

Introduction for people on Chart A:

Prophets that the Waco Prophets utilize in their teachings

William Miller: Baptist preacher living on the eastern side of New York state.

Lived 1782 to 1849

Miller is known for his ministry that spanned between 1831 and 1848 that focused on scripture being it's own interpreter. [c57]

Ellen G. White: Seventh-day Adventist founder who had heard William Miller speak on two occasions.

Lived 1827 - 1915.

Ellen's writings were published world wide. She is regarded by some to be the most published female author even today. [c58]

Waco Prophets of the Mount Carmel Community

Victor Houteff: founding prophet of Waco Davidian community. Established the initial "Mount Carmel" property site in Waco by the Brazos River, referred to by David Koresh's surviving community as the "old" Mount Carmel site.

Lived 1885 - 1955.

Victor's ministry in Waco spanned from 1935 to 1955. His message is referred to as the "Shepherd's Rod" or the "Rod." [c59]

Florence Houteff: wife of Victor Houteff. She relocated the community from the old Mt. Carmel property in Waco to New Mt. Carmel property that is east of Waco by Elk. The new Mount Carmel is where David Koresh's ministry later

Florence carried the leadership roll at new Mount Carmel site from 1955 to 1962. [c60]

Ben Roden: prophet of Waco Branch Davidian community at the new Mount Carmel site.

Lived 1902 - 1978.

Ben's ministry in Waco spanned approximately from 1955 - 1978. Ben's message is referred to as "The Branch." [c61]

Lois Roden: wife of Ben, prophet of Waco Branch Davidian at New Mount Carmel site.

Lived 1916 - 1986.

Lois's ministry in Waco spanned from 1978 to 1986 into Vernon Howell's ministry. Her message speaks about a feminine spirit and is sometimes referred to as the Living Waters Branch, but she is most well known for her SHEkinah magazine that Clive Doyle printed for the community there. [c62]

David Koresh: formerly Vernon Howell, prophet at the new Mount Carmel site following Lois Roden.

Lived 1959 - 1993.

David's ministry spanned between around 1984 and 1993 and focused on an exposition of the seven seals of the King James Bible in the book of Revelation and Psalms. [c63]

Additional folks involved with the Mount Carmel Community

George Roden: son of Ben and Lois Roden, self-proclaimed prophet. George renamed the new Mount Carmel property Rodenville Branch Center between approximately 1984 and 1988 when he lived there, driving David's community to

live in a rural area in Palestine. Texas.

Lived 1938 - 1988. [c64]

Amo Roden: former common law wife of George Roden. Wrote a lot about her own interpretation of Branch Davidian theology and her observations of events occurring on and around the property from the 1980s to 2003.

Currently lives in Florida. [c65]

Tom Street Jr.: attorney in the Waco area who was responsible for the new Mount Carmel property in the 1960s. He is the son of Tom Street Sr. who was Victor Houteff's attorney. [c66]

Clive Doyle: Davidian turned Branch Davidian turned Seven Seals student. Clive came to new Mount Carmel site under Ben Roden, was a member of the David Koresh community, and still studies with Sheila Martin in Waco.

Currently lives in Waco, Texas. [c67]

Charles Pace: resident on the new Mount Carmel site post from around 1998 to the present day.

Charles has made efforts to reside on the new Mt. Carmel property since the late 1960s and has a small congregation of followers who worship there. Charles presents his own theology of a feminine spirit which was an important element in Lois Roden's message. [c68]

Endnotes for

"Chart A: Mapping event plot points to trace the religious history behind the Mount Carmel property near Waco, Texas"

Special thanks to Clive Doyle for his editorial review and insight.

