

Listening to the Branch Davidians

Learning from the Survivors

Catherine Wessinger

Lecture presented in the *Reflection on American Tragedy: The Branch Davidians 20 Years Later* symposium at Baylor University on April 18, 2013.

Abstract: After the botched BATF raid on Mount Carmel Center on February 28, 1993 in which four BATF agents and six Branch Davidians were killed and during the siege conducted by FBI agents, the Branch Davidians were dehumanized by the application of the pejorative “cult” stereotype in the media. On April 19, 2003, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the FBI tank and gas assault and resulting fire in which fifty-three Branch Davidian adults and twenty-three children ages fifteen and younger, including two trauma-born babies, died, Catherine Wessinger resolved to collect oral histories from Bonnie Haldeman, David Koresh’s mother; Sheila Martin, who lost her husband and four oldest children in the fire; and Clive Doyle, who escaped the fire in which his youngest daughter perished. Their stories told in their own words have been published in three autobiographies. Wessinger also interviewed Catherine Matteson, and those transcripts have been placed in the Texas Collection at Baylor University. Their recollections depict the Branch Davidians as individuals from all walks of life and degrees of education, of diverse nationalities and ethnicities, who were united in their commitment to David Koresh’s interpretations of the Bible’s Endtime prophecies. Their stories shed light on the history of the Davidians and Branch Davidians of Waco, Texas, and the conflict with federal agents in 1993 in which the majority of David Koresh’s Branch Davidians died.

On April 19, 2003, immediately after attending the tenth anniversary memorial at the Branch Davidians’ Mount Carmel property, I resolved that if they would permit it, I would devote my 2004-05 sabbatical to collecting interviews from several of the survivors to produce an autobiography for each one. While much had been written *about* the Branch Davidians, and while David Thibodeau had published his autobiography in 1999,¹ none of the other survivors had been given a venue to tell their stories in their own words. I began interviewing Bonnie Haldeman, Sheila Martin, Clive Doyle, and Catherine Matteson.

I copyedited and arranged the interviews with Bonnie and Sheila to produce their books, *Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother* by Bonnie Haldeman, and *When They Were Mine: Memoirs of a Branch Davidian Wife and Mother* by Sheila Martin, published by Baylor University Press in 2007 and 2009.² Four corrected transcripts of the interviews with Catherine Matteson have been placed in the Texas Collection at Baylor University.

Beginning in 2004 I recorded 31 audiotapes of interviews with Clive Doyle. Matthew Wittmer joined me in editing and arranging the transcripts to produce Clive's book, *A Journey to Waco: Autobiography of a Branch Davidian*, published in 2012 by Rowman & Littlefield.³

In 1995 sociologist James T. Richardson published an article entitled "Manufacturing Consent about Koresh" in Stuart Wright's edited volume, *Armageddon at Waco*.⁴ Richardson points out that during the siege of their residence at Mount Carmel by the FBI, the Branch Davidians were dehumanized in the media by the application of the term "cult." "Cult" is a pejorative word that conveys a stereotype that prevents impartial investigation into what a group is really like. Richardson draws on the media analysis of Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky⁵ to indicate that the media have the power to depict people who die tragically as either "worthy victims" or "unworthy victims." Worthy victims will be humanized in the media, their life stories will be told, their faces will be seen, and they will be depicted in ways that promote empathy with their lives and the grief of those who love them. Unworthy victims are dehumanized in the media by various means, one of which is to label them as members of a "cult." According to Richardson,

those associated with David Koresh at Mt. Carmel never made it into the category of "worthy victims." Instead, there was an expressed ambiguity about their status.

