crude home-made stringed instruments and exchanged songs with the Africans.

I went to Washburn High School in Mpls. and graduated in 1963. While in high school I participated in several talent shows and the class play. I was also active in Quill Club and Hi-Y and was voted into the Hall of Fame. My sister Nan had been in and out of hospitals for several years and died in my senior year at the age of fifteen.

When I graduated from high school my parents moved to Illinois and I went to St. Peter to attend Gustavus Adolphus College. At Gustavus I lived in a dorm and went through the typical "culture shock" of living

with people other than family for 24 hours a day. Our dorm was divided into sections comprised of 12 girls each rather than corridors with individual and private rooms. Because of this constant contact, I came to know these girls very well in a relatively short time. As far as close contact with other people goes, my freshmen year at Gustavus was the most rewarding year of my college career. I did not feel however, that I was getting as good an academic education as I had expected from college and so I transferred to the University of Minnesota.

My parents own a home in Mpls. which they rented out to a family when they moved to Chicago. Part of the rental agreement provided that the room and bath over the garage be kept vacant in case I should want to live there. When I transferred to the U. of M. I moved back into our house and lived with this family during my soph. and jr. years. Because of my irregular student hours and generally unpredictable schedule, I took my meals alone rather than with this family. This was my first real experience with budgeting money and I was pleased with this independence. I prepared all my meals on a two-burner hotplate in my bathroom and washed my dishes in the bathtub. Even though we did not take meals together, the renters accepted me right away as a "member of the family" and as such I had certain household duties and responsibilities. Emotional ties also developed and I became sort of an ersatz big sister to their ten years old son, whose real sister was married and living in California. I learned a great deal about family behavior during those two years; more than I could have learned from my own family life because I could be more objective.

During this period my father was training missionaries for South America through the University of Chicago's Lutheran School of Theology. As part of this job he travels to So. Am. periodically so that he can keep up to date on what is being done there. In my jr. year I went along with my parents to So. Am. for six months. We visited each country and spent most of the time in the villages and slums where the missionaries were working. The So. Am. government does very little for or with the poor people; the majority of the social work and financial aid is provided by American churches through missionary activity.

When I returned from So. Am. I lived with the renters for a few more months. I had gradually been realizing that by living far away from campus I was missing out on a lot of student activity. There were no other college students in my neighborhood and when I came home from classes it was like entering a completely different world. The renters were not particularly interested in my studies or "intellectual discussions" and thus I felt I was missing out on an important aspect of college. So I moved into an apartment a few blocks from campus at the beginning of my senior year. I have found this to be an improvement in many ways. I have met a lot of other students, all from a great variety of backgrounds. Being closer to campus it is easier to take advantage of special lectures, exhibits and concerts than it was before.

My major is Humanities and in this program we study the fine arts, literature, philosophy, and the social sciences. The emphasis however, is on literature, and the aim is to try to understand, through the

intellectual products of a culture or age, what it meant to be a human being in that period. We try to work from this to more of an awareness of what it means to be a human being in the twentieth century. It is partly due to the awareness gained in my studies, and partly due to my travel experiences that I am interested in becoming a social worker.

Camilla Hall

MAY 25, 1967

Do not fill in all questions
statements, the subject
to verification.

MAY 191

MINNESOTA COUNTY WELFARE MERIT SYSTEM

APPLICATION FOR EXAMINATION

Fill in on a typewriter or LEGIBLY in ink

DW-MC-10
(Rev. 3-66)

1. Print Name: Ms. HALL, CAMILLA CHRISTINE 2. Birth Date: 3 24 1945 3. Minnesota Residence: 7 3

4. Address: 904 21st Ave. S. Art 107 Npls. 55404 Minn. 5. Telephone No.: 339-4122

Do not
fill in
this space
for
applicant.

If one application need be filed for a series of examinations listed on one announcement.

Applicants who are NOT welfare board employees must check here.
Welfare board employees check one or both.

Below write the exact title of the examination which you are applying.

Worker I

Open	Prom.	Accp.	C. Accp.	Relt.	Re.	Reason
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			

Have you ever applied for a Minnesota County Welfare Merit System examination before? Yes ☐ No ☒

6. Marital Status: ☒ Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated ☐ Widowed

9. Sex: ☐ Male ☒ Female

10. Height: 5 5 1/2

11. Weight: 155

12. Marriage: Mo. Day Year

13. Maiden Name (if a Married Woman): _____
14. Number of dependents: _____ Relationship: _____
15. Have you ever been discharged or forced to resign from any position? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 16a. Have you ever been arrested for a violation of the law other than a minor traffic violation? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 16b. Has your drivers license ever been suspended or revoked? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 17a. Are you physically handicapped in any way? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 17b. Have you ever been hospitalized or received treatment for nervous breakdown, mental illness or epilepsy? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 18a. Do you or have you used intoxicating beverages habitually or excessively? Yes ☐ No ☒
- 18b. Are you or have you been addicted to the use of any habit-forming drugs? Yes ☐ No ☒

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Name of School and Location	From Mo./Yr.	To Mo./Yr.	Circle highest Grade Completed	20. Were you graduated from High School?
19. Grade and High School: <u>Lincoln Jr. High School</u>	<u>12/54</u>	<u>6/60</u>	<u>5</u> <u>6</u> <u>7</u> <u>8</u>	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<u>Washburn High School</u>	<u>11/60</u>	<u>6/63</u>	<u>9</u> <u>10</u> <u>11</u> <u>12</u>	Date: <u>June, 1963</u>
21. College or University: <u>Gustavus Adolphus College</u>	<u>12/63</u>	<u>6/64</u>	<u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u>	Major Field: <u>Humanities</u>
<u>Univ. of Minn.</u>	<u>10/64</u>	<u>4/67</u>	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> <u>5</u>	Degree: <u>BA</u>
22. Graduate School (other than Social Work): <u>none</u>				Date: <u>6/67</u>
23. Graduate School of Social Work: <u>none</u>				Date: <u>MAY 2 4 1967</u>

Field Work: _____ Hours: _____ Agency: _____

24. Undergraduate Field Work: (Describe by showing the time spent, agency or agencies involved, and major activities performed.)

25. Business or Extension Course: (List completed courses only)

School: _____ Course: _____

School: _____ Course: _____

26. Membership in Organizations:

only high school activities and clubs;
no organizations while in college

26a. Volunteer and Unpaid Work Experience:

none

MOST RECENT POSITION FIRST.
LIST EACH PROMOTION AS A
SEPARATE POSITION.

27. EMPLOYMENT RECORD (Use additional paper if necessary)

BE COMPLETE. YOUR EXPERIENCE
WILL BE RATED FROM THIS
INFORMATION.

1. Date of Employment 2. Length of Employment 3. Salary per Month 4. Hours Worked per Week	1. Name and Address of Employer (Give number, street, city, and state.) 2. Reason for Leaving	1. Title of Your Position (Give payroll title if employed on salary.) 2. Describe your duties in concise detail; indicate your responsibility, size of operations, supervision if any, etc.	Do Not Write in this Column
1. From <u>May '65</u> to <u>Jan '66</u> Mo. Yr. Mo. Yr. 2. <u>1.25/hr</u> years, <u>35</u> mos. 3. \$ <u>85/hr</u> Minimum Maximum 4. <u>30 hr</u>	1. <u>Village Dry Cleaners</u> Name of Employer 2. <u>5309 Excelsior Blvd.</u> Number Street <u>St. Louis Park, Minn.</u> City State 2. <u>school</u>	1. <u>counter girl</u> 2. <u>customer service</u> <u>receive & dispense clothing</u>	
1. From <u>June '64</u> to <u>Aug '64</u> Mo. Yr. Mo. Yr. 2. <u>100/mo</u> years, <u>3</u> mos. 3. \$ <u>100/mo</u> Minimum Maximum 4. <u>40 hr</u>	1. <u>Luthera Student Assoc</u> Name of Employer 2. <u>1813 Univ Ave SE</u> Number Street <u>Woods, Minn.</u> City State 2. <u>school</u>	1. <u>receptionist</u> 2. <u>answered phones</u> <u>created profile</u> <u>helped in the library</u> <u>helped in the cafeteria</u>	
1. From <u>June '63</u> to <u>Aug '63</u> Mo. Yr. Mo. Yr. 2. <u>100/mo</u> years, <u>3</u> mos. 3. \$ <u>100/mo</u> Minimum Maximum 4. <u>40 hr</u>	1. <u>Luth Student Assoc</u> Name of Employer 2. <u>1813 Univ Ave SE</u> Number Street <u>Woods, Minn.</u> City State 2. <u>school</u>	1. <u>receptionist</u> 2. <u>same as above</u>	
1. From <u>July '60</u> to <u>Nov '60</u> Mo. Yr. Mo. Yr. 2. <u>85/hr</u> years, <u>5</u> mos. 3. \$ <u>85/hr</u> Minimum Maximum 4. <u>30 hr</u>	1. <u>Testas Korner Kitchen</u> Name of Employer 2. <u>4600 Nicollet</u> Number Street <u>Woods, Minn.</u> City State 2. <u>school</u>	1. <u>waitress</u> 2. <u>cooked</u> <u>washed tables</u> <u>sold groceries</u> <u>washed dishes, windows, floors</u>	
1. From _____ to _____ Mo. Yr. Mo. Yr. 2. _____ years _____ mos. 3. \$ _____ Minimum Maximum 4. _____	1. _____ Name of Employer Number Street City State 2. _____	1. _____ 2. _____	

28. REFERENCES (Do not list relatives)

GIVEN NAME & SURNAME (Indicate: Mr., Mrs. or Miss)	Number	COMPLETE CURRENT ADDRESS		
		Street	City	State
1. Miss Mary Stewart	2	2124 University	Des Moines	Iowa
2. Miss Kathy Hennings	2	524 13th Ave. S	Des Moines	Iowa
3. Miss Elizabeth Elvig	2	1227 SE 4th St Apt 201	Woods, Minn.	
4. Mr. & Mrs. Earl Tetten	2	4534 Fremont Ave. S.	Woods, Minn.	

I HEREBY CERTIFY that this application contains no willful misrepresentation or falsification and that the information given by me is true and complete to the best of my knowledge and belief. I am aware that should investigation at any time disclose any such misrepresentation or falsification, my application will be rejected, my name will be removed from the register, I will be disqualified from applying in the future for any position under the jurisdiction of the MINNESOTA COUNTY WELFARE MERIT SYSTEM, and I may be removed from the job after appointment.

29. Date May 18, 1967 30. SIGNATURE Camilla Hall

Return Application To: Merit System Supervisor, Centennial Office Building, St. Paul 1, Minn.

APPENDIX B

Profile and Case Summary

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

Starke R. Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley

Scorer's Initials _____

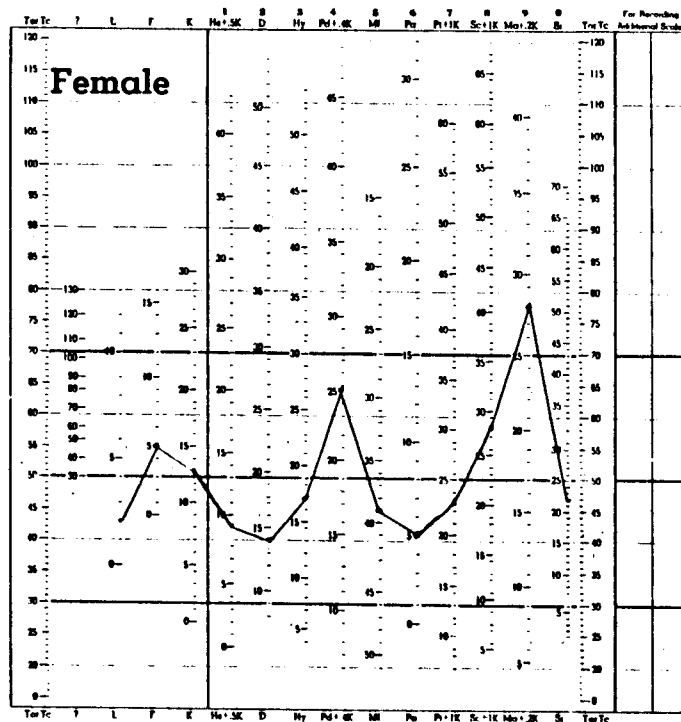
Name Camilla HallF
Female

Address _____

Occupation StudentDate Tested Sept. 1964Education _____ Age 19Marital Status Single

Referred by _____

NOTES



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
115	110	105	100	95	90	85	80	75	70	65	60	55	50	45	40	35	30	25	20

Raw Score 2 2 5 13 2 14 11 20 39 5 10 15 35 22

K to be added 7 5 12 13 3

Raw Score with K 9 25 23 28 29



Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX C

Reflections On A Pimple ;

Pore Little Me

When I get sad: feeling grim
I just climb inside my skin
But it's so thin from living in
I break out on my chin.

1969

I've got to move on;
begin again
the search I left off

before this old-fashioned interlude—
this senseless succession of straight,
ruttet me out of my spiral weave.

I slowed down
to know you;
waited
through
patterns;
marked time
through mazes of moods.
Ah yes, youth is wasted on the down.

Look in the mirror,
when you least expect it,
and you will see it
too.

For Pat

"Sister,"
that's what your button said
the first time I met you—
and I believed you
and now I feel it too—
sister. . .
Thank you.

7-71

Keya shares her sunshine with the plants—

basking, side by side, in the window.

Warm, she unfolds a stretch. . . . so luxurious, the sun. . .

slowly and always

with new-ness and bright

forever and ever

they grow

Long kitty moves among the green. . .

she smells them growing

sniffing their buds

nose-muzzling along pot bellies.

Ah yes, Keya shares her sunshine with the plants—

basking, side by side, in the window.

And when it gets too crowded

(no room to unfold)

she bites them.

9/18/'64

Dear Mom & Dad—

Thanks for the letter and the money—Expenses have really been piling up this week & I've had to pay out all that I got from you already.

I needed new glasses so I went to Plymouth Optical which is right next door to where I work. The only reason I didn't go to Dr. Jerome was that the soonest appointment was November 2! So I went to Plymouth, which gave me an appointment for the same day. The examination was about \$5, the new frames were \$7 & the lenses & hardening came to about \$8. Imagine only \$20 for the works! Anyway, I paid them, so I'd appreciate a little remuneration. I have a receipt if you want it for tax purposes.

Then my Van Gogh came, which is \$4.95, my coffee pot got fixed, which was \$7.50, and my watch is being cleaned, which is \$7.75. To top it off, I had to have a new rebuilt generator & voltage regulator put on the Ford because the battery went dead 2 days in a row, after being recharged 2 times. I paid for the battery charges, but you'll get the bill for the generator & regulator—it was about \$30. I had that Mike at the 46th & Nic. Std. Station do it. Did you know that he used to play drums for Ahmad Jamal? But he smashed his hand & couldn't use it for a year so he went to foreign car school—or whatever you call it. Anyway, that station is 3/4 his. He's really a nice & fascinating to talk to.

I went through registration today—boy if that wasn't frustrating—all the courses I had to take to fulfill requirements were CLOSED. So I ended up just taking electives, which won't help my transfer into Upper

division and junior status come as soon as it should have. All I needed to become a junior was 2 credits of art, 5 credits of astronomey, & 2 credits of anthropology. None of which were open. I'm taking instead, a classics course from Roy Arthur Evanson (I hope to get him for an advisor), a theater arts course (list of theater and study of some plays), a course on the history of Western philosophy, and a 2 cr course in Public Health. The courses sound pretty interesting, but as I said before, they don't fulfill any requirements.