(The "c" preceding these endnotes designates them as "chart" endnotes)

- c1. Victor T. Houteff, *The Shepherd's Rod: The 144,000 of Revelation Call for Reformation* (Los Angeles: Universal Publishing Association, 1931) in the Joe Roberts Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. The format of this book was originally a series of individually stapled signatures followers hand stitched together themselves. Clive Doyle, personal communication, 2009; David G. Bromley and Edward D. Silver, "The Davdian Tradition" in *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*, ed. Stuart A. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 46; J.J. Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (San Diego: Promotion Publishing, 1996), 47; J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 4th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993), 565.
- c2. Kenneth G. C. Newport, *The Branch Davidians of Waco: The History and Beliefs of an Apocalyptic Sect* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 63. Newport cites that the General Association of Davidian Seventh-day Adventists (G.A.D.S.A.) name was established in 1943 and also says "the 'Sheperd's Rod' movement became the 'Davidian Seventh-day Adventists'" in February of that year; William L. Pitts, Jr., "Davidians and Branch Davidians: 1929-1987," in *Armageddon in Waco: Critical Perspectives on the Branch Davidian Conflict*, ed. Stuart A. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 29; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 48. Robertson claims it was in 1938 the Davidian name was officially adopted. Newport states (on page 67 of own his *Brach Davidians* book) that Robertson's book is not cited well and relies heavily on oral accounts from Catherine Matteson.
- c3. Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 124. Newport documents the difficulty of finding documentation of a specific name the group used consistently, as well as locating specific time frames various names were used. He cites the group as acquiring the Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventists Association (B.D.S.D.A.A.) name sometime between 1955 and 1962. On page 128 he cites the name General Association of Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventists (G.A.B.D.S.D.A.) being acquired in 1973; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 51. These authors state the G.A.D.S.A. was established in 1962 with no mention of the term 'Branch' that is central to Ben Roden's message and to which the Mount Camel Community continues to be associated with; Ray Bell, "77 acres all that remains: Dispute between Davidian Sects reaches Waco court," Waco News-Tribune, 11 November 1963, in the Robert Darden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Bell refers to the group as the G.A.D.S.D.A.; Alan Nelson and Sandra Gines, "Crying in the Wilderness: A religious commune sets up a dwelling place in the woods amid a struggle between rival prophets," Waco Tribune-Herald, 17 January 1988, also in the Darden Collection. Nelson cites long time community member Perry Jones as referring to the community name as the B.S.D.A.; Dick Reavis, The Ashes of Waco (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 85. Reavis cites the community as acquiring the now popular Branch Davidian name because the press found it on older property deeds; Bonnie Haldeman, Memories of the Branch Davidians: The Autobiography of David Koresh's Mother, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 54. Haldeman cites the community name as officially being the G.A.B.D.S.D.A., however she acknowledges that the community frequently dropped the G.A. reference; Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 58. A reproduction of one of Florence Houteff's 1959 letters clearly shows being printed on G.A.D.S.D.A. stationery, and on page 122 a reproduction of one of Vernon Howell's 1985 letters utilizes the D.B.D.S.D.A. name as a heading for his letter. Use of the word 'Branch' also appears to have been linked to the Branch Organic Association on page 77; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2) 124; James Tabor and Eugene Gallagher, Why Waco?: Cults and the Religious Battle for Freedom in America (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995), 39. These authors cite that the community "appears to have thrived through the 1970's," however records cited by Newport and articles that address the dissolving of the association, liquidation of most of the property, and the selling of most of the Houteff's land reveals that significant changes occurred between 1955 and 1973, and undated photos in the Treasury Report reveal the property in times of disrepair. Report of the Department of the Treasury. 1993. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Investigation of Vernon Wayne Howell also known as David Koresh (September). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. [524 pages approximately, including appendices.]
- c4. Several print volumes of SHEkinah are in the Mark Swett and Joe Roberts Collections, both in the Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Clive Doyle was responsible for printing most of these issues. Clive Doyle, visit with the author at the Texas Collection on 10 August 2008.

