

# The Lee Hancock Collection

## Federal and State Materials on the Branch Davidian Case

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**ABSTRACT:** The Lee Hancock Collection of materials on the Branch Davidian case, located at the Loyola University New Orleans archive, contains an impressive set of internal memos, interview reports, and expert reports from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, and the Texas Rangers, in addition to numerous government reports and documents relating to the criminal and civil trials. It also contains an array of news articles. The Hancock Collection provides important source materials relevant to research on the events in 1993 involving federal agents and the Branch Davidians, the subsequent trials and investigations, as well as media depictions. The federal documents in the Hancock Collection are particularly important in light of the withholding and destruction of source materials on the Branch Davidian case by United States agents and agencies.

Lee Hancock, a reporter with the *Dallas Morning News*, conducted in-depth investigative reporting on the Branch Davidian case—from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) raid on 28 February 1993, in which four ATF agents and six Branch Davidians died; through the siege at the Branch Davidians' Mount Carmel Center outside Waco, Texas; and the CS gas and tank assault on 19 April 1993 carried out by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents that culminated in the fire, in which 76 people died, including 23 children. Hancock covered the initial government investigations in

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1993, the criminal trial in 1994, the congressional hearings in 1995, the wrongful-death civil trial in 2000, and the John Danforth special counsel investigation and report in 1999–2000. Hancock was committed to researching and describing the complexities of the Branch Davidian case, and to educating the public concerning the “other than the easy, pat explanation of what happened.” She sought in her stories to avoid “white-hat/black-hat” dichotomized news coverage.<sup>1</sup>

During her ten years of reporting on various aspects of the Branch Davidian case, Hancock broke significant stories that impacted public perception as well as prompted federal investigations. These stories include the revelation in 1999—despite earlier congressional testimony to the contrary—that pyrotechnic (utilizing a spark) CS gas rounds had been fired at an underground tunnel at Mount Carmel early in the morning on 19 April 1993.<sup>2</sup> This story led to Attorney General Janet Reno appointing former Senator John Danforth as special counsel to investigate and report on the actions of federal agents in relation to the Branch Davidians, and to determine whether or not criminal actions were committed by agents. Also in 1999 Hancock broke stories based on internal FBI memos that revealed that top FBI negotiators, such as Gary Noesner, pointed out during the siege that aggressive tactical actions against the Branch Davidians were counterproductive and would result in deaths. She also reported on interviews with Pete Smerick, retired FBI behavioral scientist, who in 1993 had provided accurate analysis of the Branch Davidian beliefs, religious commitment, and social psychology, and had recommended strongly that agents avoid fulfilling David Koresh’s prophecies that the community would be attacked and killed by federal agents.<sup>3</sup> During the subsequent investigations and civil trial, Hancock continued her intelligent reporting of the complex and technical details of the case.

After the tenth anniversary of the fire in 2003, Hancock decided to shift her investigative energies to other topics, and in 2004 Loyola University New Orleans was fortunate to receive her collection of research materials on the Branch Davidian case. Hancock clearly had excellent connections within the FBI and other federal and state agencies, because the Collection is a goldmine of FBI internal memos and reports on interviews, FBI event logs and negotiation logs, ATF documents, as well as Texas Ranger interview reports and summary reports. Additionally, there are hard copies of Hancock’s own news stories and other media coverage, government reports that are no longer readily available, research materials on CS gas, legal documents relating to the court cases, VHS tapes containing the much debated FLIR (forward-looking infrared) footage shot from an airplane flying over Mount Carmel on 19 April 1993, and intriguing miscellaneous documents.

These materials are important primary sources for researchers on topics such as David Koresh’s background and psychology; the beliefs

and sociology of the Branch Davidian community; the actions of federal agents in relation to the Branch Davidians; the negotiations with the Branch Davidians; the interactions of state law enforcement agents—the Texas Rangers—with federal law enforcement agents; the interactions of federal law enforcement agencies with each other; the role of the news media; the management of the news media by federal agencies; the fire on 19 April 1993; the legal issues involved in the trials; government investigations; and technical issues concerning the FLIR footage and CS gas. The government documents in the Hancock Collection are particularly important in light of the policy pursued by federal agencies of withholding documents and electronic materials relating to this case.