Those living at Mt. Carmel, including even the children, were never fully humanized in the eyes of the general public. We knew little about them as individuals, including details of their lives—their hopes and desires, their hobbies, their goals. We did not see many depictions of them as real human beings.⁶

According to Richardson, “The dehumanization of those inside Mt. Carmel, coupled with the thoroughgoing demonization of Koresh, made it easier for those in authority to develop tactics that seemed organized for disaster.”⁷

In different ways I have been listening to the Branch Davidians for twenty years. In addition to interviewing some of the survivors, I have listened to audiotapes of the negotiations and conversations inside the building recorded by the FBI’s surveillance devices. There is an easily accessible collection of many of these audiotapes in the Mark Swett Collection in the Texas Collection at Baylor. After listening to this audio and watching the video of the adults and children that was recorded by the Branch Davidians during the siege, I have learned to recognize their voices and their faces. All of the researchers who make the effort to watch the compiled video that has been named “Inside Mount Carmel” and listen to the audio from the siege know the Branch Davidians as individual human beings.

To put a human face on the Branch Davidians, in this presentation I am using photographs from the collections of Clive Doyle, Sheila Martin, and the former Mount Carmel Visitor’s Center that was maintained by Clive Doyle. I thank Baylor University Press for permission to show photographs from Bonnie Haldeman’s book, and I thank the Texas Collection for several of the photographs shown here. Other photos were taken by Matthew Wittmer, Stuart Wright, and myself. I am grateful to Matthew Wittmer for creating this composite image of the Branch Davidians who died in 1993 by utilizing photographs from these

collections to which he added screen shots from the digitized “Inside Mount Carmel” video. He arranged the photos in the order of the memorial crape myrtle trees as they were originally planted for each person. When a photograph was unavailable, he inserted a rubbing he took from the memorial stone for that person, which was originally placed underneath a tree.

I believe that some of the photographs I will show in this presentation were taken for the *Waco Tribune Herald*. I am using only those photographs that were found in the Visitor’s Center and Clive Doyle collections. I will show exhibit photos from the criminal trial in 1994 and the civil trial in 2000. I will also show a couple of Sheila Martin’s drawings to illustrate her account.

On February 28, 1993, ATF agents attempted to carry out a “dynamic entry” into the residence at the Branch Davidians’ Mount Carmel located within the rural outskirts of Waco, Texas. Six Branch Davidians and four ATF agents died on February 28. The siege conducted by FBI agents concluded on April 19, 1993, when the FBI’s tank and CS gas assault culminated in the fire in which seventy-six Branch Davidians of all ages died, and from which nine Branch Davidians escaped.

I will present episodes from the history of David Koresh’s Branch Davidians as seen through the eyes of Bonnie Haldeman, Sheila Martin, and Clive Doyle. I will include information about the events drawn from the FBI Major Event Log available in the Lee Hancock Collection at Texas State University-San Marcos.

More Branch Davidian survivors live in the Waco area in addition to the ones that I interviewed. I encourage scholars at Baylor University to collect additional oral histories. I encourage Branch Davidians living in Waco and elsewhere to record their accounts, as should law enforcement agents. The recorded accounts of various people add to the primary sources that may be studied by researchers seeking to understand the very complex events in 1993.

Before I proceed further I wish to point out the distinction between Davidians and Branch Davidians. It is inaccurate to refer to the Branch Davidians as “Davidians.” These are two separate groups, although the Branch Davidians see their prophets, Ben Roden (1902-1978), Lois Roden (1905-1986), and David Koresh (1959-1993) as being in a lineage of prophets going back to the Davidian prophet Victor Houteff (1885-1955), and before him, the Seventh-day Adventist prophet Ellen G. White (1827-1915).

THE BRANCH DAVIDIAN COMMUNITY IN 1993

In 1993 the Branch Davidians consisted of about 130 members including children. They were multiethnic and citizens of various countries. Most of them had Seventh-day Adventist backgrounds. Not all of them were at Mount Carmel on February 28, the day of the ATF raid. Many were living and working elsewhere including California. I have compiled information on the Branch Davidians who died in 1993 to give a sense of the composition of the Mount Carmel community.

On February 28, 1993, six Branch Davidians died as a result of the ATF raid: Perry Jones (64, American), who was David Koresh’s father-in-law; Winston Blake (28, British); Peter Hipsman (28, American); Peter Gent (24, Australian), for whom we do not have a photo, was on top of the water tower; Jaydean Wendel (34, American); and Michael Schroeder (29 American).