- c5. Robert Darden Collection and Mark Swett Collections, both in the Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. These collections contain printed Living Waters Branch literature; The "Living Waters" name was used in correspondence to refer to Lois's ideas but was not a phrase used with any significant verbal frequency by the group. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 99 and chapter 7. Page 105 features a reproduction of one of Vernon Howell's letters from 1985 that is printed on "Living Waters Foundation" stationery.
- c6. Survivor Paul Fatta says he and others at Mount Carmel in Waco, Texas never referred or thought of themselves as a group with a name. Paul Fatta, personal conversation with the author in San Diego, California, 17 November 2007; Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 54. Bonnie says of the Mount Carmel community, "I've called the group an "association" and I've called it a "church." We were Branch Davidians...However, the people who were joining did not feel like they were joining the Branch Davidian church or the Branch Davidians. They were just studying the Bible." In endnote 47 of Haldeman's book on page 138, survivor David Thibodeau is also cited as saying that the "members of the group did not call themselves Branch Davidians. They considered themselves to be students of the Bible. They also considered themselves to be members of the large Koresh family."; Reavis, *Ashes of Waco*, (see note c3), 85.
- c7. Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 204. Newport cites Howell's petition to change his name was granted by judge Robert Martinez on 28 August 1990.
- c8. David Koresh's defense attorney Dick Deguerin testifies to Koresh's writing efforts at the end of the siege in his (Deguerin's) testimony during the 1995 Subcommittee Hearings on Crime in Washington DC. Video of this testimony is featured in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement*, DVD, directed by William Gazecki, (1997, Fifth Estate Productions, Somford Entertainment: New Yorker Video, 2003), 85th minute.
- c9. Melton, Encyclopedia of American Religions (see note c1), 567-8: Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 42.
- c10. Joe Roberts Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Biblical charts conceived by Ben Roden contextualize Florence Houteff's death that year as an important event. Several of these same charts have been digitized and can be found at the website: General Association of Branch Davidian Seventh-day Adventists, "Charts," www.the-branch.org/Charts; A woman named Bonnie Smith illustrated many of the cruder charts from the Shepherd's Rod era, and a man with the surname of 'Georgel' later illustrated the more refined versions that often have Ben Roden's copyright and name at the bottom. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 11 October 2008; Dick Reavis, *Ashes of Waco* (see note c3), 58; Mircea Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1987), 15:378.
- c11. Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 48. Robertson notes that November of 1930 was when Houteff was disfellowed for "fostering disunity"; Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in *Armageddon* (see note c2), 21-22; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 46.
- c12. Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 97, chapter 5; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 50; Linda Johnson, "Waco Home Base for Adventists Sect: New Mount Carmel Center residents watch for signs of worlds end," [Waco Tribune Herald?], 18 May 1978 in the Roger Darden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
- c13. Haldeman, Memories (see note c3), 25; Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 99; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 53.
- c14. Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 53.
- c15. David Koresh's community heard about Lois's death and funeral after the fact because David's community was residing at the Palestine location at that time. Lois Roden had been living near the Mt. Carmel property at the time of her death in 1986. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008; Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in *Armageddon* (see note c2), 37; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 54.
- c16. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 19 October 2008; Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco*? (see note c3), 24-26; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 56.