### THE COLLECTION MATERIALS

The Lee Hancock Collection has been housed in the Special Collections and Archives, on the third floor of the J. Edgar and Louise S. Monroe Library, on the campus of Loyola University New Orleans. The Hancock Collection and other archival materials were absolutely safe in the Monroe Library during the 2005 Katrina disaster; it is a secure building and there was no serious flooding on the Loyola campus.

The Hancock Collection is stored in eight acid-free boxes. A general list of the contents of the Hancock Collection has been compiled, which I will be happy to provide to interested researchers. The Collections' contents await detailed cataloguing. Early in 2010 the Hancock Collection will be relocated to the Southwestern Writers Collection, Special Collections, Alkek Library, Texas State University-San Marcos, which will make an inventory of the Collection and many of its documents available on a Web site. I give here a general overview of the contents of the Collection.

Box one contains three folders containing FBI reports of interviews with family members, former and current Branch Davidians, and others to provide background on David Koresh and the sociology of the Branch Davidian community. The people interviewed include: Bonnie Haldeman and Roy Haldeman, David Koresh's mother and stepfather; Earline Clark, Bonnie Haldeman's mother and Koresh's grandmother; Sharon Rose Kidd, a younger sister of Bonnie Haldeman and Koresh's aunt; Kenneth Clark, an uncle of Koresh; Harriet Phelps, a Seventh-day Adventist who introduced the young Vernon Howell (David Koresh) to the Branch Davidians; Karen Doyle, a Branch Davidian and daughter of Clive Doyle, who was living in California in 1993; Janet Kendrick and Myrtle Riddle, Branch Davidians then residing on camp property near Palestine, Texas, owned by the community; Jeannine Bunds, a former Branch Davidian who had been one of Koresh's wives; Robyn Bunds, daughter of Jeannine, who was a former Koresh wife and is the mother of one of Koresh's surviving children.

One folder contains a letter dated 17 March 1992, written by David Jewell—father of Kiri Jewell (age 11 in 1992), who was prepared by her mother, Sherri Jewell, to become one of Koresh’s wives—to his Michigan congressional representative to report “an extremely grave situation which begs for action” involving a “religious cult.” Jewell’s letter includes an affidavit prepared by former Branch Davidian Marc Breault, describing his observations of Koresh’s interactions with his wives, and describing Sherri Jewell (43 in 1993 when she died in the fire) as the oldest wife and mentor to the younger wives. Breault’s statement also describes Koresh as taking girls as young as twelve or thirteen to be his wives. Breault’s statement could be criticized as coming from a former member hostile to Koresh and the Branch Davidians, and as being tainted by an anticult perspective, but it could also be read as a glimpse into the seldom described domestic world of Koresh’s interactions with his many wives. Its validity can only be confirmed or disconfirmed by the surviving former wives of David Koresh.

Box one also contains seven folders labeled “negotiation memos,” which contain the assessments by FBI behavioral scientists, negotiators, and outside experts. There are five files labeled “negotiation/interviews,” consisting of reports of FBI interviews with various experts and witnesses; these include psychiatrist Bruce Perry’s report based on his interviews with the children who were sent out of the residence during the siege. Other files contain typed and handwritten FBI event logs from March 1993 through April 1993; a typed FBI event log for 19 April 1993; a handwritten FBI sniper log for 19 April 1993; and a typed FBI Hostage Rescue Team (HRT) radio log for 19 April 1993. Four files contain photographs and diagrams of the residence attached to statements given by ATF agents to Texas Rangers. Box one also contains FBI written reports of statements given by members of the HRT team; Texas Ranger reports on interviews with ATF agents and witnesses; copies of Texas Ranger reports on their investigations;<sup>4</sup> a file of government documents concerning military and Special Forces support of the ATF agents’ training and execution of the raid; and a file of press reports on the RandyWeaver/Ruby Ridge case in 1992, which also involved the FBI’s elite tactical unit, the HRT.