I'm glad to hear you are getting settled & I am also happy you have more room than last year. Leave it to Dusty to find a good hiding place—reminds me of the 4th of July at Forrest lake when we had Dusty along & she hid under that porch—boy, we though we'd never get her out.

Tomorrow I have to go back to the U to take personality tests—yippee skippee doooooo.

Mr. Tetling found your big desk up in the attic, dad, & put it back together. He's got it down in the basement—you know, with our porch furniture & their spare TV. Mrs. T complains that she can't wash dishes, clothes, sprinkle the lawn, & take a bubble bath all at the same time—seems our water pressure is low. . .

Anyway, I'd appreciate it if you could reimburse me about \$40.00 so I can have some spending money—my payroll checks go straight into a savings account which I vowed I wouldn't touch till Europe.

Love-Candy

5-19-70

H E L L O !

Thanks for the \$75 & the \$50 for posters. I've been doing a lot of drawing the last 3 weeks & will send you the "pick of the litter!" I will start showing June 6 & 7 with 40 craftsmen in a big tent in Topanga Canyon. There will be candlemakers, jewelry makers, potters, leather crafters, etc. etc. I'm the only cartoon maker--probably in the whole state as far as art fairs go! It should be fun & I'm getting excited. I will be asking \$10-20 for each drawing. Since you're getting the best ones, you only get three--2 for your house & 1 for the league.

When Dick gets back from Mpls. hopefully we'll check into making large posters for mass distribution. In all probability I'll provide ideas & slogans & he (or someone else) will do the art work since I don't think I'm that good yet. So far, I'm very pleased with my work because it's getting better every few days. If only my eyes & hands were skillful enough to keep up with my imagination! Wow!--would that be fun!

Glad to hear you got moved in ok & that you're having such a good time. Keep the dialogue going about the war Dad, it's really important. I'm just sick over Kent State & Nixon's insane move in Cambodia. Things get more scarey every day.

I'll send the drawings sometime next week. Hope you like them.

Love,

Camilla

5-5-71

Dear Folks:

Just got your letter yesterday--great to hear from you after so long!

Happy Mother's Day, Mom!!!

Glad you liked the album--it's one of those that grows on you.

Well, today I finally found an apt. I'm so relieved. Housing is really tight up here. There are lots of vacancies, but they're all either too dumpy or too expensive. After I saw Berkeley, I knew that I'd much rather live there than in SF & I was lucky enough to find a 1 bedroom apt. about 6 blocks from campus. I can't move in 'til the 15th & I'm really antsy to get in there & get my stuff unpacked & get back to work. I think the environment will be very stimulating & the "vibrations" are just terrific. It's almost a world unto itself & is definitely a "liberated zone." They just elected 4 radicals to the city council, so it will be fun to see what happens.

My new address will be

2021 Channing Way #4
Berkeley, Cal.

I'm going to keep the telephone number of the group living there now to save a \$10 service fee. That # is 548-1174.

This weekend I show at a shopping center in San Jose & I'm looking forward to getting reaction to my work. My prices are going up because everything is more expensive up here--but they'll just go up \$5-\$10 right now.

I'm staying here in Fremont w/ David's twin brother Dan & his (one of the other artists in the Asher show) two roommates & their dog, Mr. Hamilton—who is $\frac{1}{2}$ German shepard & $\frac{1}{2}$ bassett. . . very strange dog. They've all been just great to Keya & me & are very generous & helpful. I've been very fortunate in finding great friends I think.

Sounds like you both had a nice Mom's birthday! You guys really know how to do things right. What are you up to these days Dad? How are plans for the Orient coming?

Will write more later—just want to get this off in time for Mother's Day.

Much Much Much love—

Camilla

Dale?

Summer 1972?

Dear Mom & Dad—

Well, things have really been exciting around here the last 3 weeks--specifically since the mining of the Hiphong. As you probably heard, there was a lot of trashing here in Berkeley--rocks through windows mostly; very little looting. No leaders, just small groups acting spontaneously. Most energy soon focused on People's Park, and "we" tore down the fence & liberated it. Within hours, people were planting flowers, trees & vegetables in neat little arrangements, with little bamboo fences & other make shift fences around them to keep off the dogs. Someone donated 5 waterbeds to play on, others built a rope swing, teeter totter, bulletin board, compost heap, scarecrows & now someone has installed a toilet & shower. The first few days it was just fantastic but then small gangs of black men began to take over the park; they hassel women constantly & children too, they get in fights with knives & some carry guns; some even cook their heroin over open campfires--it's really an ugly scene & the test now comes of how to deal with all these problems--drugs, race, sex, violence etc etc. Very few people dare to use the park now because of fear. But people are very concerned & there is a conference being held this weekend to discuss the problem. Never a dull moment. . .

Karate is going well & I'm really glad I'm taking it. With warmer weather here we're uncovering more of our bodies (e.g. not wearing overcoats) & there seems to be a proportioned rise in hassels

from men on the street. Knowing karate makes me feel a little better prepared for survival even though I don't know for sure that I would be able to use it if I needed it. . . . so it's not like I have a false self-confidence about it—I just don't give off fear-vibes like I think I might have done in the past. . .but then I ain't looking for trouble either.

Some black men moved in the building next door & brought some pretty bad vibes with them. Women couldn't walk by their windows without being hassled; they robbed & beat up a man one quiet afternoon & because he was a man & men are not encouraged to scream in the face of danger, no one knew what happened or heard a single sound. We've been trying to deal with it, but it's really touchy because of the racial issue. Last week Gene (from upstairs) was coming home at 3 a m & heard lots of noise from next door. He looked in the window & saw 4 black men beating up another black man with pieces of broken furniture. Gene started yelling & screaming for them to stop & one of them clubbed him & broke his jaw. He managed to escape & run home to activate the phone tree & then everybody came out & the fight ended. Now Gene is in the hosp. w/a broken jaw. The moral of the story is that Gene would have been better off running up & down the street yelling for people to come out or activating the phone tree immediately rather than trying to handle it all by himself. I probably would have done the same thing he did—but we'll all know/remember better next time. He'll have to have his teeth wired shut for 6 weeks—what a drag.

The next day the landlord evicted them (the black men)—so they've probably moved on to do the same in a diff. neighborhood. We tried

talking with them several times but obviously we weren't able to get through. Revolution has to be social as much as political—maybe more. . . but it's going so slowly that it doesn't seem like revolution at all. . . very gradual consciousness raising would probably be a better term. People are very difficult to struggle with & it takes a very great deal of energy—but then you already know that!

I just finished doing the commission for that symphony program. It's a series of 7 drawings to be placed sequentially in the 20-25 page program, and it's called See me free; I need to sing—it's about birds breaking out of their shells & people breaking out of office buildings & they run & dance & sing. Sounds corny when it's said in words, but the pictures are pretty neat & I'm pleased with it. I have some worries that they won't like it because it's anti-status quo, but another part of me says why shouldn't line drawings in a symphony program deal with a heavy topic? It's one we're all concerned with after all. So we'll see.

I've started looking for another apt. because I feel it's time for another change. The block isn't what it used to be & the over-population of dogs is becoming really oppressive—not to mention dogshit & flies. I'm in no hurry because I want something that will turn out as nice & mellow as this apt. has during the time I've been living & growing in it; but I have begun checking out other places. I'll stay in Berkeley, of course. Pat's thinking of moving too—but close by, of course! I especially want a place with lots of sun for my little green buddies.

When will you be moving into your condominium? I bet that will feel good—having a place to settle into for a while; a base of operations. How are your travel plans shaping up? Hope to see you soon!

Well, I guess that's about all for now—heavy times, these days, heavy times.

Let me know how it is with you.

Love

Camilla

9-25-73

Dear Mom & Dad,

Well it's been pretty exciting around here. I'm sending a newspaper clipping which gives a pretty accurate account of what happened. Three TV cameras were there as well as reporters & photographers. Management called out their militia (the Rangers) who stood guard in 10 gallon cowboy hats & billie clubs. This is the first time that's happened. There were about 100 people there in total--all jammed into a small conference room. The conference room has three walls of floor to ceiling windows & when the Rangers stopped people from coming inside, people lined the windows from the outside, standing 3 & four deep, & stared in at the Board of Directors. . . not making any commotion or yelling or doing anything but standing still & staring in--it was dynamite. They let them in. The Board had to finally agree unanimously to adopt an Affirmative Action Policy & Program & now we have to keep the pressure on & interest high so that they don't just "send it on to committee." I was interviewed over the radio & had my picture in the paper & on TV. It's been exciting for morale in general at the Parks Dept; even though they consider me a "Berkeley radical," they say it sort of affectionately.

There's only 1 week left of my job: I approach termination w/ mixed feelings. I like the job & being able to save \$ to put towards early retirement (very early); but I'm looking forward to having some play time again & getting some more new interests & activities. I'm

looking forward to have a change again & curious as to what I'll be doing next. I'm sure you know the feeling!

The rains have started about 1½ months early here & we're going to have terrific erosion problems bec. so many dead trees have been removed due to fire hazard. It's been an extraordinary cool summer & I never even got much of a tan even tho I'm outdoors all the time.

After my job ends, I'm going to plant my winter & spring flowers--cyclamen & of course tulips & iris & daffs & crocus & all those spring heralds. The tomatoes are ripening & only have a few worms.

The sky & hills are so beautiful after rain--washed, shiny, blue-sky & huge sculptured white billow clouds. Lovely fall weather--but it's dark by 7 pm now. The house is chilly. Got to start baking my own bread & warming the house with all day lentil cooking. There are definite ways to enjoy fall. . . .one needn't grumble.

Hope you're well & jumping.

Love,

Camilla

Copy of Camilla's letter found in her knapsack at her death
May 17, 1974 in Los Angeles, California. Transcribed by FBI.

"Dear Mom & Dad

"How are you? I've been thinking about you a lot & hoping that all is well with you. I get a lot of strength from our love & it really helps keep me going. I'm sending this through Phil & Candy bec. I know you are probably being watched very carefully by now. My name has been in the papers & TV etc (the FBI missed me by a matter of days in Berk) but we're staying several jumps ahead of them at all times by using our creativity & determination to survive & carry on the business of the revolution. I want you to remember that I'm w/ really good people & that we've trained ourselves in a great many ways bec. we realize the importance of the people's forces surviving & gaining victory after victory (you know I never do anything half-assed). Our attitude is very positive & our courage comes from our love for the people & hatred for the enemy. You know well that I have worked for change all my conscious life. I went through many stages of development, attacking the enemy in many different fronts only to see change co-opted into reformism. I exhausted all the possibilities before finally deciding that this was the only way to actually get the revolution going in realistic terms. It has become increasingly obvious (or rather, I used to be incredibly naive) that the ruling class & the corporate state have no intention of giving up any power voluntarily (witness the contortions Nixon has gone through to stay in power) & that

the capitalist system is an evil that must be destroyed. We are actively engaged in battling the enemy wherever we find it--the enemy within as well as the enemy without. The "putrid disease of bourgeois mentality" is in all of us & we are constantly working to rid ourselves of it so we can be better soldiers & fighters for the people.

"I don't know what kind of press coverage we've gotten in your area or what kind of distortions they've been (illegible) people w/, but I strongly recommend that you check into underground news sources to get a better idea of what's really happening. The Barb has published all our communiques as well as people's responses to our actions & it would be very helpful to you in understanding all this to subscribe to it. It's \$10 a year & their address is Berkeley Barb, PO Box 1247, Berk Calif 94701. Ask them to send you all back issues beginning Jan 1974. Have them send it to you at school Dad, rather than to the house. I also recommend that you do some reading on revolutionary struggles around the world & writing of political prisoners in this country. Our support comes from oppressed people (illegible) will notice how so-called radical leaders have stumbled all over each other trying to get (illegible) other side of the fence to denounce us--bec. we threaten their organization & prestige. They have all become reformists, revisionists, & are eager to protect their interests. The truth is that they are scared shitless bec. we have put them in a situation that calls for action to fulfill the courage of their convictions. Our support is from the people

& will continue to grow w/ each victory as we prove to the people that revolution can indeed happen & will indeed be successful. We intend to be around for quite a while & to live to see the victories. I know you trust my sincerity even if you haven't yet come to agree w/ the course of action I have committed myself to. I am young & strong & willing to dedicate that & my courage & intelligence & love to this work. I feel really good about what I'm doing & want you to also.

"I should warn you that the FBI can "bug" you through your phone w/out ever stepping foot in your house—they can turn your telephone into a microphone that picks up even whispers up to 20 feet—even if the phone is on the hook. So you should discipline yourselves to not talk about me in the kitchen or study. Also watch your mail closely to see if any of it is delayed or tampered with. I'm putting scotch tape around this

 & you should be able to tell if it's been messed with. I'm sure you're beginning to understand better why it is difficult to write you & still maintain my security. Please try to understand that I won't be able to communicate w/ you again for quite a while for security reasons. Security not only involves me but my comrades. We all face the same problems of wanting to communicate w/ our loved ones but of not being able to do so "for security reasons". So don't feel you're alone—there are lots of others parents & friends & lovers going through the same thing. I trust your courage & (illegible) to understand these things & keep them (illegible) in your heart.

"Enclosed is a poem I wrote after hearing newscasters talk about my sudden, mysterious, & coincidental disappearance from my quiet little Berkeley bungalow.

"I sent Phil & Candy \$5 & a note w/ this saying that I was on the road & hadn't been able to get anything together for your birthday Mom & would they please buy you some pretty flowers & hand deliver them w/ this letter to you. I'm sorry I can't promise to be able to do this on our special family days but know what I remember them & send you my love on many many more days than just those.

"Be strong

"Love—Camilla"

APPENDIX D

OUTLINE OF THE FAMILY HISTORY--CAMILLA HALL

GEORGE DANIEL HALL b. 1870
in Sweden, came to America
at age of 18. First wife d.
of consumption in an institu-
tion after 2 yrs. of marriage.
Child born that he never saw.

JENNY ALFREDA HALL
2nd wife--little said

Maternal gf. b. Neb.,
parents from Germany
b. about 1874. Started
Newspaper in Coffeyville,
Kansas, then ran furniture
store after losing sight of
one eye in accident. Clever
at writing, drawing, repairing
things. Inventor. Always
nip & tuck financially, but
4 daughters through college

Maternal gf. born Germany,
came to U.S. age 5, settled
Holton, Kansas. Worked hard,
practical, sewed beautifully,
made clothes.

GEORGE FRIDOLPH HALL b. 7/24/08; married 5/30/37
Clarence +7
Elsa +5
Dorothy +3

LORENA HALL
Naomi +4 Junior college teacher, died cancer
Josephine +2 U. of Kansas, taught science
Helen -2 Writer, free-lancer, died cancer

Terry Hall--(George Terrance) b. May 27, 1941, died at age 7 while family was vacationing out West.
From day born seemed like older brother--mature--could have been conservative. Died of endocardia
inflammation, may have been caused by nephritis.

Peter Kermit Hall--b. May 17, 1942, died at age 8 of nephritis. Entirely different than brother--
little rascal--moving all the time. Had to do everything own way. Would have been brilliant,
creative person. First grade teacher always talked about what he did.

(Terry and Peter were like twins, wore same clothes, etc.)