- c17. Box 2D2533, Kirk T. Lyons Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. In this collection there is a bound volume of selected autopsies of the persons who were killed at Mount Carmel between February and April of 1993. Autopsies were performed by the Office of Chief Medical Examiner, Tarrant County, Texas. This volume does not contain autopsies of all those who died there in 1993 and it does not contain photos; "List of Autopsy Reports: Provided by the Justice of the Peace, McLennan County, Precinct 2," Waco Electronic Museum, Carol A. Valentine, ed., http://www.public-action.com/SkyWriter/WacoMuseum/death/map/d_list00.html. Information on this website (founded in 1996) matches the hard copy reports in the Kirk Lyon's Collection in the Texas Collection at Baylor University in Waco, but the web site provides much more material. It includes photographs and related testimony transcript excerpts from the criminal trial; Michael A. Graham, Forensic Pathology Evaluation of the 1993 Branch Davidian Deaths and Other Pertinent Issues (Appendix J), prepared for the Office of Special Counsel John C. Danforth, 26 September 2000. Graham's analysis takes statistical approaches in evaluating the forensic records created from evidence found among the fire and utilizes a variety of information sources.
- c18. Catherine Wessinger, "Autobiographies of Three Surviving Branch Davidians," *Fieldwork in Religion* 1.2 (2005), 183; A program for the 1995 survivor memorial service on the property acknowledges the tree planting occurred that year. Joe Roberts Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; See photos of the trees and rubbings the author created from the memorial headstones when they were located at the base of the crape myrtle trees as documented on my personal web page at: http://www.stormbound.org/waco.html.
- c19. Cindy V. Culp, "Branch Davidians caught in another power struggle," *WacoTribune-Herald*, 20 April 2006: 1A, 6A. Photographs of the uprooted memorial stones that Charles Pace removed and of Norma Ruhling cutting down David Koresh's memorial tree with a hacksaw were taken by Rod Aydelotte.
- c20. Robert Darden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. A detailed ten-page biography of White's life copied from an non-cited encyclopedia (of significant figures in religion) reveals that it was White's attendance at several Sabbath Conferences in 1848 "during which the basic doctrines now held by the SDA's were brought together." Pages 1584-1592.; Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion* (see note c10),15:377-379. This source cites the "early 1860's" as when the SDA formed; Melton, *Encyclopedia*, (see note c1), 568. Melton cites 1863 as the year the SDA was officially organized; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 43. The S.D.A. is cited here as materializing around 1865; Catherine Matteson, a former assistant to Lois Roden and member of the David Koresh community speaks highly of Ellen White's writings, testifying to the strong links the Mount Carmel community still had with Ellen G. White's message. Catherine Matteson, personal visit with the author in Waco in August of 2008 and February of 2009; Bonnie Haldeman, David Koresh's mother, possessed copies of Ellen G. White's writings that the author observed on her coffee table during a visit to Haldeman's home on 10 August 2008.
- c21. Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in Armageddon (see note c2), 21-22; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 46.
- c22. Roden first began preaching his Branch message in 1955 according to Clive Doyle, phone call with the author on 11 October 2008. A recording of his funeral service reveals a speaker who states Roden "received the prophetic gift" in 1955 shortly after Victor Houteff died. Mark Swett Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in *Armageddon* (see note c2), 32.
- c23. Branch Davidian charts created by Ben Roden integrate Houteff's death as a significant event that occurred in 1955. Mark Swett and Joe Roberts Collections in the Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 49.
- c24. Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 125. Florence Houteff is cited as leaving the property in 1962, at which time the dissolving of the organization is formalized; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 76-77. The G.A.S.D.A. organization was dissolved and attorney Tom Street was appointed to oversee property liquidation in 1962; Florence Houteff used to maintain residence in one of the two houses across the street from the Mount Carmel property. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 20 October 2008; Wessinger, "Autobiographies," (see note c18), 183. The house the B.A.T.F. occupied prior to the raid was demolished sometime in 2004; See the author's personal website for a color photo of this house as seen from where the front doors of Mount Carmel used to be, taken in 2000, as well as a panning video of the site at www.stormbound.org/waco.html.
- c25. Clive Doyle, personal call with the author on 11 October 2008; Reavis, Ashes of Waco (see note c3), 63.
- c26. Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), chapters 6-7; Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in Armageddon (see note c2), 36; Reavis, Ashes of Waco (see note c3), 64.