Box two contains six files containing Texas Ranger reports on interviews with ATF agents and officials; five files concerning press releases and other documents relating to the investigation of the ATF raid; eight files on the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee Hearings in 1993; and one file containing photocopies of statements given at the House of Representatives hearings in 1995. This box also contains more copies of Texas Ranger reports. Two files contain interviews collected in relation to the Treasury Department investigation of the ATF raid. Two files labeled “White House Statements” contain reports of interviews taken by FBI agents; of particular interest is the interview with Lisa

Foster, the widow of Vincent Foster (1945–1993), former Deputy Counsel to the President, who committed suicide after becoming distraught about the outcome of the Branch Davidian siege. This file also contains a statement from Bill Clinton entitled “Responses of the President Concerning the Waco Matter.”

Many other documents produced by the Texas Rangers, ATF and FBI are found in box two. FBI materials include interviews with the following high-ranking personnel: Jeffrey Jamar, the Special Agent in Charge of the Branch Davidian operation; Richard Rogers, the commander of the HRT in 1993; Bob Ricks, the SAC who served as the FBI spokesperson in press briefings about the Branch Davidians and FBI actions toward them; Danny Coulson, the former HRT commander who at that time served as Deputy Assistant Director of the Criminal Investigative Division at FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.; Larry Potts, Assistant Director of the FBI Criminal Investigative Division; and William Sessions, then the FBI Director. Justice Department files contain reports of an interview with Attorney General Janet Reno. One file contains a report by the Society of Professional Journalists, dated 18 September 1993, on the news reporting of the Branch Davidian case. Box two also contains FBI Press Briefing documents; a transcript of a press conference meeting with John Collingwood, Office of Public and Congressional Affairs, and Danny Coulson; and the transcript of a 1995 WJLA-TV, Washington, D.C. news report on Texas Rangers’ criticism of the FBI handling of the Branch Davidians.

Subsequent boxes in the Hancock Collection contain copies of statements given in congressional hearings; depositions; memos from FBI officials; materials on the electronic and video surveillance of the Branch Davidians; a file of documents supporting the awarding of honorary medals to FBI agents for their service in the Branch Davidian case; “talking points” for William Sessions when briefing Janet Reno on the need for a tank and gas assault; responses to Hancock’s Freedom of Information requests; materials sent to Hancock by attorney David Hardy that he obtained through Freedom of Information requests; a draft memo with the goal of the Army and FBI speaking in “one tongue” on the use of military support and personnel at Mount Carmel;<sup>5</sup> a memo from FBI negotiator Byron Sage reporting on the procedures used during the siege to monitor the surveillance devices inside the residence, and to convey information gleaned from the captured conversations to the FBI decision-makers; FBI and Justice Department press releases; reports on FBI interviews with HRT agents; SAC Bob Ricks’ speech given in August 1993 to Waco-Tulsa Rotary Club members about the Branch Davidians and their fiery end; and hard copy collections of media coverage of the Branch Davidian case, including Hancock’s own articles. One religious tract, produced by Jamaican Davidians living in Waco, is a reprint of a tract by Victor Houteff (1885–1955) interpreting

the Bible's prophecies, which they believed shed light on the siege then occurring at the Branch Davidians' Mount Carmel.<sup>6</sup>

Box eight contains pleadings and transcripts from the 2000 civil trial, which includes surveillance device transcripts the government used to argue that the Branch Davidians set the fire.

The Collection includes nine VHS tapes of FLIR footage, over which experts disputed about whether or not they indicated gunfire was directed toward the Branch Davidians on 19 April 1993. There is a large folder of materials on the FLIR controversy and reenactment in 2000, including the protocol for the reenactment submitted by Vector Data Systems in the United Kingdom. One videotape is labeled, "Dr. Igor Smirnov, Janet Morris, Psychotherapeutic Briefing 3/17/93." There is one videotape labeled, "Inside Mount Carmel" of Branch Davidians giving statements during the siege and Koresh introducing the children.<sup>7</sup>

The Collection contains government reports, which are not presently very accessible: the 1993 Treasury Department report; the 1993 Justice Department report; auxiliary reports produced under Justice Department auspices in 1993; and the three volumes of testimony given at the 1995 congressional hearings. There is also the 1995 government report on *The Federal Raid on Ruby Ridge, ID, Hearings*; as well as materials on the Oklahoma City bombing carried out by Timothy McVeigh on 19 April 1995 and its connection to McVeigh's anger at the government's treatment of the Branch Davidians. The Danforth Final Report (2000) on the Branch Davidian case, which is available now in pdf format,<sup>8</sup> is in the Collection. Additionally, the Hancock Collection contains books and videotapes that are widely available in the public domain.