CAMILLA--b. March 24, 1945, died at age 29 on May 17, 1974. Times when stubborn. Became jealous of
Nan because of all attention Nan got. Shortly after 1st grade, not like to wear dresses. Liked
simple things. Somewhat overweight, liked people, wanted friends, class clown. Never known to be
depressed. Independent, strong-willed, very affectionate, considerate. Group very important in
high school, so some conflict with parents. Resembled Rev. Hall, more his temperament, talents.
Interested in everything, creative. Only thing change lack of patience. Like father--interest
in religion, philosophy. Like mother--cooking, help/entertain.

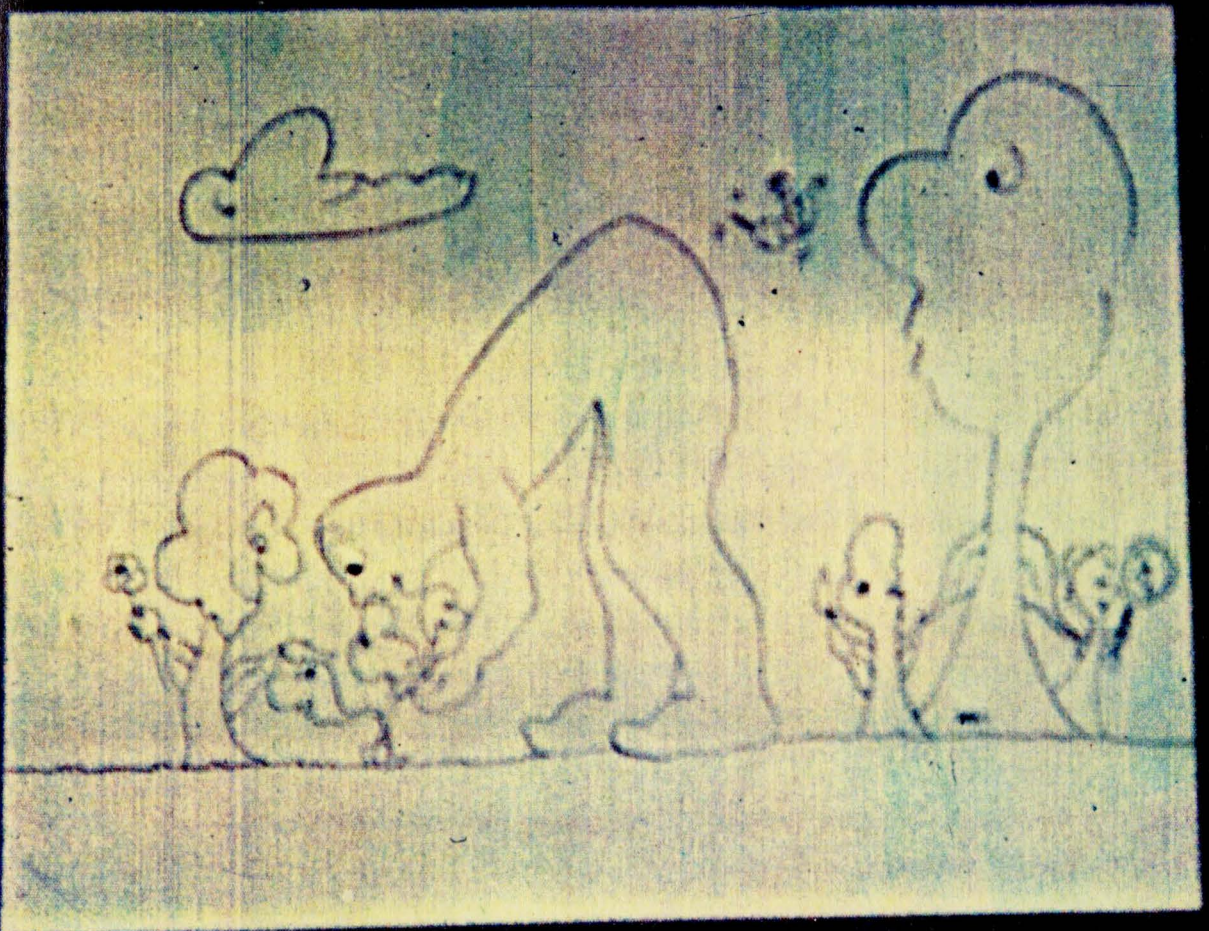
Nan--b. February 28, 1947, died at age 15 on December 15, 1962 of nephritis. Liked pretty, frilly things.
Congenital hip defect, had to relearn to walk 7 times, frequent surgery. Family moved back to St. Paul
to be near good hospital for her. Desperately trying to raise money for her hospital care when she
died. Hospital told parents they had to have money up front.

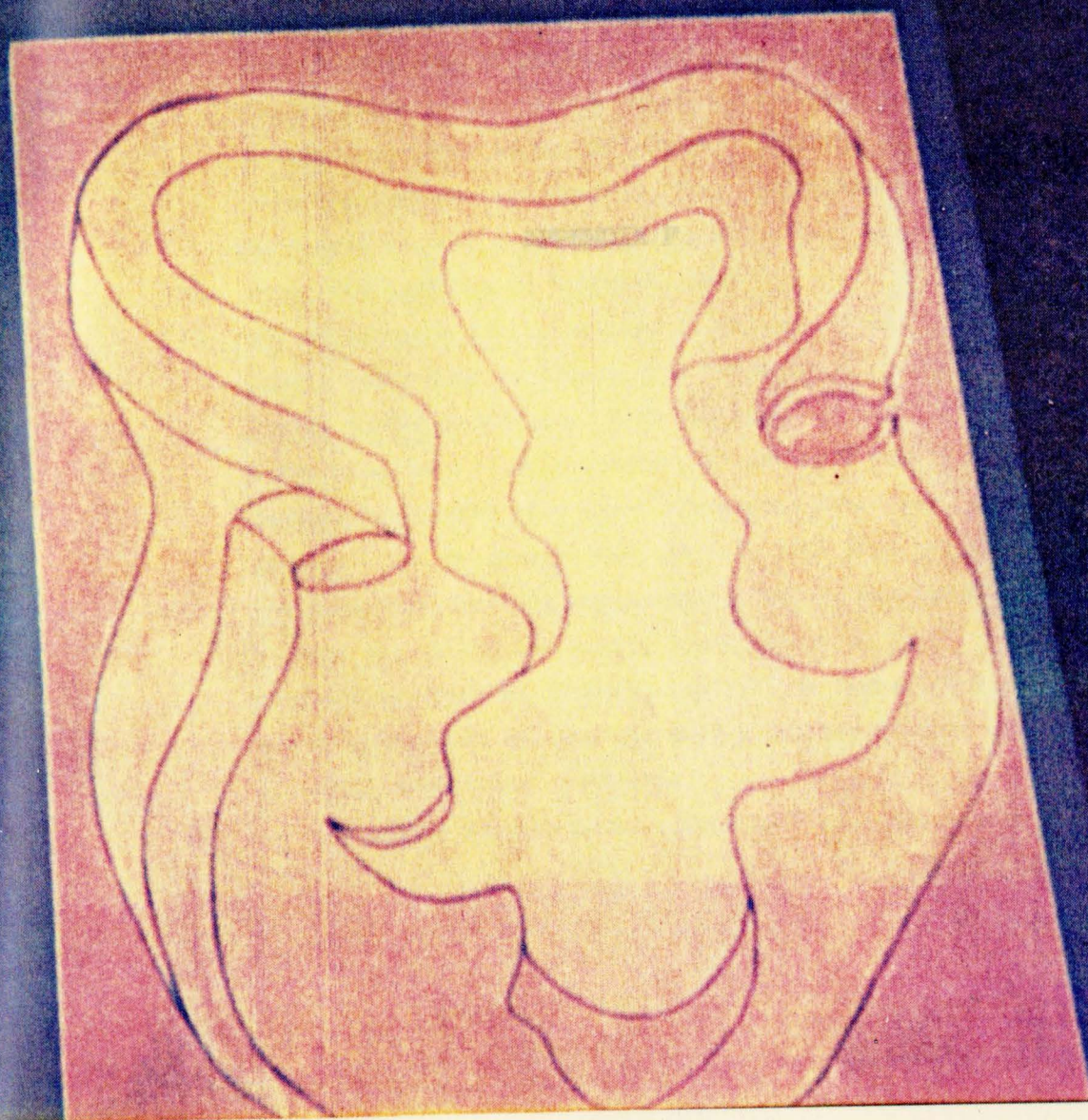
APPENDIX E











APPENDIX F

PARTIAL TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW
WITH REV. AND MRS. GEORGE HALL
TAPES 1-3 IN TABLE 1

GH = Reverend George Hall
LH = Mrs. Lorena Hall
HH = Mr. Harvey Honig

HH: Can you tell me something about your parents, Mrs. Hall?

LH: My mother was born in Germany and came to this country at the age of five. My father was born in Nebraska, but his parents came from Germany. It was a German custom for parents to leave their estate to the oldest child. Since both my parents and grandparents were among the youngest children in their families, they received no inheritance. They really had nothing; and, so, they came to this country seeking new opportunities.

HH: Were both families in Nebraska, then?

LH: No, my mother's family settled in Kansas. Then, my father's family later came to Kansas from Nebraska. . . . My mother's family farmed in Kansas. Both families had nothing but hardship after they came to this country, my mother's family especially, because her father died about six months after they arrived in America. So, my grandmother was left with five children. Later, she remarried just for convenience. He was not the kindest person; so, it was not a very happy situation. . . . I know very little about my father's family. My father died at age 88, and my mother was 93 when she died. Neither of them was ever ill until their final illnesses.

HH: So your mother grew up under rather difficult circumstances?

LH: Yes. My mother was in her early twenties when her mother died. She wanted to become a nurse; so, she went to California to studying nursing. She was in San Francisco when the big earthquake hit there. She and my father had met before this time. He missed her while she was in California and proposed to her; so, she came back to be married.

HH: What was their life like?

LH: It was a very good, sound marriage. My father was very clever at writing and drawing; and he started his own newspaper in Missouri. Then, they moved to Kansas. He wanted to start a newspaper there; but he had lost the sight of an eye in a childhood accident, and it was starting to effect the other eye. Finally, he had to give up the idea of a newspaper; so, he started a furniture store. . . . My father was very active in the Methodist church there; he was the Sunday school superintendent. We always told him he should have been a preacher. He seemed to have a talent for it. Several of his brothers were teachers and preachers. He was very clever with his hands; he was very good at making and repairing things. One day someone asked him to make some awnings for his store. Then, more people asked him to make awnings for them, since there was no awning company in the town. Before long, he was in the awning business. We were never very prosperous, but my father put all four of his daughters through college. Of course, we all worked part-time too throughout our college years. That was his big dream--to put all of us through college--because he hadn't been able to go.

. . . .

HH: Would you like to tell me about Camilla's development? Were there any unusual things in her childhood in terms of walking and talking and what she was like?

LH: I think she developed very normally. She was always a very happy child in her younger years. A little later she did have this problem of being somewhat jealous of her younger sister. She, perhaps, didn't realize that a handicapped child needs special attention; and it was only natural that she should be resentful. There were difficult times. She was quite stubborn and rather hard to deal with at times.

HH: So, pretty early she had a rather strong will of her own?

LH: Yes, she always had that. I don't really know when this began; but I did notice that shortly after she started first grade, she became a little hard to deal with. She didn't want to wear dresses. She didn't like fancy things; she always liked things that were very simple. Her younger sister Nan, I think from the day she was born, noticed what she wore. Isn't that strange, that two children are so different. But, they got along very well; they used to sing together and had fun together. But, they were different.

HH: So, they were close in a way, but there was also that jealousy?

LH: Yes. We tried. But strangers and friends, people outside the family, didn't realize what they were doing. They paid so much attention to Nan because of her lameness, and Camilla naturally felt left out. She resented it. Nan was small; and Camilla was growing so fast, and she went through an awkward stage. This was from about first grade on through junior high. In high

school, Camilla was still overweight; but she was not obese or anything like that. Every now and then, she would think about dieting; although, she was not one to worry too much about her weight or looks. It's just that she liked people and she wanted friends so much. She always had a good time. I've never known her to be depressed. I'm sure she had days when she didn't feel one hundred percent, but she never let it show and she was never crying on someone's shoulder. It came out in other ways sometimes, of course.

HH: In what ways would it come out?

LH: Well, like I mentioned, in this obstinance. Wanting to go her own way, her strong will. She used to resent having to go to church, though we never forced her. But it was expected of her to be confirmed and to go to certain things. We never had to force her. She went, but we always knew there was a little bit of resentment there. She said once, "I want to be good, because I want to be good, not because I have to." She had great faith in herself, I think; and she didn't think she needed anyone prodding her. So, we tried to give her a free rein; because we felt that was the way it had to be because that's the kind of person she was.

HH: She was also pretty independent?

LH: Very independent and strong willed, but very affectionate. She was very considerate of us. All during her college years, she wrote so many enthusiastic, warm letters that we will always treasure. She wrote home much more than I ever wrote to my family when I was in college.

HH: Some of the letters to you, particularly, seem to be very warm, very loving.

LH: Well, they were usually to both of us.

HH: Right, but on the occasions of your birthday and so forth.

LH: Yes. Yes, she remembered our birthdays and anniversaries.

When she was in high school, she was considerate of her friends. At first she went through all the problems that teenagers have, wanting to grow up and be her own person, to be independent, and yet still having one foot in childhood. So, she had the usual problems, of course. Her group meant so much to her; she wanted many friends. She was never a loner. And she worked hard to get friends and to keep them. She was not a selfish person; she gave of herself. It wasn't until her senior year that she noticed people outside her own group. One day she said, "You know, there are a lot of interesting kids at Washburn in my class; and I just haven't seen them before, I've been so interested in my own little group." So, I think that was a step in her development. And ever since then, I think she looked at people differently; she made friends with all kinds of people.

HH: Did she always have several friends, or was there one or two people she was particularly close to?

LH: Yes. She had one, two or sometimes three that she was very close with; but she also crossed lines and made friends with others she met in her many activities...

HH: How did she react to the fact that you had to move around a lot, that she had to lose friends and change schools?

- LH: I don't know; I don't think it was a traumatic experience for her, but it was an adjustment like it is for anyone. I think it was a little harder for Nan, her younger sister, who was not quite as outgoing or as able to make friends as Camilla.
- HH: So from an early age, Camilla was fairly outgoing?
- LH: Yes, she always was. In her earlier years when she was so very awkward, she was almost like a stray puppy; she was trying so hard to make friends that I think she turned a lot of people off, because she was so anxious to make friends... But later on, she grew more subtle about it...
- HH: Was she ever sick during childhood?
- LH: No, she never was sick for any length of time.
- HH: How did she react to going to school the first time?
- LH: Well, I think she enjoyed school because it was a social experience. The only difficulty I remember is that she wouldn't wear a dress; and in those days, little girls wore dresses when they started school. It was just such a hassle every morning, that I finally gave up. I decided that if she could get away with it at school, then I'd just let her do it.
- HH: Did she want to be like her brothers?
- LH: Well, I don't think she remembered them that well...
- HH: Was she closer to your husband or to you?
- LH: I don't think she was any closer to one than the other; I think it was about equal. She always resembled him somewhat; and, I think, she had not completely his temperment but some gifts she inherited from her father. She was always interested in

everything; she was creative.

HH: You were also an artist, is that right?

LH: Yes, that was my major in school; and I did some teaching...