- c27. An informative audio recording of Ben Roden's funeral service labeled "1978" is on CD-Rom in the Branch Davidian holdings, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and this recording is used by Newport for his book; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2),156. Newport describes Lois's leadership as "defacto"; Reavis, *Ashes of Waco* (see note c3), 64.
- c28. Clive Doyle recalls these disputes began when George returned for the funeral of his father in 1978. George was upset by his mother's message and in his anger he sold off the community's livestock. Lois took him to court that year. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2),156; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 51. Bromley and Silver claim the struggle for ownership began in 1962.
- c29. Content, date, and wording of this caption was suggested by Clive Doyle during a phone call with the author, 19 October 2008; Newport, Branch Davidians, 178.
- c30. Clive Doyle recalls that David first traveled to Israel with Lois in late September or early October of 1983 and that he made a second trip there in 1984 with his wife Rachel. David then took Catherine Matteson and Steve Scheider on a third trip to Israel and made contact with Pablo Cohen who eventually joined the group at Mount Carmel in Texas. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 181. Koresh is cited in Newport's book as mentioning a 1985 trip to Israel to negotiators during the 1993 siege in the transcriptions of the audio taped negotiations.
- c31. In the first few years after arriving at Mount Carmel, David (Vernon at the time) claimed that he was still awaiting his message. After his second trip to Israel around 1984 his focus on the Seven Seal began to materialize. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008.
- c32. Clive has been one of the prominently featured survivors in the many accounts about the 1993 events at Mount Carmel, as evidenced in Tabor and Gallagher's book *Why Waco?* (see note c3) and both of Michael McNulty's documentaries. Clive states that he has never tried to fill the role of a leader for the surviving community members but has been "a unifying force for survivors in the local area." Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 20 October 2008. A clip of Clive speaking at the 2009 April 19th memorial in Waco can be seen at Texas State University-San Marcos blog has info about digitizing Dick Reavis materials: http://alkeklibrarynews.typepad.com/ashesofwaco/2009/05/419-memorial-service.html
- c33. Pace's history is on his church's website, The Branch: The LORD Our Righteousness, "A Brief History of Mt. Carmel Center and the Branch Davidian Seventh Day Adventists," Mt. Carmel Post David Koresh, http://www.the2branches.org/page4.html; Pace shared his female spirit theology with the author at Mt. Carmel in 2000 while he was creating a memorial there made of rocks he was cementing together. According to Clive, Pace is originally from Canada and has moved on and off the property several times beginning around 1967 when Clive remembers Charles making his first visit to the property. Clive recalls Charles had once been asked to leave the property by Ben Roden and did so. Clive states Charles returned when Lois Roden was in control and left again on his own accord. Clive states Lois phoned Branch Davidians in Toronto then in an effort to dissuade them from listening to Charles message should he travel back to Canada. In 1984, Clive found reason to believe that Charles had been financially supporting George Roden, who according to Clive, "ran Charles off the property" at the same time David's group was residing at the Palestine location because of George's dominant control of the Mount Carmel property George renamed "Rodenville Branch Center." Clive remembers Charles sitting in on one study session with David Koresh, but he (Charles) left the property shortly after this and did not return until sometime between 1995 and 1999, at which time he began maintaining a residence directly behind the space where the Mount Carmel residence once stood. Personal communication with Clive Doyle, 11 October 2008. Ken Fawcett, the man who assisted community members to move the satellite dish during the siege, visited the property many time in the two years after the fire and does not recall having seen Pace living on the property at that time. Personal visits with Ken Fawcett, Buena Park, California, summer of 2009.
- c34. The Brazos River, connects (now via the Bosque River) to Lake Waco, which was officially created in 1965 (Brazons River Authority, "Timeline of the Brazos River Basin," http://www.brazos.org/brazosHistory.asp), but an initial catalyst for the lake, according to Clive Doyle, was a dam that Victor Houteff's community built near the original Mount Carmel site. Also, many of the streets near the lake area still retain the names of some of the original Waco Davidian's from the time Mount Carmel was located there (these include Deeter street, Charboneau street [Florence Houteff's grandmother], Bishop street, Hermanson [Florence Houteff's mother] and of course Mount Carmel street). Personal tour of the area with Sheila Martin and Clive Doyle, 14 February 2009; Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco?* (see note c3), 37; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 73. Newport references the dam in note 95 for Chapter 3 of his book.
- c35. Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in Armageddon (see note c2), 25; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 46.
- c36. Reavis, Ashes of Waco (see note c3), 62; Tabor and Gallagher, Why Waco? (see note c3), 38; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in Armageddon (see note c1), 49.