## THE BACKGROUND INTERVIEWS

Very interesting material is contained in the background interviews conducted by FBI agents in 1993. Briefly I will mention that Earline Clark reported that on 28 February 1993, her grandson, David Koresh, called her after he had been shot during the ATF raid. Believing he was going to die, Koresh told her, "Dying is not bad, I'll see you in the skies." He told his grandmother, "I always wanted to give you this message," and "I will be resurrected."<sup>9</sup> This was similar to the message he left on his mother's answering machine on that date.<sup>10</sup>

Jeannine Bunds described David Koresh as a high-energy individual, who would stay awake for as long as thirty-six hours at a time and who was active at night. Koresh and Bunds' daughter, Robyn Bunds, had a brief custody struggle over their son, Shaun, but Koresh released the boy to his mother after being contacted by the La Verne, California, police. Jeannine Bunds described Koresh as changing his interpretations of the Bible's prophecies in response to events,<sup>11</sup> and that after the loss of Shaun:

he began to be suspicious of law enforcement, and also seemed to begin to form the idea that law enforcement or government might be the means to his crucifixion. Prior to 1989 Howell had always preached that his group would travel to Israel for the crucifixion, and that he would die on the cross; however, in 1989 he began to preach that the end would come at Mt. Carmel.<sup>12</sup>

Jeannine Bunds made the nature of Koresh's apocalyptic theology of martyrdom<sup>13</sup> clear to the FBI interviewer:

Howell once asked Jeannine if she could kill her own children. He also told her that it would be hard for him to kill anyone, but it was something he had to learn to do. From the beginning it was always understood that Howell would die with his followers; however the method of death was not known. The subject of Jim Jones and mass suicide was occasionally mentioned in Howell's presence; however, he did not appear to have any attachment to Jones or mass suicide, and the subject never received any serious discussion. Howell preached that he would be resurrected 3 1/2 years after his death at which time he would return to earth and avenge his death.<sup>14</sup>

Jeannine Bunds and Robyn Bunds made it clear to the FBI interviewer that "Howell probably sees the current events at Mt. Carmel as the end, the day of crucifixion. He would see the police as the vehicle to effect his crucifixion, and would expect his followers to die with him; be willing to give up their lives for him (a privilege for them to do so)."<sup>15</sup>

### **SUICIDE/MARTYRDOM ASSESSMENT BY THE FBI**

Other FBI memos in the Hancock Collection make it clear that decision-makers had received analyses from the Bureau's own behavioral scientists and negotiators, as well as from outside experts and informed individuals, which made it clear that if the Branch Davidians were assaulted a second time, they were likely to interpret it as fulfilling Koresh's prophecy about their dying at the hands of federal agents, most probably in a fire. There were explicit conclusions drawn that another assault by federal agents would prompt Koresh to "pull a Jonestown!"<sup>16</sup> The Hancock Collection contains a document entitled "SUICIDE ADDENDUM 4/18/93," which appears to be a final assessment of the likelihood of group suicide/martyrdom in response to an assault, which was either ignored—or acted upon by FBI agents—depending upon one's interpretation of the motivations of the FBI decision-makers.

Although sociologist Nancy T. Ammerman, as one of the experts asked by the Justice Department to evaluate the handling of the Branch Davidians and make recommendations, reported in 1993 on

how FBI leaders ignored the sound behavioral science analysis and recommendations provided by FBI “psychological profilers” Pete Smerick and Mark Young,<sup>17</sup> it is illuminating to read these memos, which are found in the Hancock Collection. Smerick and Young wrote on 7 March 1993:

If the compound is attacked in all probability, DAVID KORESH and his followers will fight back to the death, to defend their property and their faith, as they believe they did on February 28, 1993. If that occurs, there will have to be a HRT response and the possibility of a tremendous loss of life, both within the compound, and of Bureau personnel.

Commanders are thus faced with the prospect of defending their actions and justifying the taking of the lives of *children*, who are with their families in a “*defensive position*,” defending their religion, regardless of how bizarre and cult-like we believe it is manifested. [Emphasis in original.]

