Something's Got a Hold On Me:

Women in Power in the Peoples Temple Movement

An Honors Thesis for the Department of History

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INTRODUCTION

FORTY YEARS REMOVED

On November 18, 1978 in northwestern Guyana, 918 American citizens died in a mass murder and mass suicide at the site of The Peoples Temple Agricultural Project, more commonly known as Jonestown. Almost forty years removed, the tragic end to The Peoples Temple of the Disciples of Christ (more commonly referred to as "Peoples Temple") remains the most widely-known legacy of the religious movement founded by James Warren Jones in 1955. Yet even forty years later, one finds that the women of Peoples Temple are still missing from the story. This thesis seeks to understand the women of the Peoples Temple movement, the power they wielded within the group, and the extent to which this power shifted over time. To do this, the paper will analyze the women involved, their responsibilities, and their relationships with other members of the group. In his 2004 work *Gone From the Promised Land*, historian John R. Hall argues that "communal groups do not exist as entities totally alien from the society in which they occur" but rather that "they offer refractions of culture, sometimes exposing the dilemmas or developing in the unfulfilled possibilities of an era."[1] This thesis elevates the female members to the center of power, examines them in the context of the United States of the 1960s and 1970s,

[1] John R. Hall, *Gone from the Promised Land: Jonestown in American cultural history*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publ., 2004), 78.

and thereby determines their motivations for participating in Peoples Temple, their contributions to the movement, and their broader significance in American history.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PEOPLES TEMPLE

From the movement's humble beginnings as a Midwestern congregation to beyond its dissolution, historians have researched and analyzed Peoples Temple, its leaders, and its members from a seemingly endless number of perspectives. In surveying this scholarship, particularly as it relates to women within the movement, one finds a notable absence of gender-focused considerations of Peoples Temple for the majority of the twentieth century, with historians only recently beginning to evaluate the gender politics within this religious group. The first wave of historical scholarship on Peoples Temple (a wave which lasted from 1978 to the mid-1980s), primarily focused on its leader, Jim Jones. Tim Reiterman's 1982 work *Raven*, for instance, explores the environment of Jim Jones' youth and its influence on his later teachings and behavior; similarly, James Reston's *Our Father Who Art in Hell: The Life and Death of Jim Jones* from 1981 argued that Jones had "descen[ded] into madness" by 1978 and that madness in turn led to the destruction of Peoples Temple.[2] These works are some of the most well-known and often-cited writings in the discussions of Peoples Temple today, yet they omitted close, serious analysis of its members or their relationships to the movement. Instead, the authors largely treated the members as passive victims of Jones and his teachings. Where female accounts did appear in some fashion, they focused heavily on Jones and his powers of manipulation; this trend was likely exacerbated by the number of first-hand accounts published at the same time from defectors and survivors of the massacre at Jonestown. Such accounts,

[2] James Reston. *Our Father Who Art in Hell*. (New York, New York : Times Books), 1981, 7.

including Bonnie Thielmann's 1979 *The Broken God*, Min Yee and Thomas Layton's 1981 *In My Father's House*, and Jeannie Mills' 1979 *Six Weeks With God*, told very similar stories surrounding the attractive personality of Jim Jones and claims regarding their own "brainwashing." As Mary McCormick Maaga noted in her 1998 analysis of these "atrocity" narratives, the goal of former members in writing their stories was to "re-enter mainstream society with relatively few emotional and social penalties,"[3] which in turn prompted them to wholly blame Jones and his influence for their former estrangement. As a result, most historical accounts from this period failed to differentiate among members or consider the influence of race or gender on their experiences. In a time during which the media sensationalized the Peoples Temple "cult," this first wave of historical thought on the movement and the women within it satiated the public's desire for "brainwashing" narratives.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, a second school of thought took a new approach toward Peoples Temple: rather than writing about Jones himself, these historians instead focused their attention on the members of Peoples Temple and their motivations for joining the religious group. Some authors, such as David Chidester in his 1988 *Salvation and Suicide: An Interpretation of Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown,* approached this question by critically examining the theological ideology of Peoples Temple and its functioning independent of Jones himself. In analyzing the "design of the worldview that infused it as a church,"[4] Chidester evaluated the beliefs of the Peoples Temple members that drew them to the movement and thus the ideological commonality among them. Embedded in these second wave discussions was also a critical analysis of the social and political environments of the United States during

[3] Mary McCormick Maaga, *Triple Erasure: Women and Power in Peoples Temple.* (Ann Arbor: UMI), 1998, 25.
[4] David Chidester, *Salvation and Suicide: An Interpretation of Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1991, 50.