- c37. Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2),125; Tabor and Gallagher, Why Waco? (see note c3), 39.
- c38. Tom Street was actually Tom Street Jr.. His father, Tom Street Sr., had also been an attorney in the Waco community and had represented Victor and Florence Houteff. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008; Johnson, "Waco Home Base" (see note c12); Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 110-111,125-128.
- c39. Clive insists that it was 1973 when the Roden's purchased the property. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 19 October 2008; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 128. A receiver's deed for the sale is in the Joe Roberts Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
- c40. Nelson and Gines, "Crying in the Wilderness," (see note c3); Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 106,131, 172-4; a video clip is featured in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (see note c8), 10 minutes and 30 seconds into the documentary that shows George Roden pointing a rifle in front of a Rodenville Branch Center sign on the property. Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 53.
- c41. Alan Nelson "Religious Sect Fights to keep county land," *Waco Tribune-Herald,* 18 October 1987 in the Robert Darden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2), 196; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 189. Robertson states \$68,000 was the total amount of property taxes owed on the property unlike most other accounts that cite \$62,000 as the total debt.
- c42. Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 55. Bromley and Silver claim Koresh paid the taxes through acquiring financial donations from wealthy members and relatives of community members.
- c43. The plight facing Mount Carmel property residents was that if they exited Mount Carmel during the siege as FBI negotiators first wanted, they would have likely been taken into custody for an unspecified amount of time. Leaving their property this way would have jeopardized the community's efforts to fulfill a legal contract they had made with the court in 1988 in which the group agreed to live on the Mt. Carmel property for five consecutive years in order to secure ownership of the property. This is frequently not mentioned in many summations of the siege. David B. Kopel and Paul H. Blackman, *No More Wacos: What's wrong with federal law enforcement and how to fix it* (New York: Promethus Books, 1997), 24; Carol Moore, *The Davidian Massacre: Disturbing questions about Waco which must be answered* (Franklin, TN: Legacy Communications and Gun Owners Foundation, 1995), 221.
- c44. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, summer 2006; In September of 2006 the author visited Clive in Waco to retrieve the memorial model from a storage facility, and observed that he was living in Waco and not on the Mount Carmel property; Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 171.
- c45. Clive transferred primary responsibility of the property management to Charles Pace upon moving off the property between February and March of 2006. Clive Doyle, visit with the author, 11 September 2006; Management responsibility of the property is also acknowledged on Charles Pace's website (see note c33), as well as on a page of activist/author Carol Moore's website, "Davidian Survivors Information," http://www.carolmoore.net/waco/waco-survivors.html.
- c46. Pitts, "Davidians and Branch Davidians" in *Armageddon* (see note c2), 26, 39; Alan Nelson, "Religious sect," (see note c41). This article features a photo by Steve Earley of the headmaster of Vanguard School next to a inlaid clock pattern in the floor of the school that remains from the Davidian's previous ownership; Johnson, "Waco Home Base," (see note c12).
- c47. It is difficult to determine just when buildings began being constructed on the property near Elk that is east of Waco. This is due to contradictions in cross referencing available information. Many sources state Florence Houteff's community was responsible for raising the structures on this site in 1957 [Newport, *Branch Davidians* (see note c2) 101; Tabor and Gallagher, *Why Waco*? (see note c3), 38; Brad Bailey and Bob Darden, *Mad Man in Waco* (Waco, Tex.: WRS Publishing, 1993): 42], however this contradicts dates of aerial photos taken of buildings on the property that show many of the same buildings (with additional ones) existing there in 1945. Ken Fawcett provided me with a 1941 aerial photograph of the property that shows no physical structures on the land, but a 1945 aerial photograph of the property clearly shows thirty-four substantially sized buildings that look fully operational, with well worn walkways to between and around them. A 1972 aerial photo shows only the small residential houses along the curved road remaining and eleven of the larger buildings that were behind them (to the south) have been removed, yet the central building where David's Mount Carmel was to later be built has been rebuilt anew and appears different than the