Further, Smerick and Young asserted, “If we physically attack the compound, and *children are killed* (even by the Davidians) . . .” [emphasis in original], FBI agents will be asked: “Why couldn’t you just wait them out?”<sup>18</sup> Smerick and Young concluded by referring to the MOVE debacle in 1985 in Philadelphia: “It is imperative that the FBI learn from the mistakes made in Philadelphia.”<sup>19</sup>

A follow-up memo by Smerick and Young indicated awareness of two important dynamics of religious communities: (1) the likely violent reaction on the part of the Branch Davidians if federal agents again invaded their “sacred ground” at Mount Carmel; and (2) if FBI agents threatened Koresh’s charismatic authority as the Endtime messiah—which was attributed to him by his followers’ faith—by taking him into custody by force, Koresh might resort to a “mass suicide” to protect his messianic identity: “KORESH realizes that in an environment outside of the compound, without his control over his followers, he would lose his status as the Messiah, thus a mass suicide ordered by KORESH cannot be discounted.”<sup>20</sup>

There are more FBI internal memos along these lines in the Hancock Collection that could be cited. One memo by Danny Coulson at the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., dated 4 April 1993, indicates that the FBI decision-makers in Waco were well aware that the likely result of an FBI assault would be the fulfillment of Koresh’s prophecies of the Branch Davidians’ martyrdom: “The Waco leadership believes that there is a possibility that Koresh and his people may be planning some act that will cause their death [sic], and ultimate ascension to heaven. That act could include attempts to have the FBI kill them.”<sup>21</sup>

Another memo written by an unknown author (who was not a good speller) demonstrated a good understanding of the Branch Davidians’ apocalyptic theology of martyrdom based on the book of Revelation



and other biblical texts, which the author obtained by interviewing Branch Davidian Livingstone Fagan, whom Koresh had sent out to explain his theology to FBI agents. This author wrote that the book of Revelation could be read as referring to “a ritual sacrifice of the people,” and “[i]f Koresh sees Revelations [sic] 2:10, 14, 26, as authorizing himself then he could kill some or all of his followers.” This author reported that Fagan had “made a strong point” that currently “[w]e’re between the Fifth and Sixth Seals,” in other words, according to the author: “We are . . . between prophecy and fulfillment.” This author cited Revelation 8 as important:

It mentions “The smoke as from an incense burner.” Should Kouresh [sic] go over the edge it is likely he will burn the compound. See verse seven and its reference to “Hail and fire mingled with blood”. Blood and violence are necessary for the fulfillment of Kouresh’s fantasy.

This author concluded it would be possible to induce Koresh to come out, since he “appears torn between his myth and his sensate appetites. The best course of action is to maintain his conflict. If he resolves it in favor of the myth, he will eventually pull a Jonestown!”<sup>22</sup>

The chilling “SUICIDE ADDENDUM 4/18/93” is a report on FBI contacts with various people to elicit their opinions about whether or not the Branch Davidians were likely to commit group suicide. Bonnie and Roy Haldeman expressed the opinion that Koresh would “not commit suicide or become a martyr.” Timothy Stoen, an attorney and former member of Peoples Temple, had sent a letter stating that “based on his experience with cults, he believed it increasingly likely that a mass suicide would occur.” Psychiatrist Bruce Perry, working with the children sent out of the residence, warned that Koresh had a plan “to end the standoff in an apocalyptic manner.” A “case worker,” who had made home visits to Mount Carmel before the siege to investigate allegations concerning the children, reported, “Koresh often spoke of a fiery end and explosion.” John Issenman, a concerned Jewish businessman, warned that Koresh had good knowledge of Jewish history and he might seek to emulate the group martyrdom at Masada in 73 C.E. Louis Alaniz, who had entered the residence during the siege and who exited on 17 April 1993 after receiving Bible studies from Koresh, had his warnings about the Branch Davidians’ apocalyptic theology of martyrdom<sup>23</sup> discounted by this report: “It was noted that some or all of Alaniz’s information may have been false.” Victorine Hollingsworth, a Branch Davidian who came out during the siege, gave additional information about an aborted plan to draw fire from agents and commit group suicide on 2 March 1993, when Branch Davidians thought that Koresh was dying from his wounds. Former Branch Davidians in Australia reported that the Branch Davidians had been instructed in

methods to commit suicide by “discharging a firearm in the mouth or taking cyanide.” Other Branch Davidians outside the residence (Michael Jeffery Edwards), and former Branch Davidians (David Block, Deborah Sue Bunds, Brad Borst, Joel Jones) said that they did not think the Branch Davidians would commit group suicide, but they would interpret an assault as fulfilling prophecies that they would be martyred as part of the apocalyptic Endtime events. A “confidential source” provided what, in light of evidence currently available,<sup>24</sup> appears to be an accurate analysis:

[I]t was possible for Koresh to interpret the Book of Revelations [sic] in a manner that would authorize him to kill some or all of his followers. The language of certain passages led the source to feel that, if Koresh did go over the edge, he would likely burn the compound. The source believed that Koresh does not abide by worldly time schedules. The source felt that . . . Koresh appeared to be waiting for a revelation. . . . A Jonestown incident was possible within certain of Koresh’s interpretations.<sup>25</sup>

There is no indication about the document to which the “Suicide Addendum” was attached. The “Suicide Addendum” suggests that as late as 18 April 1993—the day before the final assault—FBI decision-makers were well aware of the violent response that a tank and CS gas assault was likely to elicit from David Koresh and some of the Branch Davidians.

## CONCLUSION

This essay is a very general overview of the contents of the Lee Hancock Collection at Loyola University New Orleans, and a brief report on the significance of just a few of the documents found therein. Researchers interested in Branch Davidian theology and history; the militarization of law enforcement in America; law enforcement interactions with unconventional religious communities; the internal dynamics within the ATF and the FBI in 1993 and afterwards; and the interactions between the Branch Davidians and federal agents will find this Collection to be a significant repository of primary sources. The significance of the Lee Hancock Collection is increased by the withholding and destruction of evidence by federal agents and agencies.<sup>26</sup>

*I thank Lee Hancock for donating her research materials on the Branch Davidian and related cases to Loyola University New Orleans in 2004. The Hancock Collection will be transferred to the Southwestern Writers Collection, Special Collections, Alkek Library, Texas State University-San Marcos early in 2010 to make it more accessible to researchers.*

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Lee Hancock, 26 September 2003, quoted in Catherine Wessinger, “The Branch Davidians and Religion Reporting—A Ten-Year Retrospective,” in *Expecting the End: Millennialism in Social and Historical Context*, ed. Kenneth G. C. Newport and Crawford Gribben (Waco, TEX.: Baylor University Press, 2006), 147–72, 270–74, here 161.

<sup>2</sup> Lee Hancock, “2 Pyrotechnic Devices Fired at Davidians, Ex-official Says,” *Dallas Morning News*, 24 August 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Lee Hancock, “FBI Missteps Doomed Siege Talks, Memos Say,” *Dallas Morning News*, 30 December 1999. The internal memo reporting the interview with Gary Noesner in the Hancock Collection is Susan E. DeBusk, “Waco Interview of Gary Noesner, August 31, 1993.”

<sup>4</sup> Two Texas Ranger Investigative Reports (dated 1999 and 2000) can also be located on the Texas Ranger website entitled Branch Davidian Information, <[www.txdps.state.tx.us/director\\_staff/public\\_information/branch\\_davidian/in dexfirst.htm](http://www.txdps.state.tx.us/director_staff/public_information/branch_davidian/in dexfirst.htm)>. I was impressed with the quality of the Texas Ranger interviews and reports when I used one of them in my article discussing, in part, the role of the media in the ATF raid on 28 February 1993. Wessinger, “The Branch Davidians and Religion Reporting,” cites D. Maxwell and C. Smith, Report of Investigation, Texas Department of Public Safety, Criminal Law Enforcement Division, 11 May 1993, which is found in the Hancock Collection.

<sup>5</sup> Posse Comitatus law makes it illegal for American law enforcement agents to employ the military against civilians, except in specific situations.

<sup>6</sup> This publication notes that the contemporary Davidians are not connected to David Koresh’s Branch Davidians. In recent decades, Jamaicans reading Victor Houteff’s tracts have moved to Waco and reconstituted a Davidian organization, the first one having been dissolved by Victor’s wife, Florence Houteff, in 1962. The Branch Davidian movement, initiated by Ben Roden (1902–1978) and later led by Lois Roden (1905–1986), emerged out this transition. David Koresh’s Branch Davidians were a continuation of the Roden movement.