I don't think Camilla realized she had that talent when she was growing up. She was musical; she liked to sing. We gave her piano lessons, but she didn't like to practice. But later on she took up guitar on her own, you know. Of course, no one was telling her to practice then; she could just do it or not do it. And she learned quite a bit. She bought herself an instruction book and did quite well on her own. But she wasn't satisfied with that; out in Berkeley she took classical guitar. She was always improving herself. She was not a drifter or a dreamer. She was always doing something, going to classes, learning; although, she was not what you would call a studious person. She wanted to learn about life.

HH: Did you encourage her in art?

LH: Yes. Well, she had gone to Berkeley I think by the time her art talent and interest were surfacing. But I remember once in high school she had a notebook she wanted to put a little picture on before she turned it in. She gave it to me and asked me to draw the picture for her. I had never really seen her draw before, but I felt that anyone could draw a stick figure or cartoon if they had any imagination at all. So, I told her it would be better if she drew it. She wouldn't do it; and she worked on me so hard, I finally did it for her. That seems so funny now, because after she got out to Berkeley she started drawing and she put so much energy into it. She

finally got to the point where she couldn't turn out that many originals. These were all original drawings, you know, each one. And so, she went to one of the colleges out there and took a printmaking course so she could turn out a few more. And she was beginning to sell her drawings.

HH: In what ways was she like you?

LH: I don't know; I never felt that she was like me. I think my temperment is quite different from hers. She was always able to organize her day, to make plans and carry them through; and I was never as good at that as she was. I always admired that in her. Camilla knew what she wanted, and she planned and worked hard until she got it... I have never felt she especially favored either one of us. She may have been a combination of us plus others in the family.

HH: Was there ever a period where she was particularly close to one of you as opposed to the other one?

LH: No, I don't recall such a time. She never leaned on people. She never came running, crying for Mommy or Daddy. I don't mean that she suffered in silence entirely, because that just builds up frustration sometimes, but it just wasn't her nature to do that. Other people often came to her. She was affectionate, though, and showed it. Everytime she came home to visit, it was just such a lift for us; we felt so enthusiastic and happy to see her.

HH: Is there anything you would have changed about her if you could have?

LH: You mean about the way we worked with her?

HH: No, about her personality, just the kind of person she was.

LH: Well, we had those difficult first years; but my husband and I both understood them so well. That doesn't mean we reacted in the right ways all the time, because sometimes it's not easy. But we did know what was going on; and we tried, we tried not to favor Nan, but it was hard. It was awfully hard, because Nan needed physical help. She was in and out of hospitals and casts and needed to be carried around... It was a joy to me to watch Camilla develop; because you could just see the steps that she took, and she was so much interested in everything. I remember when she took a class on Shakespeare in high school. Her eyes were opened in a tremendous way when she took that class; she was so enthusiastic about everything in Shakespeare; it was a whole new world for her... I don't remember that much about her instructor in Shakespeare; I just felt he must be a terrific teacher, because Camilla was so enthusiastic about the class... She didn't have much patience with arrogance, and she could bring a person down. We never knew about her instructor's unfavorable qualities or about their conflict; she didn't tell us about that incident.

HH: It sounds as though there were a lot of talents and abilities that Camilla had that she never really talked about at home.

LH: It wasn't that. It's just that I don't think she realized that she had them especially. She was always reaching out, because she was interested in so many things. For awhile we were worried, because it all seemed to be social. This group she was in, they liked to go so much. Most of them were very

good students; they got A's and B's and still went out a lot. I don't know how they did it. Washburn was a good school, with very high standards. But, we worried about that for awhile, that Camilla was too much concerned with being sociable and going all the time... Once she wanted to go out, she was invited somewhere; but we said no because she had been out once or twice already that week. We were very firm about it, and she seemed terribly disappointed. But later she told us that she was glad we had said no. And the psychologists are telling us now that we should say no more often to our children. That although they may not realize it at the time, very often they are relieved and grateful when we say no...

HH: Did Camilla take art classes in high school?

LH: No, she was never for the academic kind of art. But, I think maybe it was best that she didn't take art; because the classes are usually too structured. She had this originality that developed on its own... I never felt that it was too bad that she never studied art; because I felt that for what she was doing, she had all the equipment she needed. She had a natural sense of design...

HH: She also sounded like a student who didn't do that much formally, in an academic sense, but when she was interested in something could learn it very rapidly and seemed to learn a great deal.

LH: Right, she never worked for grades. She didn't take the courses she knew she could get a good grade in; she took

whatever she was interested in. If it really caught her interest, she would work very hard for it. The required subjects, those she had to take, I don't think she always did so well in those. She concentrated on what she enjoyed.

HH: When did you go back to work?

LH: I went back to work a little more than seven years ago. My mother was living with us in her later years; and when she passed away at the age of 93, I had been housebound for quite awhile and felt I just wanted to get out and try something different. But I was 58 then, and I didn't know what I could do... Camilla had been a social caseworker in Duluth and Minneapolis; and she suggested that I try to get into the welfare department. She said, "You've got a college degree and you could pass the civil service examination; and that's all there is to it. There are a lot of older women in that job who started late. They don't always catch on so fast; but once they're in, they're reliable and sometimes better than the younger women who move on to other things." And so, I thought I would give it a try... I began working with Cuban refugees, because I could speak Spanish; and I have spent most of the seven years with them. Then about a year ago, when the number of Cuban refugees dropped off, I began working with the Vietnamese refugees. It was my job to interview them, but we didn't have an interpreter. My supervisor and I spent the first six months trying to learn the language so that we could understand them... We were

involved with relocating these families in homes and jobs. I took their applications and interviewed them, but I didn't have to go on home visits... I enjoy the contact with the people, and I really love my job. I told myself in the beginning that I was going to work two years whether it killed me or not just to prove I could do it. But after two years was up, I loved my job and didn't want to quit...

HH: Did you ever talk with Camilla about the experiences she had and the ones you were having on the job?

LH: Oh, yes. She was working with unwed mothers and placing children. And I think the reason she gave up her work was because it just got her down. She suffered with them so much.

HH: She got so involved with them?

LH: Yes. It got so that she was having pains in her stomach. I don't know whether it was an ulcer or not, but she thought maybe it was from her work. And once she got out to California, the stomach pains stopped. So, it was some kind of tension... Part of her frustration may have been Duluth, not just the job itself. Duluth is such a hard climate, and she liked Minneapolis and looked forward to the day when she could go back there. So, maybe she just didn't give Duluth a fair trial... I think there were some rules that bothered her too. For example, you can't touch the client, you know. Well, you don't go around touching clients very much; but there are times when you should...

She differed with one of the supervisor about a number of things, I think; and her work was more taxing than mine. I don't get that involved with my people... I spend several weeks working with the, but then the field worker takes over. I don't keep on with their problems, because then the next week it's someone else. So, I don't think it's as wearing on a person as being a field worker.

HH: Have you ever gotten frustrated with the system or with the people who come in?

LH: Well, yes. But I think perhaps a field worker in the ghetto area sees so much of the same things and sees the same person making the same mistakes over and over again, that it must be very hard to take. I see some of that, but it is somewhat diluted; because I have all kinds of people. People come to us because they have been laid off or for health reasons. It's not just the "losers" as you might call them, those who can't hold a job or are completely unmotivated. Some caseworkers seem to have nothing but cases like that, and that must be very hard.

HH: Did Camilla ever feel like you were helping to maintain a bad system? Did you ever talk about it?

LH: Well, yes. We knew that there was a bad side to the system. It's not the answer at all. It may have contributed to her social feelings about the country. It may have; I don't know. But I really think she got most of that when she got to Berkeley. She was very outspoken about the government during her college years; but those were the sixties, and

the kids were going through that. And she was right in there with them; she went to rallies and so on. But I thought that she was growing out of that. I'm not putting down that idea, because I think we have to have these protests; but sometimes a person matures, and they realize that there have to be other solutions. You know, that you have to get at these things in a little different way. And that's the point that I thought she had come to. But then, she joined the women's lib; and she just put her whole heart into everything she did. Then when she had others who were militant around her, they encouraged each other. I always felt that one thing that must have contributed to her very strong feelings and that led to her being a part of the SLA was probably the contact that Pat (Mizmoon) had with some people who were in prison. She and some of her friends visited these people in prison and knew them quite well. I don't know that Camilla ever did, but she was close enough to some of the others to know some of the awful things that went on. And I really think that had a lot to do with it.

HH: When we read that poetry that they sent, I felt that it was not Camilla's poetry; because it was the poetry of someone who was intensely involved with the people in prison, and I didn't think that was true of Camilla.

LH: No, I think Mizmoon and some of the others were from what I have read. And I think when you visit people in prison and

see these things, I'm sure it makes quite a difference in the way you see everything...

HH: Was there anything in particular about Duluth that bothered her, such as the great dichotomy between the rich and the poor?

LH: I don't remember that she ever spoke about that; but that goes on everywhere. That idea bothered her a great deal, of course; I know that she used to be very much disillusioned with the government that such things existed everywhere. And of course, in Berkeley everyone just turned the spotlight on those injustices. They made so much of them, and I think she was hearing a great deal about it. After Camilla returned from visiting other countries in Europe, she drove out to the southwest and wrote back about all the beautiful scenes. She hadn't realized that there was so much beauty between Minneapolis and Berkeley until then; and I felt that perhaps she could finally appreciate some of the good things about this country. It's hard for us to believe that she could be a part of this. I could understand how she could feel about a lot of things; I feel strongly about a lot of things myself, because I'm close enough to some of the bureaucracy to know what goes on. But I don't understand how she could actually act it out. From what I know of Camilla, I should think she could have thought of better ways to bring about solutions.

HH: Did you feel that at times there was a constantly negative theme that ran through everything with Camilla?

LH: Yes, for a long time. During the last election, when Nixon won by such a landslide, I know she was very much worked up over that and very much disappointed. She attended some of the rallies; one of them was for Wallace in Minneapolis. She said that she didn't want to vote for Wallace, but that she wanted to see what they had to fight. She wanted to get a good look at Wallace so they would know what they had to contend with. And she said that she thought Wallace brought along his own agitators that started trouble in the crowds. She and her friends were on the edge of the crowd, and I guess it got pretty wild.

HH: I'm perplexed too because from what I've seen so far of her letters, I couldn't pick up the anger and the hatred that is usually there somewhat underneath the surface and along with the positive motivation.

LH: Well, we have destroyed some of her letters, because for a while the FBI was coming around awfully close. We didn't know what they might do. We didn't know whether they would demand to see her letters or whether they would come in unannounced while we weren't here. We just didn't know what they would be able to do. And we were frightened, because she did speak out a great deal. We could understand many of the things she said, because we felt rather strong about some of these things ourselves.

HH: Well, it helps to know that fact; because it was almost like there was something missing between the last letter and where she'd been before. So you could see more of that

change in her letters?

LH: Yes. I wish now I hadn't destroyed them, but I was worried.

HH: When did you notice that change taking place?

LH: Do you mean that she was becoming more radical?

HH: Yes.

LH: Well, you know we only saw her once or twice a year. She had been to visit us at Christmas time, the Christmas before the tragedy. And we just felt there was something different about her. She seemed older; she didn't quite have her sparkle. Oh, we had fun and laughed and all that; but there was something, an undercurrent there. We couldn't figure it out. It bothered us a little; but we just couldn't bring ourselves to open it up, you know... We thought it was just something she had to work out. And at that point, I don't think anything we could have said would have made any difference. Apparently, plans were already under way for going underground. She didn't discuss them with us, and we didn't ask any questions.

HH: But the last letter that was sent to you, the one that was found on her body, she really talked about how she felt. Had she talked about any of that earlier? Had there been anything like that in any of her previous letters?

LH: No, except that she had told us that she was going to move to Palo Alto. We didn't quite understand that, what she was going to do there and why she didn't know where she was going to live. We just couldn't bring ourselves to

press it though. There are certain levels on which you can't communicate sometimes even though you're the best of friends in other ways. And we just had a feeling like that. So often my husband says, "Oh, if I had only just asked her what's going on, what's wrong; let's talk about it." But we didn't. I don't know that it would have done any good.

HH: So you could pick up that there might be something wrong, but there was not that much directly in the letters you destroyed that really talked about this?

LH: No, they didn't spell out anything at all. I don't understand why Mizmoon dropped all correspondence with her family. From what I read, she wrote and told her family to destroy anything that was hers. Camilla didn't write and ask us to destroy her things, but she did send us a box of her papers. She had kept very good account of all the pictures she sold, all her expenses and that. And she had paid off all her bills before she went underground. She took care of everything very well, I think. Of course, we didn't know what she had sent us in the box until later. She sent us photographs of most of her drawings, snapshots of some of her friends, and some of her artwork. We couldn't quite understand this either. We wondered that if she were moving to another place, why couldn't she keep her things. She just wrote one day that she was sending us a box that she wanted us to keep for her. She said we could even look through it, which we did because we got a little frightened when the FBI

was so close to us. And we wanted to know what was in the box...

HH: So all of this time, there was no appearance of anything abnormal or no hint that her life was any different?

GH: The appearance of abnormality was that she called up and said that she was going to move. And she had put in so much work into this little house, putting in a garden. And she had given us a drawing of the garden and everything. Then, she was applying for this work as a gardener. So when she said she was going to live with some girls, well that didn't sound too strange. But what did sound strange was that she wanted us to take her cat... We had no idea ahead of time what was going on. When the robbery took place, I received a call from a Swedish journalist in California who had been reading the reports and was going to send the story on. He had a report from Minneapolis that my wife was dead, that I was a widower. I told him that wasn't true. Then he asked me if Camilla wore glasses. I said that she did. So, he said that the girl who was in this picture didn't wear glasses. I said that it would be impossible for her to function without glasses; because she had tried contact lenses, and they hadn't worked. You know, she couldn't see five feet ahead of herself without glasses. On that basis, we were pretty convinced that she wasn't the one. And then when the shootout took place, there was talk about her being there. But when the body wasn't

found at first, we really felt that this cleared it all up. Some people at church were congratulating us that morning; we were all so happy. We thought that now with the shootout taking place, she couldn't have anything to fear, and she could let us know where she was. We didn't know whether she was hiding out because of the SLA or hiding out because of knowing something about the SLA. The FBI was after her, and she probably didn't want to betray her friends...

HH: It was suggested by one of Camilla's friends that she was ill. Do you know anything about that?

GH: She was ill. In fact, she was taking treatment before she came home at Christmas... She went to a doctor at first and then turned to herbal treatment. She was drinking garlic water. Now it may have been, and this is something for a psychologist to ponder, that she thought she was under the same sentence of death as her brothers and sister.

HH: Yes, I'm sure that that certainly played a part in her life; but I'm not sure how.

INTERVIEW WITH SUPERVISOR AND CO-WORKER
AT THE HENNEPIN COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

TAPE 4 IN TABLE 1

AC = Alan Carlson, Supervisor
JB = Jean Bigelow, Co-Worker
HH = Harvey Honig

HH: You knew Camilla in what relationship?