1945 image of the structure in that spot. A similar rebuilding had occurred to a structure on the property that is closer to EE road near the property's drive entrance. Fawcett obtained these photos from a Mount Carmel enthusiast who went by the name of "Andrew X." Andrew died between 2000-2005 and is buried on the Mount Carmel property. Andrew had acquired research material about the property and had been assisting survivors of the 1993 events. Fawcett has helped promote awareness about the 1993 events during and since the ATF raid on the building in 1993. Clive Doyle says the last two of the smaller residential houses along the curved road - the ones furthest east - were different looking than the others of their same general size and these two had been and had been positioned upon higher concrete platforms. A woman had occupied one of the residential houses for several years in the 50s or 60s before joining another faith outside of the Waco area. Personal communication with Clive Doyle, 11 October 2008; These smaller residential houses can be seen in the background of film footage featured in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (see note c8), 8 min, 45 sec. 9 min, 45 sec. Paul Fatta states that no structures were on the property when David's community [of which he was a part] moved onto the property in 1988 - only a low, perimeter concrete foundation was there along with the "square" or "concrete vault" many reports refer to as "the bunker". Paul Fatta, personal visit with the author, 18 July 2009 [this foundation can be seen in various photos as it appears the central building in the 1970s was build over it but not directly on top of it.

- c48. Black and white film footage of people raising these tents is featured in several documentaries about Ben Roden's group and can be seen in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (see note c8), 9 min, 13 sec.
- c49. Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 175, 201; Kopel and Blackman, *No More Wacos* (see note c43), 23; It is unclear which building the 'administration building' actually was if it was the structure closer to EE road or if it was the structure where David's Mount Carmel would come to be built. David's Mount Carmel was started from scratch accounting to Paul Fatta who helped build it (Paul Fatta, personal visit with the author in San Diego, 18 July 2009), and there are photos of a large building near the front of the property in the early 1980s that simply disappears in later photographs. At any rate, the destruction of the printing facility marked a turning point as the community rapidly declined in their production of printed literature as compared to previous years.
- c50. Nelson and Gines, "Crying in the Wilderness," (see note c3); Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 51.
- c51. Kopel and Blackman, *No More Wacos* (see note c43), 24-25; Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 61; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 133. Robertson describes George Roden's plan for the property on this page.
- c52. Clive Doyle, personal visit with the author, August 5, 2008; Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 61-63; Kopel and Blackman, *No More Wacos* (see note c43), 25; Bromley and Silver, "The Davidian Tradition" in *Armageddon* (see note c1), 54.
- c53. Sheila Martin, Paul Fatta, Catherine Matteson, and Clive Doyle each spent significant time helping to physically construct Mt. Carmel. Sheila recalls reusing the lumber from the older houses (personal visit with the author, August 8, 2008) and can be seen in video footage of the construction of the chapel that is featured in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (see note c8), 13 min, 20 sec into the video, as well as *Waco: A New Revelation*, VHS, directed by Jason Van Vleet, (1999, MGA Films, Inc.), 5 min, 5 sec and 5 min, 30 sec into the video; Clive worked on installing the floor of the chapel but was injured and moved to the community's Los Angeles location during the major construction period of the Mount Carmel building. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 27 October 2007. Paul Fatta remembers purchasing 4 x 8 siding sheets that were used to cover much of the outside of the building and remembers the structure was pretty much built from scratch. Paul Fatta, personal conversation with the author in San Diego, 17 November 2008 and 18 July 2009; Robertson, *Beyond the Flames* (see note c1), 199; Haldeman, *Memories* (see note c3), 123.
- c54. The following two reports provide detailed analyses of Mount Carmel's destruction on 19 April 1993: James G. Quintiere and Frederick Mowrer, *Fire Development Analysis, Mt. Carmel*, University of Maryland, submitted September 8, 1993, Kirk T. Lyons Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Ulf Wickström, *Fire Analysis of the events of Waco, Texas 19 April 1993* (Appendix E), prepared for the Office of Special Counsel, John C. Danforth, September 2000.
- c55. Clive helped coordinate the construction of this Visitor's Center in 1998. It functioned as a museum/Visitor's Center Museum from 1998-2006. Clive Doyle, visit with the author in Waco, 11 September 2006; Photo of Visitor's Center Museum undergoing construction in 1998 (as labeled) can be found at Carol Moore, "Mount Carmel Photos," Carol Moore's Waco Pages: The Davidian Massacre, http://www.carolmoore.net/waco/waco-survivors.html; The author visited the center in September of 2006 and August of 2008 and saw that this small house once used as the museum center was empty on both visits; Other efforts of constructing smaller alters in this same spot, before the visitor's center was built, had been constructed by Amo Roden, a woman who had been married to George Roden. She had camped on the property for sporadic periods of time in the years following the fire and had