Mike Schroeder was the father of one and stepfather of three. He was working at the Branch Davidians’ car repair shop on Farm Road 2491, not far from Loop 340, when the ATF raid took place beginning at 9:45 a.m. on February 28. That afternoon about 5:00 p.m. Mike was shot and killed by ATF agents stationed on the property behind Mount Carmel as he attempted to walk back and rejoin his wife and children. The FBI Special Agent in Charge did not permit his

body to be picked up until March 4. I thank Mike Schroeder's mother, Sandy Connizzo, for sending this photograph.

At the beginning of the siege twenty-one children were sent out by their parents, beginning with Angelica (6) and Crystal Sonobe (3) who were brought out by their mother, Floracita Sonobe (34, American), at 8:55 p.m. on February 28. After that Cita Sonobe was the woman who walked, then drove, children down the Mount Carmel driveway where they were picked up at the intersection of Double EE Ranch Road and Farm Road 2491. The last child out was Heather Jones (age 9) on March 5.

On April 19, 22 children, from babies to age 13, died along with their mothers inside a concrete vault, with an open doorway, which had survived with its contents intact a fire in 1983 that had burned down the Administration Building. Lisa Marie Martin (13) was with her oldest brother, Wayne Joseph Martin (20). A tank drove through the front of the building to the open doorway of the vault and gassed that area from 11:31 to 11:55 a.m.⁸ Two of the children who died in the vault were infants who were born and died during the CS gas assault and fire. The two pregnant women were Nicole Gent Little (24, Australian) and Aisha Gyarfas Summers (17, Australian). Fourteen of the children, including the trauma-born infants, were David Koresh's biological children. The children also include Lisa Martin, Rachel Sylvia, the five children of Juliette Santoyo, also known as Juliette Martinez, and Melissa Morrison, daughter of Rosemary Morrison from England.

Seven teenagers, ages 14 to 19, died at Mount Carmel on April 19: Jennifer Andrade (19), Shari Doyle (18), Vanessa Henry (19), Michele Jones (18), Anita Marie Martin (18), Sheila René Martin (15), and Aisha Gyarfas Summers (17). Michele Jones was the mother of three. Aisha Gyarfas Summers was the mother of one and she was pregnant.

The 53 adults who died on April 19 were of all ages, various ethnicities, and half of them were citizens of countries other than the United States.

Twenty-seven adults were Americans. They were African Americans, Mexican American, Asian Americans of various ethnicities, and Euro-Americans.

The two Australian adults were 24-year-old twins, Peter Gent and Nicole Gent Little.

Most of the 21 British adults had Jamaican origins. Abedowalo Davies (30) was from Nigeria. Clifford Sellors (33), the sole white Englishman who died, was the Branch Davidians' artist and Clive's good friend. The British include Doris Fagan (51) and Yvette Fagan (32), the mother and wife of Livingstone Fagan. Six members of a single family died: Zilla Henry along with her five children ranging in age from 19 to 28.

The one person with Canadian citizenship was Novelette Sinclair Hipsman (36), whom Bonnie Haldeman considered her best friend. They had worked cleaning jobs together.

We do not have a photo of Pablo Cohen (38), the one Israeli.

The one New Zealander was Rebecca Saipaia (24).

SHEILA MARTIN, CLIVE DOYLE, AND BONNIE HALDEMAN

Clive Doyle was baptized in a Seventh-day Adventist church in Melbourne, Australia when he was ten years old, after he and his mother, Edna Doyle, converted to Seventh-day Adventism. In 1956 when he was fifteen, Clive and Edna intellectually converted to Victor Houteff's Davidian Seventh-day Adventism. Houteff had established the Davidian community in Waco in 1935. In 1964 when Clive was 23, he and Edna read themselves into converting to Ben Roden's Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventism, which Roden founded in 1955. In 1966 Clive and three other young people were called to travel from Australia to Mount Carmel Center. They thought it was in preparation to go settle in Israel, but that move never occurred.