Peoples Temple's active years. Chief among such scholarship is John R. Hall's aforementioned *Gone From the Promised Land* in which the historian compared the teachings and practices of Peoples Temple to the counterculture and neo-conservative movements of the 1960's and 1970's, contending that the group incorporated many of the arguments and causes of both camps. In contrast to the "atrocity narratives" of the first wave, Hall underscored the agency of the movement's membership, describing the adherents as individuals who made rational and independent decisions. Hall and other authors like him in this way sought to place Peoples Temple and its members more fully in their historical context.

This second wave of scholarship also examined women within the movement. One of the first historical works to focus on women and their relationships with men within Peoples Temple is the 1985 work *A Sympathetic History of Jonestown* by historian Rebecca Moore. Moore's sisters, Carolyn and Annie, were not only members of the movement, but also occupied high positions of power for most of the Temple's history. Of course, while Moore is counted among the most important scholars on women within Peoples Temple, one must underscore the inherent bias of her work due both to her personal connection with the subjects of her analysis and her personal association to the primary sources used (e.g. personal letters between her and Temple members, etc.). In her analysis of Peoples Temple's leadership structure, Moore discussed the group of women who in being Jones' lovers, advisors, and secretaries, occupied some of the most powerful positions within the movement. Moore continued her study of the women of Peoples Temple in subsequent works, publishing personal letters between herself and her sisters as well as internal correspondence among members, eventually collaborating with Fielding M. McGhee on the 1989 essay collection *New religious movements, mass suicide, and Peoples*

Temple: scholarly perspectives on a tragedy. Through such efforts, Moore and her collaborators pioneered the study of subgroups within Peoples Temple while still maintaining the member-focused spirit of the second wave of historical thought.

Beginning in the 2000s, a third historical narrative moved beyond leaders to focus on individuals and subgroups within the religious movement. In identifying specific subsets of Peoples Temple and focusing on what made their experiences unique from the rest of the group, these third wave historians substantially increased the variety of perspectives which comprised the Peoples Temple historical record. Historical writings from this period include Julia Scheeres' 2011 *A Thousand Lives*, which provided testimonials from previously unheard voices like Tommy Bogue and Hyacinth Thrash, as well as Leigh Fondakowski's 2013 *Stories from Jonestown*, a work which also used primary source accounts to discuss the female, black, gay, lesbian, and transgender subgroups within Peoples Temple. Such perspectives are critical to one's understanding of the wide range of women's motivations within Peoples Temple throughout its history. For instance, Michael Bellefountaine's 2011 *A Lavender Look at the Temple: A Gay Perspective of the Peoples Temple* described Peoples Temple as a haven for queer women in which they could freely express their sexuality without removing themselves from the rest of society like other lesbians in the period[5]; in this way, Bellefountaine illustrated the singular character of women's experiences with the movement. In defining more specific subsets within Peoples Temple and evaluating the unique natures of each group, the authors of the third wave in fact broaden the scope of historical thought surrounding the members of the religious movement.

[5] Michael Bellefountaine and Dora Bellefountaine. *A Lavender Look at the Temple a Gay Perspective of the Peoples Temple*. (Bloomington, IN.: IUniverse), 2011, 7.

Mary McCormick Maaga's *Triple Erasure: Women and Power in Peoples Temple* contributed the most to the understanding of women within the movement as it exists today; the work outlines how historians erased women, whether due to their membership in the "cult", their relationship with Jim Jones, or their choice of suicide, from analyses of Peoples Temple. In contrast to these earlier historians, Maaga detailed women's contributions to both the ideology and operation of Peoples Temple. Grace Stoen, Sharon Amos, as well as Carolyn Layton—three women considered to be among Jones' "inner circle"—served as case studies in her analysis, combined with sociological considerations of women's participation in new religious movements in general. She deconstructed what previous historians overlooked or minimized in their analyses of the contributions of these women, combatting what she saw as a long-standing disregard of their voices. Maaga traced the growing influence of these women over the course of the movement, drawing connections between Jones' ailing health and the rapid increase in female authority. *Triple Erasure* and *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, Maaga's subsequent work, form the foundation of modern scholarship concerning the women of Peoples Temple.