AC: Well, at the time that Camilla worked in our agency, we had a separate section called the unmarried mothers section. There were four units in the department, and I was one of the unit supervisors. She was not in my particular unit, but she was in a unit near mine. Occasionally she came to me for supervision when her own supervisor was not in the office. So, I got to know her sort of indirectly that way. I did get to know Camilla quite well... We called her Candy in the office. To my knowledge she was a happy person. I never once saw her depressed or disgruntled or cantankerous or in an ugly mood; she was always pleasant and smiling. She seemed to have good rapport with the other social workers... There seemed to be a comradeship in her relationship with other staff members. She was intelligent. She was interesting. She was talented. She was just the sort of person who seemed to relate pretty well with other people. I learned after her death in California that she was a homosexual.

HH: Do you have any knowledge whether she was here?

AC: No. It never affected her work. I never heard any adverse comments about that.

HH: One of the things I'm trying to find out in terms of my own research is whether this was a development that took place later in her life. I know that she got involved in the gay rights movement at the University of Minnesota; but her high school classmates feel that she was very much heterosexually oriented and that this came out later.

AC: I think it did come out later. In fact I think she was probably looking for her sexual identity, maybe even while she was here. I did hear that she had dated black men; so, I think she was trying to relate heterosexually. When I say that she wasn't attractive, I say that with some hesitancy; because once you got to know her, she was attractive in terms of a total person... One of the things that maybe detracted from her physical appearance was her clothing. She always wore kind of loose-fitting, baggy clothes... Candy wanted to be comfortable, without pretense; so, because it was comfortable, she'd wear it. She was always clean; her hair was cut and stylish... But she would probably have been considered attractive to about ten percent of the available men.

HH: There was almost some feeling of her reducing her sexual attractiveness by the way she dressed?

AC: Possibly. But maybe not even consciously. Maybe it was subconscious... But, again, she had a good personality... She also did a lot of poetry writing; she showed me some of her poems. I'm not a judge of poetry; but it met my needs in terms of poetry. I thought it was good. And I saw some of her artwork and talked to her about her going

to California and what she was going to do there. She said she hoped to sell some of her artwork. Like her poetry, I thought her artwork was good...

HH: Did you notice any indications that her experience of herself was in some ways masculine?

AC: No, not at all...

HH: On a vocational interest test I saw, her interests were much more in the traditional masculine fields. She sort of rejected the feminine vocations...

AC: Social work tends to be a feminine profession. And, of course, art and writing poetry are kind of feminine... I think having a cat around even tends to be feminine... I never would have expected Candy to be homosexual; but maybe her immediate supervisor would have thought differently about that... Her supervisor, Delores Peck, happens to be a very conservative person... She was glad I did the interviews on television, because she felt she couldn't have been quite as positive about Candy as I was. But I don't think that relates to any of this. I think that relates to Candy's maverickness. She was a nice person, a very sweet person--Mrs. Peck--but I also think that anyone who gave her any kind of a hard time in terms of questioning policy, would upset her.

HH: I noticed that in the performance reviews. Initially, she was very positive about Candy. Later she said that Candy had difficulty accepting department policy.

AC: I can believe that Delores would say that. I look for that in social workers... I want the social workers to question long-standing policies.

HH: In my experience there are two types of people who are questioning or sort of rebelling. One is very much wanting to change it; they'll raise a lot of waves, but it's really because they are positively motivated. The others are sort of expressing hostility.

AC: You're absolutely right, and I would say Candy is the former. It wasn't just because she wanted to be nasty or mean or because she had unmet needs herself or had hostility in her soul. Not at all with Candy; she was not that kind of person. If she questioned, it was because she felt that policy needed changing. And it probably did to tell you the truth. That's my impression of her. If she was critical, it was for positive reasons not negative reasons.

HH: What was your personal reaction when you found out she was involved in the SLA?

AC: I was totally surprised. I really didn't expect it at all. I was upset when she was destroyed--that's the way I look upon it--I think that was tragic... Another thing I would say relative to her is that I'm sure she believed in what she did out there; but at the same time, it kind of bothers me that maybe she got "hooked" on the thing. And if I know Candy, I'm sure she had second thoughts and was trying to figure a way out of this thing and yet save face. Because she was an intelligent person, and she must have realized

that this was a "dead-end street." I don't know if this was because of her emotional tie to this woman that caused her to stay in this thing; but I'd be willing to bet that if I could have gotten to her before the police, she'd say: "I'm in this thing, and I don't know how the hell to get out of it. I know this is going to end up tragic, but I don't know what to do about it." I'd be willing to bet on that, because she was not a sap. She had her head screwed on okay, I think.

HH: She was aware of what the consequences would be?

AC: Sure. She was too bright not to figure out how this thing was going to end up... I can see how she could have gotten into it, but I bet her "wheels were spinning" on how to get out of it gracefully. It obviously would have been very difficult to do...

HH: How would you have described Candy when she was working here?

JB: She was a funny combination of things. She was very witty; she was fun to be with; and she was very sympathetic and helpful. If you needed a favor or needed to talk, she was really very compassionate. And yet she also had very strong, kind of passionate, ideas...

HH: What kind of social concerns was she involved with here?

JB: Well, this was unmarried mothers. At the time that I knew her, she was very turned off by her inability, or all of us in social work, to actually help people. I think she thought

that generally; she was not limiting that to unmarried mothers. She was turned off on social work as a means of really helping people change and really being of service to them.

HH: Do you think that developed while she was working here, that feeling that it was pretty hopeless, pretty fruitless?

JB: I think that it was sort of an underlying theme with her, the need to be in a helpful position. In fact, I think she entered social work with a lot of enthusiasm, almost too much idealistic enthusiasm... She was really pretty disillusioned by it. I think she was "riding" on her funny cynicism for awhile...

AC: She was client-oriented, I'm sure. Definitely.

JB: Of course, I think a lot of us go through that. You have to make your own decision what helping people is, and I don't think she ever got through that. She wanted to get completely away from it; and then, of course, she did have her art skills. It was pretty natural that she go to California, I guess.

HH: Did she seem to you to be angry about the fact that people weren't being helped?

JB: She never came off as an angry person. She would be intense about a case and frustrated sometimes in trying to help someone... She also had supervisory problems. Her supervisor had more of a traditional approach to the problems of her clients, and she felt Alan was much more flexible to work for and in his approach to the situation. She wanted to be

transferred to his unit... I guess I thought that it was more bitterness at disillusionment rather than anger. And she felt frustration in her weakness... She didn't present this trip to California in terms of an answer to everything; it was more like, "It isn't here, and I'm seeking it."

HH: Up until Camilla's last day, Delores had been basically positive with some criticism about the fact that she was too impatient. But the day she left, she put a note in her file that Camilla was supposed to come back in to talk with her but didn't. Do you know why that was or what her feelings were about leaving?

JB: I don't know what her feelings about her supervisor were at this time; but she might have felt that it was another meaningless gesture... I don't think it would be like her to not come to an appointment if she felt it was valuable to her or to the person...

HH: She seemed also like the kind of person who was very direct at times and who could also be confronting at times with people or at least very frank.

JB: Yes.

AC: I never saw that part of her; what I know of that is just what I heard.

JB: Camilla gave me a poem that she had written about a boyfriend of hers. I can send that to you if you wish.

HH: I would like that. because one of the things I'm curious about personally is at what point in her life and why she

changed from a heterosexual orientation and whether her orientation was really basically bi-sexual. Sometimes it feels like she became completely involved in the women's movement and very identified with that, and part of that led to the sexual expression.

JB: Yes.

HH: The poem would also indicate that at that time she was very much involved with men.

JB: Yes. Neither one seems strange to me. I can see that sympathetically and empathetically she might begin to identify with women...

HH: What was your personal reaction when you found out she was part of the group out there?

JB: Well, I think it gave me a lot of insight that I might not have had. I wasn't really too surprised. I mean, I was in terms of the violence; because she was non-violent. But yet she had that streak of logical dedication, which I could see simply as an extension of her feelings. And logically if you couldn't make people change, then maybe this would be an approach. And the communal thing seemed very much like Candy; I could see that. I have my own feelings about the incident. I think it was despicable, the way it was handled.

HH: The final incident?

JB: Oh, yes. I was surprised at the shooting of that principal, the bank robbery and the fact that she had a gun; and I was

not surprised that Patty would become very influenced by Camilla. Her philosophies would really suit this person. She wasn't overly pragmatic, but she was in her application of her philosophies.

HH: The interviews with the Harrises that I've read, indicate that at that time she was really pretty comfortable with a gun and with using it and really knew how to use it. Does that surprise you?

JB: Well, that's a little hard to accept; but I can believe it. Some of the people I've talked to about this really thought that Candy must have "flipped out." But I don't think I ever really thought that; I thought it was a logical way for her to go. Not that I would have predicted something like that; but as long as she had gone that way, she did so for reasons which also made her empathetic, sympathetic and underdog oriented.

HH: Do you think she got into the SLA because of her own ideals or because of getting involved with people. In other words, I can see where she would have either gotten involved with the SLA because she really believed it and wanted to dedicate herself to the cause; or she was very close to Pat Soltysik, who was very involved in this, and part of her closeness and her identity with people and her really wanting to belong to that group would have led her to really commit herself.

JB: I can see that happening, but I would say that it would have to be because she "bought" it intellectually and

emotionally also... Which came first, I don't know.

HH: One of the things you're saying is that she was a person of complete integrity and...

JB: Well, I'm sure that her complete dedication would be greatly influenced by her ties to the person; but also, if she had not had such an influential tie with that person, she might not have become so involved. She wasn't just an intellectual being.

HH: Do you feel like your evaluation of her has changed in any way by the fact that she was killed?

JB: I was remembering back to the time when we talked about it. Some people thought she had "flipped out," but I didn't feel that that was really true. My awareness of it is that I could understand her going that way. Also, our understanding of the SLA was largely presented in the news media by the FBI, who emphasized the violence...

HH: When I talk to people about Candy, they're almost universally very positive about her, and I wonder if they are eliminating the negative parts because of her death.

AC: The halo effect?

HH: Right.

JB: I think I would describe Candy the same way.

AC: So do I. I know I was surprised that she was involved with the violence. She was a pacifist, and to go this route is a little bit out of character.

JB: Well, except maybe as a logical extension. If you find that you cannot change the system, you cannot help people without taking methods like this, you have to set your priorities about what is more important to you. To be a pacifist would be secondary to the need to help people... I wish I knew more about her family. I know that her sister and brothers had all died young, and she had a self-esteem problem with regard to that. I don't know too much about that, though. I guess I think of her as being tremendously self-demanding, very hard on herself, crushingly so. And so, needing to be carried along in part of a bigger philosophical movement would explain and justify her actions...

CO-WORKER IN MINNEAPOLIS WITH WHOM CAMILLA
STAYED WHEN SHE FIRST MOVED TO CALIFORNIA

TAPE 6 IN TABLE 1

BE = Betty Esbjornson
HH = Harvey Honig

HH: When did you meet Camilla?

BE: I met her in 1968. I was working for the Hennepin County Welfare Department. I was there about a year and then she started. What kind of things do you want to know?

HH: I want to know how you saw her when she was there, how you saw her when she was here, and what kind of changes you saw taking place if any.

BE: Okay. When I first knew her she was really into the anti-war movement. It was interesting, because I had no opinion about it at all; and she really told me why I had to be against this terrible thing. And she was right. She really turned me on to a lot of things. It was interesting; because she was really a very feeling, thinking, seeking person. And she was very, very tender hearted. It's weird how she changed. She was very honest, very deep-down honest, a really good person. Everybody who met her liked her. Everyone liked her.

HH: And she was a person who formed her own opinions, and she didn't take opinions from anyone else?

BE: No. She had it all together; she had it all figured out. You could talk to her, she wasn't unreasonable; but she would probably have her opinions set about it. Camilla turned me on to cats, especially Siamese; and she turned

me on to the outdoors, to nature. She really did a lot of nice things for me. I asked her one time why she did that; she said she just knew I had the potential. I thought that was really a nice compliment. So, that was her when I knew her back there.

HH: Did you see her as having an underlying anger or was she just very determined? How would you describe her?

BE: She was pretty determined. She really knew her own mind. It was pretty hard to change her mind... I could see Camilla changing, and the politics was only part of the change. It wasn't the whole thing at all. Underneath all that happiness was a lot of anger. Her parents visited out here once, and she was in competition with her father. Well, not really competition. Camilla was a lot like him. He was a very "upper" type person, happy, jolly, with lots of nice stories to tell... Camilla would get extremely angry when he would treat her like a child, like his little girl. That was part of the anger. She was also really angry with the Judaic-Christian church.

HH: Why?

BE: That's another thing she really changed me on; her opinions on that were very true. I worked for a Catholic adoption agency... It's frightening. And I think she felt pretty much that same way. I think her father helped turn her against it, because he was a minister. The political part of it, the Vietnam war and all that, is only part of the whole thing. It's a minor part, too. It just followed in the path of everything else.

HH: The anger that you saw in relation to her father is interesting; because I've tried to see where her anger was coming from, and other people didn't see it.

BE: Oh, but Camilla and I knew each other really well. We were really close friends for about a year and a half, and we would have some very deep talks. We would just sit around and talk to each other; we would get into each other's head. So, I know that that's where it came from, where the anger came from. I've thought a lot about it, you know. I sat and watched her get killed on TV and thought about why she did that. And before the house was burned to the ground, I knew that all those guys had committed suicide. They had tried their best and nothing worked; so, they committed suicide, right on TV... I think Camilla had tried her best, and nothing worked; she just couldn't change the world... The FBI visited us one day; they just showed up here. I was at work; but Dick was here, and he talked to them. That was just after Patty Hearst was stolen. Before that, about six months before that, people kept tracing her here because she had lived here. It seems she wasn't paying the taxes; this was another thing that really angered her. She hadn't been paying the tax on the telephone bill that went for the Vietnam War, something like one percent I think. And so, the government got so angry that they sent the Treasury Department out to her bank, and they took out that \$25 that she owed on whatever that tax was. And then

they charged Camilla \$25 for doing this. They said that she could either pay the charge or leave the bank. And she was outraged! She was so angry. And so, I think that helped to tip something in there. I think that really screwed her up that the government could have such ultimate power over her, that they could touch her personally like that.

HH: I suppose she wouldn't have been too reluctant then to see the bank as one of the targets.

BE: I suppose not, yes. I can see that; she was a little outraged with it...

HH: Now, the way you're describing her is in some ways different than the people described her back in Minneapolis.

BE: Yes. She changed. But, you see, I knew her in a different way than they did anyway.

HH: So, was that anger always there?

BE: Sure, but nobody knew about it back there. She hid it too well. You know a funny thing happens when you move to Los Angeles; it happens to everybody. They become more of whoever they are... That happened to Camilla; she just sort of mellowed out and got angry and went to extremes. And she became an artist. We have one of her drawings, too. It's really a nice significant one; it's this big blue monster chasing this poor little girl... So she became an artist. She used to do really cute things, really funny, punning things; and then they got a little bit angrier, about police authority and authority in general. Then she moved to Berkeley; but she would come down here for street

art shows, and I would go visit her. But we had had a real break in our friendship... That was about six months after she had moved up there and by then this lesbian element came in. It was very evident; and it became stronger and stronger until she quit doing the artwork...

HH: Were you surprised by this lesbian element?

BE: Yes, because that had never come into our relationship at all... There was never any overture to me. I had no idea.

HH: From talking with another friend of hers, I don't think she was homosexual until later. It seemed like this was part of her reaction against the past when she came out here.

BE: Oh, poor Camilla, the boys didn't like her. They liked her as a buddy; but she had no sex appeal. She was fat.

HH: Why do you think she got herself taken advantage of so many times?