While Clive was living at Mount Carmel under Ben Roden as prophet he married. Their oldest daughter Karen was born in 1971 at Mount Carmel. Their youngest daughter Shari was born in 1974. A couple of years later, his wife moved to California taking the girls. When they divorced, his wife gave Clive custody of the girls and Edna came from Australia to help raise them.

Sheila Martin became a Davidian Seventh-day Adventist in 1963 when she was 16 after she became friendly with a Davidian family that lived upstairs in her family's house in Boston. They introduced her to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the Saturday Sabbath, eating kosher and a healthy vegetarian diet, and Davidian theology. When members of this family became Branch Davidians, after studying the literature they had received from Ben Roden, Sheila also became a Branch Davidian.

Sheila moved to New York City when she was 21, and there at a Seventh-day Adventist Church, she met the young man she would marry, Douglas Wayne Martin. Sheila was 25 when they married in 1972. Wayne completed his Master's degree in Library Science at Columbia University in one year, during which time their oldest child, Wayne Joseph Martin, was born. They lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts while Wayne earned his law degree at Harvard University. Their oldest daughter, Anita Marie Martin, was born in 1974 in Boston. During this time, Sheila met occasionally with Branch Davidians who came from New Bedford, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and Wayne was a nominal Seventh-day Adventist.

After Wayne graduated from Harvard Law School, they moved back to New York City where he worked as a librarian at Yeshiva University. During this time, their third child, Sheila René Martin, was born. Wayne obtained a job as law librarian at North Carolina Central University, so Durham was where their fourth child, Lisa Marie Martin, was born in 1980.

A family crisis occurred in 1982 when their infant son, Jamie, contracted bacterial meningitis. During the despairing days at the hospital, Sheila often called Mount Carmel for supportive talks with Lois Roden. Sheila frequently spoke with Vernon Howell, later known as David Koresh, who had arrived at Mount Carmel in 1981 when he was 22. Sheila was grateful for his kindness. Sheila, like all the surviving Branch Davidians, refers to him as “David” retroactively to the time when his name was Vernon Howell. Jamie survived, but he was severely disabled.

Jamie’s illness prompted Wayne to study the Bible and attend church again. From 1982 to 1984 Sheila continued talking with people at Mount Carmel by telephone. In January 1984 the Martins received an audiotaped Bible study from David. After Wayne overheard Sheila playing the tape, Wayne listened to the tape carefully himself and looked up the Bible passages. Two months later Sheila and Jamie traveled to Mount Carmel to hear David’s Bible studies during Passover week. In August, David along with Novelette Sinclair came to visit the Martins in North Carolina.

Wayne, Sheila, and the children visited David’s group in Texas for Passover week in 1985. At that time David and his followers were staying at a campground at Mexia; they had left Mount Carmel because of the violence of George Roden (1938-1998), the son of Ben and Lois Roden. Wayne and Sheila listened to David’s Bible studies. After returning to North Carolina, Wayne resigned from his job, bought a school bus, and moved his family in the bus to the camp the Branch Davidians had constructed in the piney forest near Palestine, Texas. The Branch Davidians were living inside old school buses, and the Martin family turned their bus into living quarters. Sheila was pregnant with Daniel, so in 1986 Wayne took her to New York City where Daniel was born. All the Branch Davidians I have interviewed looked back fondly on their time

living in the Palestine camp. Sheila also fondly tells the story of how Kimberly, her youngest child, was born in 1989 in a pink room in a house at Mount Carmel.

Bonnie Haldeman was born and raised in Houston. Her mother was a devout Seventh-day Adventist, and had taken Vernon to Seventh-day Adventist church and Sabbath school when he was a little boy. Bonnie joined the Branch Davidians at the Palestine camp in August 1985 after an argument with her husband, Roy Haldeman, at their house in Chandler over the extent to which Bonnie could assist David and his wife Rachel with their new son, Cyrus. Bonnie joined the Branch Davidians primarily to be close to her first grandchild. She made many good friends and she was motivated to stay with them to be close to her grandchildren who were born in subsequent years. Bonnie continued doing cleaning work while she lived at the camp. She bought a bus and shared that living space with her friend Novellette Sinclair.