CASE STUDIES: MARCELINE JONES AND CAROLYN LAYTON

This thesis builds on the third wave of historical thought while also returning to the second wave's emphasis on leadership; in so doing, the study presents a unique perspective on women in power within Peoples Temple. Throughout such discussions, the analysis pays particular attention to two important women within the Peoples Temple leadership structure: Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton. Marceline Jones was Jim Jones' wife and co-founder of the movement. One finds substantial contributions from Marceline to both the core belief system as well as the promotion and day-to-day operation of Peoples Temple during its early years in

Indiana, with a clear drop off as the movement migrated to northern California. Few Peoples Temple historians underscore Marceline's role as a spiritual leader, and thus this thesis offers a singular perspective on her individual influence within the movement.

The second woman who occupies a central role in this analysis, Carolyn Moore Layton, was a member of the Temple's Triumvirate leadership structure who rose to power during the movement's California years. Carolyn was also one of Jim Jones' several mistresses, eventually having a child with him. While several historians have already analyzed Layton within their larger analyses of Peoples Temple, this thesis returns to Layton with a different perspective, considering her role as a decision maker and leader rather than as solely Jones' sexual partner. By studying these two women together, this thesis determines what caused the power both women wielded within Peoples Temple to change so dramatically over the course of the movement. The discussion of Jones, Layton, and their relationship to one another therefore will not only yield detailed descriptions of their respective contributions, but also provide insight into the motivations of women across Peoples Temple.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

This thesis relies heavily on a range of historical documents such as letters, personal notes, and audio recordings of conversations among and including female Peoples Temple members. Some of these documents were collected by the FBI in its investigation of the assassination of Congressman Leo Ryan and the deaths at Jonestown. These documents are maintained in a public collection through the Freedom of Information/Privacy Act under the reference name "RYMUR," short for "Ryan Murder," and are identified as such throughout this thesis. Other documents, transcripts, and audio recordings from Peoples Temple appear in this

thesis courtesy of the Department of Religious Studies at San Diego State University, whose independent online collection of materials from the movement were integral in the research of this project. Yet the most significant repository of archival materials for use in this analysis was the California Historical Society, whose seventeen individual collections form the foundation of this thesis' Peoples Temple research. Collections which appear particularly frequently from this archive include the Moore Family Papers, a compilation of letters and documents collected by Carolyn's family, as well as John R. Hall's research materials on Peoples Temple, which includes both legal documents and internal correspondence from throughout the movement's twenty year history. All documents from these collections which appear in this thesis are listed as part of both the California Historical Society and the individual collection in which they may be found.

Memoirs and other published works from former members also serve an important function in this study, but are treated with a higher degree of skepticism because of the previously discussed "atrocity narrative" phenomenon that Maaga identified in a majority of such works. Among the other sources used in evaluating the women in power include newspaper articles which discussed the movement and its interactions with the community; interviews between female members and people outside of the movement; diagrams, charts, and other visual aids created by Peoples Temple members to communicate internal power structures and hierarchies; as well as a variety of photographs and videos of Temple members compiled by family members and loved ones in the aftermath of the events of 1978.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter I focuses on the powerful women of Peoples Temple: who they were, what positions they assumed within the movement, and how they interacted with one another. Over the course of such discussions, the chapter also explores the broader historical context in which the women assumed power. Chapter II dives into the inner thoughts of these same women and their motivations for joining the movement and assuming such positions of power. In so doing, the chapter offers additional insight into historical trends of the period, as well as an analysis of women's established roles within that context. Chapter III broadens the focus of the study to voices outside of Peoples Temple's membership to analyze the external resistance to these women in power. This evaluation of the opposition offers the reader a more complete understanding of the relationships among the women in power and the outside world. The discussion of the particular power dynamics experienced between Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton throughout these chapters, a topic yet to be explored in depth by any of the historians discussed previously, offers a unique perspective on what drew women to the ideology of Peoples Temple, their contributions to the movement, and how their participation ultimately influenced them as members and as women. This long overdue analysis highlights the previously silenced voices of Peoples Temple and works to better understand them in the context of their time.