BE: She did. I don't know; I think she liked to see the goodness in people.

HH: There were so many ways in which she was really a very aware person in terms of what was happening.

BE: Yes, but she was also a very needful person, too. She never would be romantically involved; she might be buddies with someone; but I think that really bothered her too.

HH: It bothered her that men would never be attracted to her?

BE: Yes. Yes. But then, you know, there's reasons for people being fat too. To hide.

HH: What do you think she was hiding?

BE: What was Camilla hiding. I don't know. I think maybe she was afraid to get involved; but I don't know if that's true or not. I don't know.

HH: Was she hiding her anger?

BE: Maybe she didn't like men because her father made her so angry. I don't know.

HH: That relationship is very interesting to me; because it seems that in some ways she liked and admired and identified with him, and in other ways she was really angry with him.

BE: Oh, absolutely. There was a real love-hate thing going on there. Is her mother still living? Is she still doing social work?

HH: Yes.

BE: She liked her mother; but she saw her mother as kind of weak. Her father was the strong one. So, maybe she just liked her freedom; maybe she was fearful of losing that.

HH: When she would get angry with her father, when they would clash, what kind of things would that be about?

BE: I don't know; but it would end up: "You're treating me like a little girl. I'm a grown up. I'm intelligent." Whatever the argument started out on, it would end up like that. It was a real bad, unhappy thing going on there. I don't think Professor Hall was aware of it at all, 'cause he wouldn't want that to go on.

HH: Did you agree that he was treating her like a little girl? Or was she over-reacting?

BE: Not from what I saw. In a way, because she was his daughter.

And in another way he was treating her as a grown up. He was talking on an equal level with me, and it seemed like he was talking on an equal level with her. But maybe she didn't see it that way.

HH: When did she stop using the name Candy?

BE: That was interesting. It must have been when she moved out here. She said, "I'm no longer Candy. I want my name Camilla. Don't call me Candy any more." And we'd keep calling her Candy, and she'd get really angry with us. So, it finally became Camilla. There was no Candy. It was just Camilla.

HH: And that symbolized the change or seemed to fit with the change?

BE: I think she had done a lot of thinking before she came out here about what she was going to do when she got here. In fact, I know she did. She had it all planned out, because Camilla would plan these things out down to the letter... She always planned everything out very well. She knew that she would come out here and try to be an artist. She said she had some ideas that she wanted to put in front of the people. She even knew what kind of artwork she would be doing...

HH: So then, you can't see her getting into the SLA without knowing the consequences very well?

BE: Oh, she wasn't a victim of circumstances at all. The quotes that came from the SLA sounded so much like her thinking. They sounded like ways that we had talked, not subjects, but thinking, mental things. So, I think she knew exactly

what she was getting into. She just went the limit; she just couldn't hack it. She stayed in 1969, with that whole set of ideas. Do you remember 1969? There were lots of things happening, lots of riots and things?

HH: Yes, I remember being pretty angry myself.

BE: I was at an age where we didn't care about politics. Camilla was just that much younger; so, she cared a lot. And I couldn't understand it. I can now, of course. But, there was that age split there. People of her age think a certain way, and people of my age think another way.

HH: And it seemed to take place just about that time. It was between 1963 and 1965 that high school kids started to become really aware.

BE: That's when the whole revolution started taking place... And it reached it's peak in 1969... The feeling of the time was really split: some people were really angry, and the rest of them didn't care.

HH: You know, you're the first one who has mentioned this anger.

BE: Oh, I'm not surprised.

HH: I've been pursuing it, because I was sure it was there.

BE: Yes. Why wouldn't it be there. How could it not be there. What is the other motivating factor?

HH: It's interesting, because even the MMPI she took when she started at the university showed a kind of bland profile. She may have been covering up her anger back then.

BE: It was really submerged then maybe.

HH: But when she talked with you then in terms when you really got into it, she was pretty honest about the anger, the rage she felt toward the system and what they were doing?

BE: Yes, she was pretty blatant. And I had no opinion at all, she woke me up to a lot of things. And I can see that what she said was true, and it wasn't just political things. She had a good hold on the world as it was; so, that I think she was "right on" as far as her political concerns were, too. Later on, she got twisted; but she really knew what was happening in the beginning. She really grew fast...

HH: Some people have seriously said that there must have been two Camillas; and I don't believe that, but I can see where psychologically they might have felt that at some time.

BE: No, I don't believe that either. What I think is that she just plain evolved, like a butterfly evolves. She evolved from somebody who's real naive starting college. As the years rolled by, I could see that whoever she was began to be. She began to be who she was...

HH: What happened to change her relationship with you?

BE: Oh, she thought I had taken something from her; and I hadn't. I tried to explain to her, because it was very obvious that I hadn't done this thing. And she didn't want to hear about it. My feelings were hurt at first,

because I couldn't understand it. Then after a couple of months I started thinking about it, and it came to me that she wanted to break the relationship. She had to break the relationship with me... And she did it.

HH: Why did she have to break off the relationship with you?

BE: I don't know. But that was when she was going to Berkeley. She was going to Berkeley in two or three weeks, and she had to slice the relationship. We talked about that at one time. She told me about how she had moved from place to place so often in her childhood; and she said that when she left one place she would leave those people behind. She said, "I don't write letters. I don't do any of this kind of thing. I don't try to maintain that relationship. I just leave those people where they are; and if I come back and they're still there, that's great." She said that she did that. She lived in the present...

HH: I got that impression from others too, that she really cut off relationships every time she moved., And they were so important to her, and she would get very close; but when she left, it was just cut off.

BE: Yes, she believed in doing that; but why she was so definitely with me, I don't know.

HH: Was she acting in ways that were unknown to you or were different to you?

BE: No, just a little more extreme. When she first started doing her little drawings, they were fun and their meaning was obvious. But they kept getting more and more obscure.

If I didn't understand the meaning of her drawings, she would get really angry with me... It got to the point where it was senseless to talk to her about artwork any more, because she was off in some other head from me...

HH: Her thinking that you stole something from her, was this all just her way of breaking your relationship?

BE: I think so, because both Dick and I had a very honest relationship with her; and she had never questioned us on anything before... In general, though, I think she was getting a little more distraught and a little more unhappy. Our relationship kind of went down the drain even before that circumstance. I knew it was ending. She was going someplace else; she was evolving out of my interests.

HH: What was she into?

BE: Oh, she was into her art. And I think she got into homosexuality about a year before she left here...

HH: So maybe part of her distancing herself was her need to involve herself in a kind of a more close sexual relationship with other women?

BE: Maybe. And more artsy too. She wanted to get totally into the art thing, and I'm not an artist at all. I don't know... I do think that her interests and ours became radically different; and therefore, we couldn't talk together any more. And that's when friendships break up, when you have no common base any more.

HH: And yet, Camilla could talk with many different people on

many different levels.

BE: Oh, yes. I think she could talk to just about anyone. She was a kind person and really interested in other people...

HH: Do you think she cut off her relationship with you partly because she was getting really close? Sometimes people get frightened when another person gets that close to them.

BE: Oh, no. She had moved away from here before that. It was after she got her own place and got into her artwork. She got real sure of herself and began to change in other ways; and I think that's when she got into lesbianism... Then there was no communication any more; our friendship was ending...

HH: Do you know why Camilla moved to Berkeley?

BE: No; but I'm sure she had something in mind. She liked to make moves; she didn't like to stay in any one place very long. But by then communication wasn't good between us; so, I really don't know.

HH: Were there any indications of paranoid thinking in other areas? Did she seem overly suspicious of other people or other things?

BE: Yes; but then she might have had her reasons, real reasons not imagined... I can't think of any specific instances, but it was there... I think that whatever her paranoia was, part of it was for real reasons. I don't think her reasoning was that far off. When the Treasury Department

took that money out of her account, she realized what power the government had, what terrible power, that they could just do whatever they wanted to; so that was probably sitting in the back of her mind.

HH: What was the part that was non-based? She was ripped off by the government and had a right to be fearful of the government; but what was going on in her own life, in her relationships with other people?

BE: I don't know. I don't think she was frightened of other people. I think her relationships with other people were pretty solid...

HH: You began to lose the relationship with her and then the next awareness was when you started reading about the kidnapping and the FBI got in touch with you?

BE: She moved up to Berkeley, and we saw her occasionally. Then Patty was stolen about February 4; so, I think they turned up on February 5 or 6. Something like that. I was at work, and Dick was here. There were two of them, and he stood out by the gate and talked with them. They were asking what we knew about Camilla Hall, where she was, her political thinking, and that kind of thing. And Dick said, "What's she done now," because he thought maybe the Treasury Department was looking for her again. He said, "What's she done now--steal Patty Hearst?" He was really afraid they would think he knew something about it; but he just opened his big mouth and said that... She wasn't the kind to get into things like that, you know,

nasty things like stealing somebody's person. But it was just a joke on Dick's part, because it was on all the news.

HH: Were you really surprised?

BE: Yes, I just couldn't believe it. But then again, I guess I could. When the dialogues came out from the SLA, their thinking and their demands sounded so much like Camilla. There was no mistake; it was the Camilla Hall we knew. People don't change that much; they don't change underneath that much. So we knew it was no fluke that she was in there, because it was her thinking as I remembered it coming through on those communiques. Yes, it was really a surprise though.

HH: So, the way of thinking didn't surprise you; but the fact that she would be involved in a group that was so violent did surprise you?

BE: Yes. Yes. It's one thing to be angry, but something else to do such a rash thing as that.

HH: You feel like all six of them committed suicide?

BE: Oh, yes. I'm sure of it. I watched them there, and I was trying to make sense out of it. And they didn't come out; that's the thing... When I first started watching it on TV, they were shooting out; but the cops hadn't shot back in yet. So, I watched the whole thing, with the tear gas and then the fire in the house. I wondered why they didn't come out; I kept hoping they'd give themselves up. And then I knew that they were committing suicide.

HH: Some people think that Camilla and Nancy were trying to come out.

BE: I think they did. I think that at the last second, they decided to give up. That part wasn't shown on TV...

HH: So why would somebody who loved life as much as Camilla want to commit suicide?

BE: I think she reached the bitter end. Her thinking didn't work. That's why I say she was stuck in 1969; I don't think she could change her way of thinking. She couldn't get along in the world she was living in, because her thinking was all screwed up. And she couldn't understand why nobody could understand her. That's just a theory that I've evolved.

HH: This friend of hers who lived up in San Francisco has described a different Camilla; but I suspect that's because Camilla was different with people, she was always a little to the left of anyone she was talking to. This friend said she couldn't believe that Camilla was involved in it, because the communiques were so badly written...

BE: Do you mean grammatically? Well, maybe she didn't put it down in writing; but it was her ideas going down on that paper...

HH: Anyway this friend's theory is that Camilla was having kidney trouble and that set off a whole fantasy about her own mortality since her brothers and sister had died from this.

- BE: Yes, that's right. She was fearful; she had that fear of dying too... She hardly ever talked about it, almost never. One time, I remember, I was visiting her in her apartment back in Minneapolis. And I asked her about it; and she told me about how they had died. And then she said, "I'm the last one."
- HH: What feelings were connected with that?
- BE: I don't think she ever worked through her mourning. Well, what would you think if your three brothers and sisters died all of natural causes? Scared.
- HH: I'd have two things I'd have a hard time dealing with. One is that I would be scared; I would feel an awful lot of pressure. And the other thing is I would probably be very angry. Somebody in that family has to be angry, and I haven't seen it in the father either. I don't think he's ever worked it through either...
- BE: Rage is part of the mourning process; it's like step two of that process. Maybe he just said, "Well, it's God's will." Which I'm sure just enraged Camilla.
- HH: That's closer to my theory, that all of this became a working out of her anger.
- BE: Yes. Not just from the dead brothers and sisters; but from her father too. The father's the key one I think.
- HH: But that the anger toward the father may have started it. He became a representative of God, you think?
- BE: Yes, because he was always defending God and the Judaic-Christian church. And he was always so right. He was

always the professor.

HH: My feeling about him is that he is much less certain about any answers. Not that he's not still Christian; but part of this has really touched some deep spot in him that doesn't know the answers any more.

BE: Oh, Camilla would be very happy to hear that, that he wasn't perfect. Maybe she thought he thought he was perfect; and he certainly acted that way. He wasn't an unlikeable person; he was nice. But he always had the answer, and he was always even-flowing, and unpenetrable... That was a little irritating to me too, that he didn't have any flaws at all. And I suppose that made Camilla angry.

HH: Her anger toward her father may have stemmed from the fact that he continued to defend God, that he still believed in the whole thing.

BE: Yes, his faith was unshakeable.

HH: You were saying that she was trying to get her dad to take her seriously, to see her as someone to reckon with; and that seems like what that group was doing in relationship to society.

BE: Yes, it is... I still have not figured out why they did what they did. Why do you think they did it? To get recognized? What was their message?

HH: The two interviews with the Harrises in the New Times probably come as close to explaining it from their point of view. I think part of their feeling was that somehow people would rise up in support of them.

BE: To what end? What was their purpose?

HH: Revolution.

BE: Camilla was always into revolution. I met her in 1969, and she was into that way of thinking--violence is the only way, nothing else works. Well, since then we've learned that other things work too. Sometimes non-violence works too. And she never saw that--ever.

HH: So even back then, she believed that there would have to be a revolution?

BE: Yes, it was here. She went to several gatherings, not riots, but get-togethers protesting things. And she was sprayed with mace one time, and she wore contact lenses; so, they really almost blinded her for a week. That made her pretty angry too... She wasn't into guns violence, just get-up-and-shout violence.

HH: Did she simply believe in demonstrations even if they led to violence, or did she actually believe that the government would have to be overthrown? Even back then, did she believe there would have to be a revolution in this country?

BE: I think in the beginning she felt that if the people showed their power, the government would change things. But then as things went on and they didn't change, she might have thought that if you can't talk to people, then in desperation, you must use violence. You must get their attention some way. And if you can't do it by talking and pleading with them and demonstrating, then you keep going until you do get their attention.

INTERVIEW WITH UNIDENTIFIED FRIEND IN BERKELEY
TAPE 7 IN TABLE 1

UF = Unidentified Friend
HH = Mr. Harvey Honig

UF: I went to high school with Camilla. I didn't know her well. She wasn't my closest friend, but she was everybody's friend. She was the class clown; it said so in the class yearbook. And she weighed a lot more. She had a tremendous wit, a powerful wit. Nobody disliked her. She was one of those people that everybody liked. And then I didn't see her for six years. She went her way, and I went mine after we graduated. I was out here in Berkeley in a performing company... One of the places she lived in Berkeley was across the hall from another of these performers, who kept bugging her to come see the show. She finally came, saw me and recognized me from high school. We became fast friends. I saw her once or twice a week for a period of two years except for the time she was in Europe.

HH: That was 1972-1973?

UF: ...In '69 she was in LA and did some drawings there, and then she came up here. It might have been '71 that I ran into her again; because it seems to me that it was only like two years (1971-1973). We were very close. I was taking guitar lessons at the time, and Camilla played classical guitar. My teacher was a block away from her house. So, I would walk over to see her every week (at least once a week for sure), have dinner with her and sit and talk some evenings. She was going through a

bunch of different trips. One of them was drawing. And, then, at one point, she stopped drawing. '72 in fact. She did not draw after '72. All of her drawings are dated 1969 to 1972. She just one day stopped doing it all together, packed everything away and wouldn't look at it any more. She started gardening; that was her new trip. And she landscaped this garden in the back of the house where she was living. It was just beautiful. She turned this weed muck into a landscaped garden. One of the images that sticks with me is Camilla, the pacifist, going out at night to collect the snails in a burlap bag to take them out to Lake T_____ to release them as opposed to putting out poison. Camilla, the pacifist, that's bizarre. And then the FBI man asked me if I thought she could handle a gun. Could and would are two different things. And then I saw the picture of her in the paper. It was a bank robbery, and there she was with a gun in her hands. Unreconcilable images.