David was often away in Los Angeles to promote his music and proselytize. He also went to Hawaii and Australia to proselytize. As new converts joined the group at Palestine they built small huts in which to live. Bonnie, Clive Doyle, Jimmy Riddle, Wayne Martin, and others traveled to California to work at various jobs. In Hawaii Bonnie and Clive operated a bakery.

Bonnie was back in Texas working at cleaning jobs when the Branch Davidians returned to Mount Carmel in 1988. They were able to return because George Roden was in jail. In her autobiography Bonnie tells of how hard they worked to clean up the houses that had fallen into disrepair while George controlled the property. She reports that in one house they found pornography and materials to make methamphetamine. David turned these things over to the Sheriff's Department and told the Branch Davidians not to go into that house.

Bonnie tells of having tea parties for Cyrus and his sister Star and their friends in her house at Mount Carmel. Bonnie reports that she was aware that David was having children with

other women who were considered his wives by the Branch Davidians. Bonnie loved all her grandchildren and was closest to the older ones: Cyrus and Star whose mother was Rachel, David's legal wife; Serenity Sea, whose mother was Michele Jones, Rachel's younger sister; Dayland, whose mother was Nicole Gent; and Sky and Scooter, whose mother is Dana Okimoto. Bonnie did not have the opportunity to get to know her youngest grandchildren.

Bonnie reports that she did not understand the theological rationale given for David having so many children with different women. At that time, the legal age in Texas for marriage with parental permission was fourteen. Bonnie was aware that David had begun having sex with one of his wives when she was twelve. Bonnie herself had given birth to David when she was fourteen. Within the Branch Davidian apocalyptic and cultural context, the adults did not view David's sexual activities as constituting child abuse.

Contrary to what many in the public assume, the ATF raid was not justified by David's having sex with underage girls because child abuse does not come under ATF jurisdiction. It was a matter for Texas authorities. Social workers with the Department of Child Protective Services had investigated allegations of child abuse and closed the case for lack of evidence.

In 1989 Bonnie's husband, Roy, moved to Mount Carmel to get their marriage back on track. In August 1990, with David's encouragement, Bonnie started taking nursing courses at McLennan Community College. By April 1991 Bonnie had concluded that she and Roy needed to leave Mount Carmel. The decision to leave was finalized after Bonnie and David argued. Bonnie and Roy lived in an apartment in Waco while she finished school. Then they moved back to their house in Chandler.

EVENTS AT MOUNT CARMEL IN 1993

Clive and Sheila were in the residence at Mount Carmel on February 28, 1993, when the ATF raid took place. Clive was in his first-floor room on the southwest front of the building when he heard gunfire. When he rushed down the hallway toward the front door, he found Perry Jones crawling along the floor screaming he had been shot. Clive and Livingston Malcolm helped Perry to a bed in a room away from the front of the building. Clive was told that Winston Blake had been shot in his room on the west back corner of the men's dormitory section on the first floor. When Clive went into that room he saw Winston's body on the floor, which was wet with water from the plastic water tanks located outside the window that had been punctured by bullets. After checking on Perry, Clive went to the southeast corner of the long hallway where Wayne Martin was shouting into the speakerphone in his office. Wayne had dialed 911 and was urgently asking that the shooting stop. Wayne shouted, "There are seventy-five men around our building and they're shooting at us at Mount Carmel. Tell them there are children and women in here and to call it off!" David was wounded and lying in the hallway on the second floor going into the room in the central tower. As Wayne communicated with Lieutenant Larry Lynch to establish a ceasefire, Clive and Greg Summers alternated in going up and down the stairs to convey messages between Wayne and David.

When ATF agents arrived in covered cattle trailers, Sheila was in her second-floor bedroom on the front southeast corner of the building. She had placed Jamie by the front window so he could feel the sunlight and listen to the birds. When gunshots came through the window, Jamie's face was cut by the broken glass. Sheila, and Daniel (6), and Kimberly (4) took shelter behind a bed away from the window. When there was a brief lull in the shooting Sheila pulled Jamie away from the window. Sheila could hear Wayne in his office below her room shouting into the speakerphone.