I: WHO WERE THEY?: IDENTIFYING THE WOMEN IN POWER

"It is better to live for something, than to die for nothing."[6]
- *Marceline Jones*

"Hopefully some day you will all be able to understand why people make the kind of commitments that we make."[7]
- *Carolyn Layon*

Peoples Temple evolved from a small Christian sect centered on faith healing and public service in 1956 into a radical organization in 1978 with fewer religious tenants and far more political and economic belief systems. Women were part of this transformation; they helped propel it and were themselves ultimately changed by it. One must thus analyze not only the roles they assumed within the movement but also the nature of the religious group in the time in which they assumed those roles. To make this distinction particularly apparent, this chapter will trace the history of Peoples Temple chronologically, evaluating the women in question in the order in which they became involved in the movement. (For a complete timeline of the events discussed in this thesis, see Appendix A.)

MOTHER JONES

[6] RYMUR 89-4286-HH-6-A, 19.
[7] Rebecca Moore. *The Jonestown Letters: Correspondence of the Moore Family* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1986), 190.

The story of women in Peoples Temple begins as early as the movement itself. On April 4, 1955, a group known as "Wings of Deliverance" filed for incorporation in Indianapolis, Indiana, proclaiming its purpose to be "furthering the Kingdom of God and spreading the true Holy Word of God."[8] A family affair, the document listed three trustees tasked with managing the administrative details of the new religious group: Reverend James Warren (Jim) Jones, soon afterward ordained as a minister in the Independent Assemblies of God[9]; Lynetta Putnam Jones, Jim's mother who resided in nearby Richmond, Indiana; and Marceline Baldwin Jones, Jim's wife. One year later, Jim Jones renamed the movement "Peoples Temple of the Wings of Deliverance", and from that point forward the three leaders referred to their group as "Peoples Temple." With Peoples Temple's early structures and practices being largely based on traditional Christian beliefs and familial hierarchies, Jim Jones stood at the head of the church, leading services and representing the group publicly with Marceline at his side. The young organization's by-laws outlined the importance of championing "all of the Heavenly attributes and Christian virtues"[10] as well as maintaining a strongly bonded community of parishoners.

As Peoples Temple of the Wings of Deliverance began to attract a membership and establish its focus on service projects which cared for the poor and elderly, the group realigned as a sect of the existing Protestant denomination Disciples of Christ. Also known as the Christian Church, the Disciples of Christ emphasizes Christian unity, inclusiveness, and social action; the faith avoids detailed assertions about doctrine beyond stating that Christ is Lord and Savior,

[8] "Wings of Deliverance Incorporation Documents", California Historical Society, Manuscript Collections Peoples Temple Records, 1941-1983, MS 3800.
[9] "Certificate of Ordination of Independent Assemblies of God", FBI RYMUR 89-4286-BB-17-cc.
[10] "Wings of Deliverance Proposed By-Laws (Text)". California Historical Society MS 3800.

intending to be a very adaptable group that connects people of vastly different beliefs.[11] This realignment thus proved significant in that it gave Peoples Temple the flexibility of a fluid religious system, broadening its appeal to a potentially wider audience, while also adding the legitimacy of being connected to an existing group. This combination of elasticity and structure in turn allowed Peoples Temple to quickly attract more members.

As Peoples Temple expanded, Marceline began to occupy an increasingly significant leadership role, one that was entirely separate from her husband. When Peoples Temple opened its first nursing homes in 1955, for instance, Marceline oversaw their construction and management. Her experience as a nurse and her affinity for working with the elderly allowed the nursing homes to quickly gain reputations for their high standards of care; Marceline in particular earned renown for her commitment to the homes and by extension the Peoples Temple's cause over all. As Tim Reiterman notes in *Raven*, "When [the Joneses] found one of the Temple members unhappy and covered with bedsores in a nursing home, they brought the woman to their large white duplex...Marceline converted her own house into a nursing home, with help from Jim, and, while working an outside nursing job, brought the home up to state standards."[12] She also ensured that the facilities were adequately staffed by aides who treated all patients equally, whether they were paying for the homes' services or not.[13] Many who watched Marceline work with patients at the nursing homes saw her as a Christian role model, an exemplification of what Peoples Temple sought to create in its membership.