HH: That's the puzzle to me.

UF: It is a puzzle. I still have dreams where she comes between the bank robbery and her death in LA. I have this dream that she comes to my house, and I hide her in the basement. And I try to talk to her about what's going on in her head. Sometimes it's just noise, and I can't understand her.

HH: Can you tell me that dream as fully as possible?

UF: There's a knock on the door; it's late at night. I open the door, and it's Camilla, looking distraught. I pull her inside, take her down into the basement to set her up to sleep, and we sit down together to talk. I ask her what's going on with her,

why she's doing what she's doing. Is she all right? Does she need any food? But mostly why. I want to know why. And when she tries to talk to tell me why, either no sound comes out or it's electronically garbled so that I can't comprehend it. We can talk about anything else, and I can hear her speak; but when it gets to that--to why--the answers are always very frustrating. And I wake up shortly thereafter. I can't make myself tell me why. I can't pull one out of there; it's just too weird.

She had a bladder or kidney infection for awhile, which is what her other siblings died of. A chronic kidney ailment, I believe.

HH: Do you know when this was?

UF: The spring of '73. No, late winter of '72--like January or February. She was drinking garlic tea, I recall. She was drinking a lot of garlic tea and offered me some when I came to visit. "No thanks," I said, "I'll settle for water." She explained to me that she had seen a doctor for a kidney infection; he told her it was a simple infection and gave her some pills. She took the pills, and they made her uncomfortable; so, she stopped taking them. They didn't seem to be doing any good: so, she stopped taking the pills and started treating herself with garlic tea. I have a very strong rooting in medicine, both my parents are doctors; so, I tend to not believe in garlic tea and to believe in medicine. We would have continual arguments about treating yourself and Adele Davis' philosophy of herbal treatment, which she subscribed to to an extent. She wasn't into it like a fanatic; but she was on the fringes of it and

certainly trusted it and definitely rejected medicine.

HH: Let's pick up the story where she came to that performance and saw you. You got together again and became good friends?

UF: Yes, right away; instantly. She was one of those people that I wanted to know, and it was mutual. It's strange. We couldn't have been picking up on anything from high school except nostalgia; because we didn't know each other that well in high school. And we were both so very different by then; it's strange the differences. But she played classical guitar and so did I; we both had that in common. The more we talked, the more we liked each other. We talked politics a lot. After the fact, that seemed strange; but at the time, it seemed perfectly normal.

HH: What did she talk about?

UF: She would talk just to the left of where I was. Whatever position I was arguing, she would go a little further left. I can see that now in perspective, looking back. I didn't notice it, wasn't conscious of it, at the time. I presumed she was telling the truth. I've since learned from these other members of the art collective, two of whom are more radical than I in degrees, that she would talk to their level to them and to my level to me. This is something we found out by getting together after her death. For example, after the kidnapping but before she disappeared, she was still in town living at home (I've since heard it implied that she was a lookout for the SLA and that she participated in some manner); and I was over visiting. We were talking about the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and what a ridiculous, useless revolutionary weapon kidnapping a rich

person was. The kidnapping was not the way to change the world. And she agreed; we argued the same side.

HH: She agreed?

UF: Yes, that's what's so bizarre. We were both talking about what a wasted effort that was for a revolutionary movement. It was not a practical revolutionary activity.

HH: She doesn't seem like the kind of person who would have done that totally as a front.

UF: I never knew her to lie to me. I never felt like she was lying to me. I always thought I knew where she was coming from; so, I don't know how to explain it. Maybe, she had some schizophrenic relationship to the revolutionary group and the rest of the world, even me.

HH: If she were very shrewd at covering up, I could see that as a very good front to talk that way.

UF: No, I don't think it was a matter of covering up. I think it was a matter of her not being sure of what she'd done. It's a supposition, but I would rather believe that she was voicing her own misgivings and bouncing them off me. I think that's more likely. I never thought that she was being dishonest.

HH: So, in this art collective that you are part of, was Pat Soltysik in that?

UF: No, the art collective got together after the deaths of the SLA members. When Camilla left town to go underground, she left her drawings with different people. And when the FBI started showing up, we started calling to warn each other about the FBI. That's when we found out that we had all these

drawings. So, we talked about getting together; and very shortly thereafter, Camilla was dead. Then, we did get together.

HH: So you lived close to her, and you were close friends; but you never lived with her?

UF: No, I never lived with her. The place where she first lived in Berkeley, on Channing, is where Pat Soltysik lived upstairs. I met Pat; she was a distant person, hard to get to know, a very private kind of person, kind of dark and glowering. But she really wasn't glowering; it was just kind of a way to keep people from getting too close. I never felt threatened by her or anything; but she didn't want to get close to me. I would come over, the two of them would be there, and Pat would leave shortly. It was like she was not very sociable. I didn't feel any personal affront, though. Camilla would tell me sometimes about their relationship. She told me about how good she felt about discovering that she was homosexual, about being free of the chains of trying to be a bad heterosexual, the freedom and joy of discovering and releasing herself to being a homosexual and finding that she was attractive to women.

HH: When did she discover that?

UF: In 1969, apparently, when she moved out to LA. That's when she was just settling in. In fact, even after she was settled in. She fell in love with Pat Soltysik, Mizmoon, and wrote her poems and such.

HH: Was that when she discovered it? When she fell in love with Pat?

- UF: No. It was before that. She had intellectually determined her homosexuality before she met Pat and maybe had some relationships. I'm not sure; I don't recall the details of that.
- HH: What led her to discover that?
- UF: Depression probably; I don't know. An intense sense of dissatisfaction, discomfort in the real world.
- HH: Dissatisfaction with the relationships she had up until then?
- UF: Yes, yes, heavy dissatisfaction. In fact, she went into a rap once about how she had always been ugly in high school. So, she didn't care if she got fat; because that was a noticeable ugly, and she didn't have to worry about being facially ugly or plain. She figured that her good humor and her wit were mechanisms to get people to like her, since she didn't have looks. She wasn't attractive to men except as a friend, and that always bothered her. She never had any dates in high school; and she couldn't get into solid, long-lasting relationships with men that she liked. So she stopped liking any of them and stopped trying. She got more and more depressed and more and more lonely. And one day, she decided that wasn't the only answer. There was another solution; there was another way out. And when it dawned on her, she was delighted.
- HH: So, initially, it was kind of an intellectual thing?
- UF: I believe so, yes, rather than a singular person. Yes, that was the impression she gave me. Whether that was made up or real, I don't know. But, she was clearly in love with Pat Soltysik.

HH: She experienced herself, is that right? But it seemed like in high school and when she was working, she would almost emphasize that--the way she dressed, the way she came on.

UF: And, she continued to carry that weight until she moved to LA. That's when she lost all the weight; and that's when she started thinking of herself as attractive to other people, not necessarily men. I think that was the order. She decided she had to weigh less; she was disgusting herself. And then, that started a chain reaction. She weighed less, looked better, started attracting people, noticed it, and stopped being so lonely.

HH: Then, she became involved with Pat?

UF: Yes. I don't know why she moved from LA to Berkeley. I'm sure I asked her, and I'm sure we talked about it; but I don't remember why she made the change.

HH: Where did she meet Pat?

UF: In Berkeley. I think she moved into the building where Pat lived upstairs. I think that's how they met; but I'm not sure. When I ran into Camilla again, Pat was living upstairs and she was living down; and they were traversing the stairs regularly. I remember it went on fine for awhile, and then their relationship got rocky. Camilla was in a kind of hysterical depression. I mean that on a normal neurotic level, like we all get when things start busting up. She did not spend a lot of time talking about her love for Pat. She spent a small amount of time talking about being homosexual and how hard it was to tell her parents. That was the one thing she couldn't do, explain that to her

parents. She hadn't done it yet, her parents were coming to visit, and she was worried about whether or not she was going to be able to tell them this time. I think, in fact, she didn't.

HH: When was that?

UF: They would have to tell you the date. They came to visit her, and she had a showing of her own drawings in her apartment; so, it was back before she stopped drawing. It must have been '71.

HH: She didn't tell them. I know they were surprised.

UF: No, she didn't tell them; but she meant to. She had told me a couple times, more than once, that she was going to tell them, that this was it... Then, her relationship with Pat started breaking up; and I think, that's when she took off and went traveling in Europe alone. She went backpacking for the year. She did not spend a lot of time talking about it not working; but it kept coming up in the conversation. She wouldn't delve into it and discuss it with me; and I didn't push her for it. But it was on her mind a lot; I could tell that.

HH: Do you know if that is when Pat started getting involved with the SLA?

UF: I don't know. My impression is that the whole SLA thing was later than that. After Camilla got back from Europe, they started their relationship up again. And I think that while Camilla was gone, Pat got into the SLA; I think that was in the fall of '72...By this time, Camilla had quit drawing but was still writing poetry and gardening. I was looking for a physical job at the time, an outdoor job. Camilla was out of work, looking

for a job; her pictures weren't selling well enough to make a living at yet. And I think she finally frustrated out at that point. It was just too hard to keep it going. She decided to abandon the drawing and try something else. So, she got into gardening and started looking for gardening jobs. I found a job and gave her an application that had come to me for a gardening position. It was a temporary summer job. She took the application and got the job. And, I think, she was the first woman. Maybe not. But she certainly was in that immediate vicinity on that crew, the Lake T_____ crew. And she organized them. She organized the temporaries into a political movement to demand more rights and more hirability at the end of their temporary jobs--more permanent status. I don't know how successful she was, but she was definitely actively involved in it for awhile. We would talk female politics, women politics a lot, and generalized Nixon-ship politics (that was that year). But she never seemed terribly depressed by politics or even terribly excited by it, or awfully involved until it was very immediate to her. She seemed very excited about organizing the temporaries: that was something thrilling for her.

HH: Camilla, from what I know of her history before this, usually got involved in a much more personal than an ideological way. She'd get behind a cause or she'd see people who needed help and get involved. Why do you think she got involved in something so heavily ideological as the SLA?

UF: I have no idea. I cannot comprehend it. I can't see an iota of Camilla in all the writings of the SLA so prolifically

printed everywhere. I've listened to every message on the radio. Work would stop when there would be a new communique from the SLA, and we would all listen to it. And I never heard anything that remotely resembled the Camilla I knew.

HH: What hypothesis have you developed?

UF: I have an off-the-wall theory that the Halls won't like at all. I know that her siblings died of a kidney disease, and I remember when her sister died. Camilla and I were in the same class; I think it was when we were in eleventh grade that her younger sister died. I had met her younger sister a couple of times. They all died of kidney ailments; so, she was the last living child of these parents. She probably felt some heavy monitoring, at least personally, if not from her parents, about her kidneys. I remember (although I'm not sure if this is memory or putting something on memory) that there was more than just local concern for the kidney infection that she had. It was more than just a passing cold. Maybe that's what I felt, because I knew her siblings had died of kidney infection. So when she got a kidney infection, I was uptight about it. I wanted to hear more about it; I wanted to know how she felt. And she kept saying she was fine, she was getting better, the garlic tea was working. Well, my off-the-wall theory is that it wasn't working. And that the reason she switched to garlic tea was because the pills weren't working. And the pills weren't working, because she really was sick and really was going to die. That puts a whole new light on it. If I can assume that she knew she was going to die, then I can make the leap, the mental

leap, that it takes to turn that person into a suicidal personality. If you're going to die anyway, suicide is a lot easier it seems to me. It's easier to go out in a flash if you know you're going anyway in the immediate future.

HH: I can believe that; but why would she choose that form of suicide?

UF: Because it was handy. By then Pat was involved in the SLA and was probably trying to get Camilla involved. Whether or not she was involved politically or ideologically was not as relevant as how much she liked Pat and how much she needed a cause right now to die for. That's my off-the-wall theory: that Camilla was looking for an immediate cause to die for, and the SLA was handy. It was there, set up, and she just walked into it--willingly. That's the only thing I can imagine; because she was too logical, too rational, a person to think that they would succeed. You don't get together with six, eight, ten people and plan on using automatic weapons against the powers that be and expect to overthrow the world. It's just not going to happen. I cannot believe for a minute that they believed it. Maybe one or two of them were crazy enough to believe that; but Camilla wasn't crazy.

HH: She seemed to have too much integrity to be willing to kill other people of her own choice.

UF: I would like to think so; but I saw her holding a gun in the bank. So that picture in the paper, I can't reconcile that either. Maybe that was just part of the game. Maybe she wouldn't kill someone else, but she would be with people who

would; because she was with people who would.

HH: According to the interview with the Harris's (they described her in passing), she seemed to be very good with a gun.

UF: She was very good with her hands. I did not say that to the FBI man; but I can say it to you. Yes, I can imagine her being very good with a gun. She was mechanically intelligent; she had very good, very skilled hands. She took a carpentry class and built herself a bed, a very professional-looking, solid bed. She would dabble in mechanical things and pick them up instantly with no problem, with no fear. That's basically what keeps women away from mechanical things: "It's over my head; I can't handle it." It's all bullshit; it's very simple. Well, she was not fooled by that. She was easily involved in small projects; and when things would break down, she would try to fix them.

HH: I talked with two people from the welfare office in Minneapolis. both of whom liked her very much and admired her very much. But one was very surprised that she got into what she did, not that she got involved because she was fairly radical and very involved in political movements, but that she would ever get involved in anything violent.

UF: Yes, well radical politics in Minneapolis at that time was what we can now look back and call liberal. She was not into that trip. Well, that's how I felt she was when I talked to her here in California, that she was slightly left of me but not much. But I was wrong.

HH: But the other person there said she could really understand it, because Camilla was very logical and consistent and would have kept following the logical consequences of her thought until she finally believed that this was the only step left, to overthrow the government.

UF: Except that she was intelligent enough to know that an automatic machine gun and six crazies are not going to overthrow the government. That, in fact, she would die in the attempt. I cannot believe otherwise. That is the absolute I can't get passed. She must have known, as I knew when I saw the first reports of the kidnapping, that these people were out to die. There is no way they were going to live through that. There may have been one or two people in the SLA who were psychotic enough to believe they could live through it and could overthrow the government; but Camilla could not have been one of them. She couldn't have fooled herself that far. I just don't believe it. That's why my off-the-wall theory comes out, because it's the only way I can make her get into that.

HH: It's certainly one of the theories that has some importance to me. The day that she died was the day of her brother's birthday. I believe the one that she was closest to.

UF: I didn't know that.

HH: May was a very significant month... March, April and May was the period when all the kids died. So, back in February if she began feeling that she was having a kidney problem, living through those months could have been rough.

UF: It may have been longer than that. I remember she came to our Christmas party in December. I figure it was after that, but not much, that I first heard about the kidney infection. When I first heard about it, she was already drinking garlic tea. That's how I heard about it; she hadn't spoken about it before then. So, it had been going on for awhile; because she had been going through medications before she turned to the garlic tea.

HH: You knew Pat but not well?