In 1993 Bonnie was caring for an invalid in the patient's home. Bonnie had gotten home at 7:30 a.m. on the morning of February 28 and had gone to bed. At 10:30 a.m. she received a call from her sister-in-law telling her to turn on the television. During the siege Bonnie went to Waco every weekend when she was off from work. She began making preparations to take care of her twelve grandchildren when they were sent out. She planned to care for them until their mothers were released from jail.

Early in the siege Clive went out the tunnel, part of which was a buried school bus, into the covered portion of the unfinished storm shelter. There he dug a single grave for four bodies—Jaydean Wendel, Perry Jones, Peter Hipsman, and Winston Blake. On March 5 at 5:50 p.m. Clive went outside with Jimmy Riddle and Mark Wendel to retrieve Peter Gent's body from the top of the water tower. On March 8 Kevin Whitecliff, Brad Branch, and Oliver Gyarfas were permitted by the FBI to go out front and bury Peter's body on the other side of the driveway. They marked the grave with plastic flowers so tanks would not run over it. According to survivors, tanks ran over the grave frequently.

On March 13 the FBI began directing spotlights at the building at night to obscure future SOS messages, which Branch Davidians had flashed the previous evening. The bright spotlights also had the effect of disrupting the Branch Davidians' sleep.

A total of fourteen Branch Davidian adults came out. On March 21 seven adults came out at various times. At 1:00 p.m. Sheila Martin and Ofelia Santoyo were among the last group to come out. At 6:00 p.m. some of the Branch Davidians' vehicles were damaged and removed by tanks. That evening at 11:15 p.m. the FBI began blasting high-decibel, irritating sounds at the Branch Davidians through loudspeakers. David and Steve Schneider expressed anger to the negotiators and said that the people who had been planning on coming out had changed their

minds. On March 23 Livingstone Fagan was the last Branch Davidian adult to come out before April 19. Livingstone holds a M.Div. degree from a Seventh-day Adventist seminary in England, and he was sent out on March 23 to explain David Koresh's theology to FBI agents.

After the conclusion of Passover, on April 14 David advised the FBI through his attorney that he would come out after he wrote his "little book" giving his interpretations of the Seven Seals of the book of Revelation. Also on April 14 David sent out his signed contract to retain his attorney. On April 16 David told an FBI negotiator that he had completed composing his interpretation of the First Seal.

Clive spent most of the siege in the chapel with his daughter Shari, who would die in the fire; Marjorie Thomas from England, who was severely burned escaping the fire; and Kevin Whitecliff, before he went out with Brad Branch on March 12. The day or two before April 19, David instructed that the women staying downstairs should go upstairs.

On April 19 with the CS gas coming in, Clive and others put on gas masks. Clive also put on several jackets and a helmet that had been left behind by an ATF agent. Clive describes how the filter on the mask clogged quickly, but he left the mask on rather than have his face and respiratory passages burned by the gas. Clive describes how the men inside the chapel moved back and forth as tanks penetrated from two sides and sprayed gas from nozzles attached to their booms. Just after noon he heard a shout about fire. He and other men moved behind the wall at the back of the chapel's stage. Clive and Thibodeau looked out a hole in the outer wall of the chapel that had been made by a tank. They wondered if they would be shot when they went out. Suddenly an overwhelming heat overhead pushed Clive to the floor. The area got dark from smoke blowing from the front of the building and being sucked inside the hole in the wall of the chapel. Clive crawled toward the hole. He heard men behind him screaming. He lurched in the

direction of the hole, slithered over the rubble, and landed outside on his feet. Once outside he realized that his jacket was melting, the skin was peeling off his hands, and his neck and ankle were burned.

Clive was the fourth and last man out through the hole in the chapel's wall. Jaime Castillo, David Thibodeau, and Derek Lovelock got out ahead of him. When they walked down the driveway with their hands up, they met Renos Avraam who had jumped from the second floor in the front of the building. Clive saw the four men ahead of him going down the driveway, and he was ordered to follow. Like the others, Clive was made to lie face down on the ground with his hands secured behind his back. He was on the ground when he saw the fireball explosion and he knew then that no one else was coming out.