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[11] "Our Identity as Disciples of Christ." Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Accessed March 31, 2018. http://disciples.org/our-identity/.
[12] Tim Reiterman. *Raven: The Untold Story of the Rev. Jim Jones and His People*. 1st ed. (New York: Dutton, 1982), 56.
[13]Mary McCormick Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 77.

Nursing homes were not the only means through which Marceline made a name for herself in the young church; rather, her reputation as a role model also stemmed from her efforts to create a "rainbow family": a representation within the Jones' own household of the racial integration and harmony they sought to promote in society. In addition to giving birth to a natural son, Stephan Gandhi Jones, Marceline with Jim adopted two orphans from Korea and one black child from Indianapolis.[14] As Marceline emerged as the matriarch of this large, diverse family, members of Peoples Temple began to see her as the matriarch of the church as well. This feeling manifested itself not only in their behavior toward Marceline, but also in the language they used to describe her. African American scholar C. Eric Lincoln places particular emphasis on the members' choice of the term "Mother Jones" to refer to Marceline, which they began to use as Marceline's influence grew. Lincoln argues that such "counterpart terminology," integral to the black religious tradition, is used only to refer to those who are "highly venerated" and "properly complementary" of the church leader (in this case, Jim Jones).[15] In the Indiana years of Peoples Temple, Jim and Marceline led the movement together, standing side by side as they spread their teachings and increased their membership.

Marceline's levying of her role as a wife and mother to gain power was steeped in a long tradition of American women using traditional gender roles to increase their own sphere of influence. Even before the time period in question, Progressive Era women argued that in order to accomplish their expected task of preserving the health and welfare of their own families, they must also maintain the health and welfare of the wider public. Such "municipal housekeepers" in turn gained control over activist movements dealing with problems such as sanitation and food

[14] Ibid.; This would make them the first white couple in Indianapolis to adopt a black child.
[15] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 78.

safety. Within Marceline's own lifetime, women similarly advocated for themselves using traditional ideas of women's responsibilities as wives and mothers; from writers and artists to political figures, women argued against the notion that gender roles were inherently negative and "accept[ed] femininity as a positive force in the world."[16] One can thus consider Marceline's use of her maternal position to further solidify her control over Peoples Temple as yet another example of this broader trend within American women's history. In this way, Marceline's efforts illustrated the extent to which her view of herself as a leader was in accord with broader societal trends.

After ten years of operation in Indianapolis, the Joneses moved Peoples Temple and its followers to a new location in California. The reasoning for this shift focused largely on Jim's own fears regarding Peoples Temple's external treatment and future as an organization. As the membership and influence of Peoples Temple increased during its years in Indiana, Jim Jones' rhetoric as a preacher became emboldened; consequently, public criticism of the movement swiftly grew. The church for example publicly advertised its belief in complete racial equality, drawing in conservative criticism in an era of civil rights and a rising black power movement. Its open disapproval of the American government (Jones at one point referred to the United States as "the Antichrist" and capitalism as "the Antichrist system") also sparked significant scrutiny by many residents in the surrounding Pentecostal community of Indianapolis. At one point, Marceline recalled a woman spitting on her as she walked down the street with her black adopted child.[17] This antagonism even extended to Marceline Jones' own family, with her mother Charlotte arguing with her daughter and her son-in-law over their belief in interracial marriage as

[16] Eugenia Kaledin, *Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s*, (Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 22.
[17] Reiterman, *Raven*, 72.

a Christian practice.[18] While leading a service in early summer 1965, Jim Jones declared that Peoples Temple could not survive in Indiana, and must therefore move westward in order to escape such public persecution.[19] Adding to this immediate need for migration was Jones' ongoing fear of nuclear attack. In 1961, Jones claimed to have seen a vision of an impending nuclear attack on Chicago, later revealing that the attack would take place on July 15, 1967.[20] As Indianapolis would be within the zone of destruction, Jones was eventually able to convince his membership of about 140 people to move from Indiana to Ukiah, California in the summer months of 1965.[21]