<sup>7</sup> Copies of this videotape are also available by contacting the Texas Collection archive at Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

<sup>8</sup> The Danforth Final Report is not easy to locate on the Internet. I will be happy to send the pdf file to anyone who requests it. I thank Matthew Wittmer for forwarding it to me. It is too large to send via email; it will have to be transmitted on a DVD.

<sup>9</sup> DE FBIDL 0010 UNCLAS, Section Three of Three Sections, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Bonnie Haldeman, *Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh’s Mother*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2007), 77, 153 n.80.

<sup>11</sup> DE FBILA 0022 UNCLAS, Section Two of Five Sections, 3–5.

<sup>12</sup> DE FBILA 0022 UNCLAS, Section Two of Five Sections, 5. This is the only statement that I have seen that Koresh expected to die on a cross. I think the interviewer misunderstood what was meant by Koresh’s “crucifixion.” The dates are slightly misrepresented in this statement. Robyn Bunds left the Branch Davidians in 1990. In 1991, Robyn Bunds filed a complaint with the La Verne,

California, police department that David Koresh had taken their son, Shaun, to Texas. After the La Verne police visited Koresh at Mount Carmel, he returned Shaun to his mother in California within 48 hours. Marianne Love, "Branch Davidians Lived in La Verne," *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*, 19 April 2003, at <[www.religionnewsblog.com/3054/residents-recall-cult-leader-david-koresh](http://www.religionnewsblog.com/3054/residents-recall-cult-leader-david-koresh)>.

<sup>13</sup> See discussion in Catherine Wessinger, "Deaths in the Fire at the Branch Davidians' Mount Carmel: Who Bears Responsibility?" in this volume.

<sup>14</sup> DE FBILA 0023 UNCLAS, Section Three of Five Sections, 2.

<sup>15</sup> DE FBILA 0023 UNCLAS, Section Three of Five Sections, 4.

<sup>16</sup> FBI NH 0009 UNCLAS, Section Two of Two Sections, 1–2. The author of this report is unknown. Although this author does not spell well, and certain recommendations appear to be influenced by a Jewish background [the negotiators should argue that the Branch Davidians cannot fulfill biblical prophecies because they are not Jewish; and Koresh and the Branch Davidians might be weaned from their "myth" by being encouraged to practice "Hasidic Jewish mystical prayer," (2–3)], this author's analysis of the likely result of an assault proved to be accurate.

<sup>17</sup> See Nancy T. Ammerman, "Report to the Justice and Treasury Departments Regarding Law Enforcement Interaction with the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, September 3, 1993," in *Recommendations of Experts for Improvement in Federal Law Enforcement after Waco* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, n.d. [1993]). This volume is in the Hancock Collection.

<sup>18</sup> Memo from SSA Peter A. Smerick and SA Mark C. Young, Psychological Profilers, on "Negotiation Strategy Consideration," 7 March 1993.

<sup>19</sup> MOVE was an African American religious community in Philadelphia, which was in intense conflict with police and neighbors, who found them to be highly objectionable. In 1985 police dropped a bomb from a helicopter on the MOVE residence, which was allowed to burn, killing six adults and five children in the MOVE community and burning down sixty-one homes in the neighborhood. Only one adult and one child survived the fire. Firefighters made no effort to put out the fire during the forty minutes the MOVE residence burned. See discussion in Marc Galanter, *Cults: Faith, Healing, and Coercion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 118–21.

<sup>20</sup> Memo by SSA Peter A. Smerick and SA Mark C. Young on "Negotiation Strategies and Considerations," 8 March 1993.

<sup>21</sup> Danny Coulson, "WACMUR 4/4/93."

<sup>22</sup> DE FBINH 0008 UNCLAS, Section One of Two Sections; FBI NH 0009 UNCLAS, Section Two of Two Sections.

<sup>23</sup> See Wessinger, "Deaths in the Fire," this volume.

<sup>24</sup> See Wessinger, "Deaths in the Fire," this volume.

<sup>25</sup> "SUICIDE ADDENDUM 4/18/93."

<sup>26</sup> See Matthew D. Wittmer, "Traces of the Mount Carmel Community: Documentation and Access"; and Wessinger, "Deaths in the Fire," in this volume.