On April 19 Sheila and other Branch Davidian women were in a halfway house operated by the Salvation Army where they watched the tank and gas assault on television. When they saw the fire start, they prayed that people would escape. They prayed and prayed, and hoped and hoped and hoped until the end. Sheila's four oldest children—young Wayne, Anita, young Sheila, and Lisa—and her husband, Wayne Martin, did not come out. They are buried at McLennan County Restland Cemetery.

Bonnie was at work caring for her invalid patient on April 19. At 6:00 a.m. she saw on television the tank and gas assault begin. Bonnie went home, and she and Roy watched on their television. Life immediately afterward was a blur for Bonnie. When she arranged for David to be buried in a Tyler cemetery, she thought she would have him cremated. Her mother told her to come to her senses, asking, "Hasn't he been burned enough?" Some of Bonnie's grandchildren are buried at Restland Cemetery.

Sheila worked hard to regain custody of her surviving children, Jamie, Daniel, and Kimberly, who had been sent out on March 1 and 2. She made a home for them. Jamie died in 1998, and is buried with his father and older siblings in Restland Cemetery.

In the criminal trial in 1994, Clive, Woodrow Kendrick, and Norman Allison were acquitted of all charges relating to the deaths of four ATF agents on February 28, 1993. Clive and Edna moved back to Mount Carmel in 1999 where they operated a Visitor's Center memorializing the events and those who died including the ATF agents. Edna died in 2001. In March 2006 Clive moved from Mount Carmel into Waco, storing the contents of the former Visitor's Center.

In 1996 Bonnie started working in a pediatric clinic in Tyler. Roy died in 2001 and was buried next to David. On January 23, 2009, Bonnie stopped by to pick up her mentally ill sister to take her to the doctor, and the sister stabbed Bonnie through the heart. Bonnie's grave joined those of David and Roy.

CONCLUSION

I have learned from the survivors that I have interviewed, not only Bonnie, Sheila, and Clive, that they are intelligent and good people. Bonnie, Sheila, and Clive have spoken with reporters whenever asked, because they always hope that the media will humanize their loved ones. They remember the deceased ATF agents each year in their memorial service. The surviving Branch Davidian adults with whom I have spoken look for David's return with their loved ones who are sorely missed.

ENDNOTES

¹ David Thibodeau and Leon Whiteson, *A Place Called Waco: A Survivor's Story* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999).

² Bonnie Haldeman, *Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007); Sheila Martin, *When They Were Mine: Memoirs of a Branch Davidian Wife and Mother* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009).

³ Clive Doyle with Catherine Wessinger and Matthew D. Wittmer, *A Journey to Waco: Autobiography of a Branch Davidian* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012).

⁴ James T. Richardson, "Manufacturing Consent about Koresh: A Structural Analysis of the Role of Media in the Waco Tragedy," *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*, ed. Stuart A. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 153-76.

⁵ Edward S. Chomsky and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

⁶ Richardson, "Manufacturing Consent about Koresh," 163.

⁷ Richardson, "Manufacturing Consent about Koresh," 163-64.

⁸ David T. Hardy with Rex Kimball, *This Is Not an Assault: Penetrating the Web of Official Lies Regarding the Waco Incident* (Bloomington, Ind.: Xlibris, 2001), 275-76, 285.

Catherine Wessinger is Rev. H. James Yamauchi, S.J. Professor of the History of Religions at Loyola University New Orleans. She is editor of *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases* (2000); author of *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate* (2000); and editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism* (2011). She is co-general editor of *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*. She edited *Memories of the Branch Davidians: Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother*, by Bonnie Haldeman (2007); *When They Were Mine: Memoirs of a Branch Davidian Wife and Mother*, by Sheila Martin (2009); and with Matthew D. Wittmer she edited *A Journey to Waco: Autobiography of a Branch Davidian* by Clive Doyle (2012).