Marceline by many accounts welcomed the opportunity to continue the work of Peoples Temple in a place where social change was already more widely embraced. Northern California as of 1965 was a hub for many young social movements of the period which sought to challenge and change mainstream American culture. One year earlier, a large group of Native American activists known as "Urban Indians" made headlines for occupying Alcatraz Island in protest of the government's "Termination and Relocation" policy toward native tribes. The Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco was amidst the early stages of its hippie revolution, soon after becoming the center of counterculture music and ideals. The Black Panther Party formed one year later in Oakland and would go on to be one of the most well-known African American revolutionary parties for decades to follow. The student-initiated Free Speech Movement had already garnered a significant following at the University of California, Berkeley, its causes ranging from civil rights to socialism to anti-Vietnam War. This singular combination

[18] Jeff Guinn. *The Road to Jonestown: Jim Jones and Peoples Temple*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017, 52-53.
[19] Ibid, 129.
[20] Reiterman, *Raven*, 76.
[21] Kathy Hunter, "Ukiah Welcomes New Citizens to Community" *Ukiah Daily Journal*, July 26, 1965.

of communities, all of whom fought against cultural prejudices and systemic oppression in some form, created an environment in which a religious movement like Peoples Temple could flourish. In contrast to its treatment Indiana, the group in California could more openly embrace the diversity of its membership and the fluidity of its religious ideas, two aspects of the movement which Marceline continually underscored when speaking about Peoples Temple.

Marceline continued to be a role model to other Peoples Temple members while in California, maintaining her reputation as a dedicated worker on behalf of social change. She quickly secured a job as a social worker at Mendocino State Hospital upon arriving in Ukiah, providing not only monetary support for the construction of the movement's new facilities but also serving as one of the largest sources of jobs for other Peoples Temple members.[22] Her position as a "spiritual figurehead"--the "Mother Jones" figure--also continued into Peoples Temple's California years, with members still viewing her as a key leader in the organizational structure of the growing movement. In 1968, Jim Jones wrote a single-paged will that named Marceline to be his successor as pastor, spiritual leader, and "President of the Peoples Temple Non-profit Inc"[23]; in this way, he too acknowledged her pivotal role within the larger organization and asserted that she would be the most qualified to continue the movement after his death. From the perspective of most of the general membership of Peoples Temple, Marceline wielded the same amount of power that she had in Indiana.

However, when one examines the internal dynamics of Peoples Temple organizational structure more closely, one finds that Marceline's position inside the church changed drastically as the movement shifted from Indiana to California. During this period, a new influx of members

[22] Reiterman, *Raven*, 96.
[23] "Will of 1968", RYMUR 89-4286-1099, p. 4.

from northern California entered the membership, altering the Peoples Temple's demographic composition. While the group before the move consisted largely of black, poor, and elderly members, this new wave contained mostly white, young, college-educated people. Most of these new recruits joined Peoples Temple with some experience in the social activist movements that permeated the culture of northern California in this period. Among these new recruits were Timothy Stoen, a recent Stanford Law School graduate, social worker Linda Amos, chemical technicians Elmer and Deanna Mertle, and many other members of California's young intellectual elite. This new wave of members in turn brought others from affluent areas and levied their "considerable organizational talents and professional connections to help Jones build a powerful social movement."[24] Amidst their efforts to promote Peoples Temple, these new members gradually began to assume leadership roles within the movement.

Jones' existing loose group of male advisors, known as the Board of Elders, quickly faded away; in its place emerged the Planning Commission, a group of leaders and advisors comprised almost entirely of believers from this new white membership population.[25] Although Jones publicly maintained his belief in Peoples Temple as a socialist community, the Planning Commission adopted a clear hierarchy of power with an inner circle of women managing most major decisions of the now rapidly expanding movement. A breakdown of the Planning Commission's membership lists twenty-five women out of a total group of thirty-seven, the majority of whom were responsible for managing one or more of Peoples Temple's various departments.[26] (For a complete list of Planning Commission members and their respective

[24] Hall, *Gone From The Promised Land*, 66.
[25] Rebecca Moore. *Understanding Jonestown and Peoples Temple* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2009), 36.
[26] Rebecca Moore. "An Update on the Demographics of Jonestown." Alternative Considerations of Jonestown Peoples Temple. Accessed October 21, 2017. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=70495.

genders, see Appendix B). This change in leadership thus afforded the women of Peoples Temple more power than they had previously exerted in Indiana, a trend that would continue throughout the movement's time in California and beyond.