UF: I knew her to recognize her.

HH: Did you get to talk to any of the others?

UF: No, none of them.

HH: Do you feel that Camilla could have gotten involved because of Pat?

UF: That theory was propounded in the newspapers; but I don't believe it. See, that's another reason why my off-the-wall theory comes to mind; because I rejected everybody else's theories. The first theories from newspaper writers were that she was a crazy radical, like they were all crazy radicals; and you could write them off as human beings. I couldn't do that, because I knew her. Then, they started writing about each one of their personalities and trying to delve in some superficial newspaper reporter-type way. More than one reporter came to the conclusion (Marilyn Baker was one of them, and I hated her book. What a liar.) that Pat drew her siren-like into this. I just can't buy that. I know that she had a close relationship with Pat, it fell apart, and they got back together. It is easier

for me to believe that they got back together again because Camilla was looking for a suicide place than that they got back together again and Camilla joined the SLA in order to be close to Pat. I have to admit it's possible; but I just don't buy it myself, that she would allow another human being to influence her that heavily. See, if you reject the suicide thing (say she's not sick, she's perfectly healthy), then I can't buy that for the love of one person she would turn all of her politics inside out; and would go to an extreme that is clearly suicidal; lose her intelligent, rational ability to judge what's going on; and fall head-over-heels into this thing because she wanted to be near someone. That she would change her life and her personal integrity for the sake of a love, that someone else wouldn't have her unless she changed, I can't accept that. For one thing, Pat fell in love with the Camilla of before and did not demand a change of her politics. There was a relationship without that...

HH: Do you know whether she had any relationships that were intense with other women?

UF: I know that she had a few, but not a long-standing one. And I rather doubt that they were as intense...

HH: Just from talking with her politically, you wouldn't have foreseen that kind of development?

UF: No. I didn't see it coming. I told you, we talked about the kidnapping and how it was an irrational move for a revolutionary activity.

HH: Is it possible that all along she was more radical than she let on with you?

- UF: Yes, it's possible. I suspect that it was a late development. I suspect that up until a certain point, she was telling the truth to me. That was honestly where she was. And then, at some point for some reason, she needed the SLA. And in joining it, her politics changed so fast and so radically that she could not lay that on her friends without freaking them out and pushing them away. So, she began laying it on them slowly. And with people who were left, she could go a little further left.
- HH: Her folks mentioned that when she was visiting them that Christmas, her thinking had become somewhat apocalyptic. Did you get any of that?
- UF: In what sense?
- HH: Expecting the economy to collapse, that this country was going to fall apart at any time.
- UF: Yes, we did talk like that, but I talk like that with a lot of people. I did not think of that as a burning political force that was running through her mind. I did not think of that as the only way she was thinking; but it was certainly one of the ways... In the context of Berkeley at that time, that was not unusual, especially because that was the end of Nixon at that time. That's when he was coming down. We took great joy in that... It was a sign of capitalism decaying and coming down. But this was not to the exclusion of more practical, more realistic, more day-to-day politics.
- HH: Is there any way in which you could see Camilla as naive about the SLA?
- UF: Yes. She was naive in a number of ways; but that's a part of

growing up for all of us. I think when her relationship with Pat started getting rocky, she lost some of her naiveté...

HH: Do you think she was really aware of what the SLA was?

UF: You don't go to a gun range and practice firing weapons with a group of people intent on getting good at it, without the intention of using them. And for her to make that leap from the politics that I thought she was at, requires some incredible intervening factor. And it's not naiveté. And it's not a love affair.

HH: The two things that seem important about Camilla are the death of her siblings and the possible guilt...

UF: And the responsibility (which I heard in many conversations) of being the only child left. That's one of the reasons she couldn't tell her parents that she was homosexual, because she was their only kid.

HH: I wonder if she was searching for a family, and if the SLA provided it.

UF: Except for not being able to tell them she was a homosexual, I felt that she was close to her parents in a loving, warm way. So, it doesn't ring right that she was looking for a family. Do you mean as a replacement for her siblings? She called the temporary workers she organized brothers and sisters. She called me sister a few times.

HH: The literature I read about the SLA described the extraordinary closeness of the members. Perhaps, being under a constant death threat made this possible.

UF: I think that has to happen. I see that happen to a much lesser degree in the theater. You get a bunch of people together for an intense activity, and they do become very close. And certainly the SLA was an intense activity. Whether she got into it for that closeness or got into it for another reason with the closeness developing of its own volition, I don't know which comes first...

HH: When did you put together your off-the-wall theory?

UF: I didn't put together my theory until much later, after this dream started occurring to me. What happened was that towards the end of February ('74), Camilla announced to me and a few other friends that she was having a house sale; because she was moving. The story was that she was moving to Palo Alto to an estate to be the gardner. She went to great detail in describing the place. She said her new quarters would be very small, so she could only take what would fit in her car. That's how I got a lot of her pictures. It was a big whirlwind move; she announced her move just a few days before she planned to leave... So, anyway, she had this big story about where she was going to move and what she was going to do; and we all believed it. I asked her what her address was so I could write to her, and she said she couldn't remember it off-hand. She said she would write to me with the address when she got there. She said I could expect a postcard in a week or so. Then she disappeared, and eight or ten days later I saw the newspaper picture of Camilla Hall, the bank robber. I recognized her instantly, even though she was in

disguise... One of the bizarre things about her disguise was that she was not wearing her glasses. Camilla had extremely poor eyesight; she was blind without her glasses... She had said one time that she couldn't wear contact lenses, because they couldn't make them strong enough for her. She said they were useless to her... I don't know how she could have walked around in that bank with no glasses.

HH: That would suggest that she had no intention or no capability of using the gun in the bank robbery.

UF: Perhaps. In the films of the bank robbery she moved around like she could see; so, maybe she got contacts that were just sufficient. I don't know; but it's weird. I also have another theory that there are two different people. I like that one, because it resolves all the conflicts.

HH: How does that theory go?

UF: Oh, just that we're all crazy, that there are really two different people, that Camilla is down in Palo Alto somewhere gardening, and that somebody who looked just like her did these things. That's not really a theory; it's just a wish... It was shortly after I saw the picture of the bank robbery in the newspaper that I started having this dream. It was even a daytime dream, a wish that she would come to me. It was a hope that she would come to me. I would hide her. I would be willing to commit a felony to find out why the heck she had done this, what had changed her so and to try to pull her out of it. I could see from the time of the kidnapping, how suicidal the SLA was; and

we had talked about that briefly. And I thought we were on the same side of that one. Now, I could see she was part of it; and I wanted to shake her by the shoulders and make her live.

HH: She agreed that they were suicidal?

UF: I don't know that that specifically came up in the conversation. I don't know that I was that clear on it then. But that they were crazy, yes, we used general kinds of things like crazy and hopelessly divided against themselves. And the idea of taking up guns and kidnapping somebody is not going to change the world; it's not going to bring down capitalism; it's not going to bring down the United States government. The FBI will wipe them all out in a few weeks. That kind of thing. But, to speak of it specifically as "their intent is suicidal", I don't think we did that. I think that was my own thought process later. But it leads to that. If what they're doing is hopeless, then if they are rational beings, they are suicidal...

HH: The reason I'm interested in your dream, also, is because usually on an unconscious level, we pick up intuitions of what really is going on. Your dream suggests that even on that level it doesn't make any sense, that it just doesn't add up.

UF: Even my off-the-wall theory is not satisfying me at a dream level. I'm still having that dream...

HH: There is one other thing I've been trying to figure out. Almost everyone who gets this involved in a revolutionary cause seems to be very angry. But, I don't see any evidence that Camilla was angry.

UF: No more so than a normal person. A lot of people were angry at Nixon, and a lot of people were angry at the SLA. There was that kind of removed anger. Camilla certainly had that.

HH: But was she an angry person?

UF: No, there was no intense hostility in Camilla. That would explain it all to me, and I wouldn't continue to have this dream.

HH: The other thing is that during the time she was in Minneapolis there seemed to be very little depression.

UF: Yes, the most depressed I ever saw her was when she was on the rocks with Pat, and that was a very localized depression. It did not permeate her life. The other time I saw her in a kind of depression was when she decided to give up drawing and to get down to the practical reality of making a living. But that was not a depression so much as a frustration. It certainly wasn't a heavy anger.

HH: Most people who are suicidal are pretty heavily depressed.

UF: Yes, that's why my off-the-wall theory makes up for that: the theory is that Camilla suddenly saw her own mortality. That it wasn't depression itself that brought on her suicidal. It was her physical mortality, knowing that she was going to die in the next few months. That brought it on.

HH: There are a lot of things that fit, and a lot that don't.

UF: She was pacifistic, a very warm, very generous, very loving person. She hadn't lost any of the charm that made her class clown. Her wit was just as sharp as ever... She dragged me hiking one day and took great relish and joy in how tired I was

getting. She knew that I had enough ego and pride to keep going no matter what. She kept teasing me. We did a ten mile hike with no preparation. She was in tremendous good shape. Well, now I see that in retrospect as part of the getting in shape thing, of part of the whole physical fitness thing the SLA was on. She was in tremendous good shape; it just didn't phase her at all. But, it practically destroyed me to walk ten miles out, sleep overnight, and walk ten miles back.

HH: That is another thing that doesn't seem to fit in the suicide theory. When she decided to get into it, she really got into it.

UF: But all things are possible once you make that leap. Once you've decided that it doesn't matter, then anything can happen. You can take any direction you want to take. In fact, making yourself more physically fit is a kind of fanaticism that is directly related to that. You know you are going to die very soon, and now's the time to get your body in perfect shape and enjoy the end of it. The alternative is to lie in bed and die. So, the opposite of that is to take ten mile hikes and do push-ups, the opposite of passively accepting the inevitable...

HH: In your dream, Camilla's words are all scrambled and garbled; but what is she like?

UF: She's calm, sincere, straight while she's answering me. She's trying to tell me; she's trying to explain to me.

HH: While she's telling you, she's calm, she's fairly serene?

UF: Yes. She can tell me; but I can't hear.

HH: Is she talking like someone who is calmly accepting her death?

UF: That's interesting. I never thought of it like that. It is a kind of peace that I can easily associate with that. When she comes to the door, she's not distraught, she's exhausted. She's very tired, malnourished, dirty and obviously has been through a lot; but she's also happy, smiling and at peace. She's very calm, not frantic or hysterical; I'm the one who's frantic, hysterical. I'm trying to get her in out of the street lights, to hide her in the basement.

HH: So maybe she wasn't in hiding. Maybe she was all right.

UF: In my dream she is, yes.

HH: I suspect that if she was like that in your dream, she was like that in reality.

UF: Serenely accepting whatever it was she got into to? That's easier to believe than that she was working against her will. She was a strong-willed person, with very strong integrity. I can't believe she would work against her will in something she didn't want to do...

HH: Have you heard that she was trying to get out of the SLA?

UF: I might have; but I don't remember for sure. The ACLU report (which is the report about the burnout, the last minute) indicated that perhaps they were trying to get out of the burning house, that they were coming out with their hands up. But bad communication between the FBI and the attack squad resulted in their being shutdown while trying to surrender. Whether or not that was true, who knows? When you get right down to the last minute, perhaps hope does come back and you want to live. As far as wanting to leave earlier than that, I can't remember

hearing that. Was that a reporter's theory?

HH: That was a letter found on her body.

UF: How could a letter be found on a body charred beyond recognition? I remember hearing that a letter was found; but I find that very bizarre. The body was so charred that they recognized her, unrecognized her, and recognized her again. They kept changing their minds all day. In fact, that's when the idea came up that she would come to me, that I would hide her and find out why... It's not a nightmare in the sense of scary; it's a nightmare in the sense of the intense frustration I feel. I don't think I'll ever get rid of it.

HH: I don't think you will until you resolve what it meant to you.

UF: From right now, from this perspective, the more likely possibility is that I was wrong about her. I don't accept that, but it is a possibility.

HH: Let's take that as an hypothesis, that she might have done that to you. Can you think of why she might have done that?

UF: No, I wasn't useful to her in any political way.

HH: So, she really wouldn't have been covering her tracks by doing that?

UF: Oh, you mean she wouldn't tell me the truth in order to protect me?

HH: I don't know. One possibility at that point, is that telling you the truth could have been the equivalent of telling her parents about her homosexuality. You were an important friend to her, and she knew that you couldn't accept this radical activity at all.

UF: So, rather than lose our friendship, she misrepresented her perspective. Yes, that's possible. But it still doesn't work. Either she was lying to me from the beginning or else she changed at some point. I'm opting for the second possibility, that she changed later for whatever reason... But the important thing is why did she change, not that she was making things up for me. What made her change? That's what I can't reconcile... I thought I understood Camilla Hall, her basic sense of reality was very humane, life-enhancing, very warm, loving and hopeful. But the politics she ended up with was very inhumane, very unwarm, unloving and very hopeless. And to make that drastic a change in such a short period of time, is inconceivable unless there is an intervening factor like her approaching death...

APPENDIX G



ST. JOHN'S EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH
LINCOLNWOOD, ILL

DR. GEORGE F. HALL

Pastor

August 9, 1976

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Mr. Harvey Honig, a graduate student at Loyola University,
is writing a dissertation on the subject of my daughter,
Camilla Christine Hall.

My wife and I will be pleased if you will extend every
courtesy to him and assist him in the inquiry which he
is making. He has our permission to examine any records
you have in your files.

George F. Hall



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Student Counseling Bureau
101 Eddy Hall
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

225

August 30, 1976

Harvey Honig
3731 North Pine Grove
Chicago, ILL 60613

Dear Mr. Honig:

After your contact with me I had follow-up conversations with staff in the Office of the University Attorney. Your request for access to a deceased student's file was unusual enough so that our policies needed to be reviewed.

The University of Minnesota attorney has indicated that a properly signed release from the parents of the student will be adequate to permit access. I have talked to Dr. George Hall so that we could be assured that he had provided informed consent. He assures us that this was his intention.

I am writing to you to indicate that you may have access to information from University files which would otherwise be open to the student or the student's parents. I am sending a copy of this letter to John Fisher in the Office of Admissions and Records and to Pamela Dizikes, Assistant University Attorney. You may contact the Student Counseling Bureau at such time as you are prepared to review the file information. We will provide our cooperation to you. You may also wish to use a copy of this letter to you with other University offices who may wonder about providing access to student's file information.

If we can provide additional information to you, please write.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Pierre Meyer".

Pierre Meyer
Assistant Director and
Assistant Professor

cc: Pamela Dizikes
John Fisher

THESIS APPROVAL NOTICE

Departmental Review Board for
the Protection of Human Subjects

226

Student Harvey H. Honig

Address 3731 N. Pine Grove, Chicago, IL. 60613

Department Psychology

Thesis Committee Al DeWolfe (Chairperson)

Frank Kobler, John Shack

Date Submitted to the Review Board 7/9/75

Thesis Title (as filed with the Graduate School, section II of
the thesis outline):

A psychobiographical study of Camilla Hall

Action of the Departmental Review Committee:

APPROVED

Departmental Review Board
Committee on Human Subjects

Date: 9-14-75 Frank Reynolds

Two copies of this form are needed, one copy to be returned to
the student and the other to be filed with the graduate school.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by HARVEY H. HONIG has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Alan De Wolfe

Dr. Frank Kobler

Dr. John Shack

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

DATE

11/8/78

DIRECTOR'S SIGNATURE

Alan S. DeWolfe