promoted her interpretations of the events and scriptures to visitors while doing so. Her structures were either vandalized, burned or destroyed and were not affiliated with any survivor efforts, though one was there at the same time the Visitor's Center was constructed. Amo photographed most of her alters (one in 1997, one in 1998, one in 2000) and pasted the photos in with her independently produced literature that she provided to the author in December of 2000. Copies of her literature can be viewed in the Amo Bishop Roden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

- c56. Alex Jones, a Texas talk show host, and Clive Doyle coordinated the effort to reconstruct a chapel similar in spirit to the 1993 Mount Carmel chapel. They were able to do so with volunteer efforts between 1999 and September of 2000. Alex Jones, "Waco, and the Branch Davidians: Rebuilding...A time for growth, reflection, and hope for a better future, http://www.wizardsofaz.com/waco/waco5a.html; When asked how this structure compared in size and spirit to the original chapel, Clive replied that a comparison cannot be made because the previous chapel (the built and overseen by David's community) kept changing in size due to evolving interior additions and alterations that made the worship area increasingly smaller in size. Clive Doyle, phone call with the author, 9 November 2008.
- c57 Ellen G. White. *Early Writings* (Washington DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1963)vii-xvi; Adventist Heritage Ministry. "The Second Coming of Christ" http://www.adventistheritage.org/article.php?id=23 (accessed 7/31/2009)
- c58 Xerox copies from an unidentified book in the Robert Darden Collection (see note c20); White, Early Writings (see note c57), ii-xxxii.
- c59 Bailey and Darden, Mad Man (see note c47),15-38; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 47-90.
- c60 Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 95-111.
- c61 Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 63-82; Bailey and Darden, Mad Man (see note c47), 41-66; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 115-151.
- c62 Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 87-122; Bailey and Darden, Mad Man (see note c47), 63-72; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 155-168.
- c63 Haldeman, Memories (see note c3), 6, 27-104. Sheila Martin, When They Were Mine: Memoirs of a Branch Davidian Wife and Mother (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2009), 32-97.
- c64 Haldeman, Memories (see note c3), 27-30, 55-59; Robertson, Beyond the Flames (see note c1), 123-134; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 117, 179-180, 194-196.
- c65 Various documents in the Amo Roden Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco Texas; Amo Roden has moved out of the state of Texas and has retired many of her Waco interests, but maintains her own website at: "AMO RODEN HERSELF," www.amoroden.com
- c66 Various documents in the Joe Roberts Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Newport, Branch Davidians (see note c2), 110-111, 125-127
- c67 Tabor and Gallagher, Why Waco (see note c3), 40-42; Personal visits with Clive Doyle from 2000 to present day. See note c32.
- c68 Personal visit with Charles Pace, December of 2000; See note c19, c33, and c45.