While more women moved into power and began to assert influence during this time period, Marceline found herself increasingly sidelined by the new elite leadership. By many accounts from Planning Commission members such as Grace Stoen, Jones gradually stopped including Marceline in leadership meetings, instead reallocating many of her organizational and logistical responsibilities to young intellectuals like Tim Stoen.[27] Maaga surmised that this shift in responsibility grew out of Jones' realization that the new religious movement members' loyalty, unlike members from the original Indiana sect, was solely to him and not to both him and Marceline.[28] Having not seen Marceline create her "rainbow family" or any of her work in public service during the movement's early years, these members did not share the same reverence for Marceline as those from the Indiana sect. As a result, the Planning Commission and its many inner circles dismissed and largely ignored her contributions. Marceline was well aware that her control over the movement and its leader diminished during Peoples Temple's California years. In response to her ostracism from the Planning Commission, she focused her attention on helping and serving the poor, black, and elderly groups within the membership.

Marceline's new position within the movement was a result not only of her gradual loss of influence within the leadership, but also her rapidly changing relationship with Jones himself. By 1969, Jones had begun actively encouraging Peoples Temple members to freely engage in sexual activity with other members regardless of marital status, with Jones himself leading by

[27] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 78.
[28] Ibid., 81.

example. Arguing during one service that open and active sexual relationships allowed Peoples Temple members to better focus on issues critical to the movement, Jones began affairs with several members of the Planning Commission, both male and female.[29] Marceline publicly supported her husband's encouragement of free sexual expression, telling the congregation later in that same service that a woman "liberated from her man" who engaged with several sexual partners would "get some of these men grown up."[30] Yet Jones' new relationships profoundly reduced Marceline's influence over her husband; her diminishing proximity to Jones made it increasingly difficult to share her opinions regarding the movement or offer advice on how it should be run. Marceline articulated her quiet resignation of her secondary status within her marriage in a speech to the community:

> It's true that I have had to share my husband in the past, for the Cause. It was always painful for me because I love him very much, and just like everyone else, it's painful for me to see the person I love with someone else. Several years ago, Jim asked me for a divorce because I couldn't make the adjustment to being married to a man who was also married to a Cause. At that time I had to do some serious introspection and decide on my priorities. I know I didn't want to lose Jim, so I agreed that I would share him with peoples who needed to relate to the Cause on a more personal level. This has been a very difficult thing for me to live with, and it's caused me a lot of heartache. However, tonight, as I heard him pour out his heart to you, explaining the suffering he goes through when has to use his body to serve the Cause, I realized that I have been very selfish. I want to make a public statement tonight that I am willing to share my husband for the Cause, and that I won't resent it any longer.[31]

This speech is a critical example of how the movement's so-called sexual freedom did not liberate women, but instead kept them in a lower status. Marceline expresses her feeling of obligation to "share" her husband with other women yet she, at Jones' direction, never engaged

[29] "Q787 Transcript – Alternative Considerations of Jonestown & Peoples Temple." The Jonestown Institute. Accessed October 9, 2017. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=27586.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Quoted in Kenneth Wooden. *The Children of Jonestown* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), 43-44.

in sexual relationships with anyone else in the movement. Such a sentiment illustrates Marceline's continued operation within what historian Michael Phillips calls the "sexual hypocrisy" of mainstream American society.[32] Even in an age of "free love", American men of the 1960s were afforded greater permission to pursue casual sexual relationships, whereas women who engaged in sexual activity to the same extent risked losing their social standing.[33] One thus finds that Peoples Temple was not an exception from the world outside of the movement; rather, Jones' preachings regarding relationships and sexual activity mirrored the sexual double standard which surrounded Peoples Temple. In this way, Marceline found her personal power as a woman and her ability to freely express her sexuality to be strongly limited by the movement's gendered sexual standards.

Marceline began to sleep in a separate bedroom from her husband soon after delivering her speech to the membership, and while they remained in regular contact, their relationship ceased to be the center around which Jones based Peoples Temple. Meanwhile Carolyn Layton, a newlywed high school teacher and one of Jones' other sexual partners, increasingly found herself assuming Marceline's former role within the movement.

THE GREY EMINENCE

Lawrence (Larry) and Carolyn Layton joined the Peoples Temple movement in 1968, a year of social activism nationwide that proved particularly strong on the West Coast. That same year, Peoples Temple experienced the height of its expansion in Ukiah and Redwood Valley. Carolyn taught at nearby Potter Valley High School, while Larry fulfilled alternative service as a

[32] Michael Phillips and Keith J. Volonto, eds., *The American Challenge: A New History of the United States,* Volume II. (Wheaton, Il.: Abigail Press, 2012), 55.
[33] Ibid.

Conscientious Objector at the State Mental Hospital at Talmadge.[34] Unlike many of their contemporaries, Larry and Carolyn did not become members because of their strong religious convictions or belief in Jones' faith healing; rather, what attracted them most to Peoples Temple was its political message, now firmly communist and anti-government, which aligned well with their experiences attending protests and rallies at University of California, Berkeley. By 1968, the university's Free Speech Movement had grown into campus-wide protests not only in defense of free speech and academic freedom, but also in support of groups such as the Congress for Racial Equality, a civil rights organization, and the Vietnam Day Committee, a coalition of left-wing political groups which opposed the Vietnam War. Larry and Carolyn met during one such demonstration on the Berkeley campus and found that they shared the same opinions on the United States government and the same desire for radical change; however, they both felt frustrated by the activism with which they had been involved as students. For Carolyn, her frustration stemmed from her limited opportunities for leadership within the protests -- as one of her fellow female demonstrators at Berkeley noted, "Gender was a basis for rank and status within the [Free Speech Movement]....generally speaking, women listened while men spoke."[35] Peoples Temple thus checked all of the boxes for Carolyn and Larry: activism, political engagement, and most importantly, freedom to support a range of different voices.

The young couple, married just a few months before, quickly became entrenched in Peoples Temple's new emerging leadership structure. Carolyn's passion for the Peoples Temple cause, combined with her willingness to fabricate faith healings and other miracles in order to

[34] John V. Moore, "Carolyn Moore: A Father's Biography." Alternative Considerations of Jonestown Peoples Temple. January 12, 2017. Accessed November 13, 2017. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=30793.
[35] Bettina Aptheker. "Free Speech Movement: Womens' Experience: Sources." Free Speech Movement Women. March 24, 2014. Accessed March 02, 2018. http://www.fsm-a.org/FSM Women sources.html.

further that cause, soon allowed her to rise to a critical role within the Planning Commission's innermost circle, later referred to as the "Administrative Triumverate." In 1969, Jones and Carolyn entered into a sexual relationship, further solidifying her position as Jones' most trusted advisor. At the encouragement of Jones, she and Larry quietly divorced soon after. Larry remained one of Jones' most devoted believers.

Thus from very early in her membership to the end of the Peoples Temple movement, Carolyn Layton was involved in the majority of the Planning Commission's decision-making. Historian Mike Cartmell described her role as one of the most significant positions in the movement, a "grey eminence" similar in her level of influence to Cardinal Richelieu in the court of Louis XIII.[36] When the Board of Directors of Peoples Temple decided in 1973 to establish an agricultural mission in Guyana, South America, Carolyn, alongside Jim Jones and a select number of others, became responsible for securing the finances and resources to make the project a reality. In her 1976 resume, she referred to herself as "Vice President and Director of the Peoples Temple of the Disciples of Christ" and described her responsibilities as follows:

> Budget-planning and follow-up administration; selection and final approval of Advisory Personnel; opening of new branches, training staff and members to staff and operate branches; travel abroad and dealing with foreign governmental dignitaries on behalf of the church's foreign missionary programs; Advisory Chairman of church's financial investments, researching projects and reporting to its President and Pastor, and sharing of administration of the Board of Directors, in its regular and special functions and Assistant to the President and Pastor.[37]

As Jones and his advisors began to build their Peoples Temple Agricultural Project, informally known as "Jonestown", Carolyn's principal task was to organize and administer the community's educational system. She moved to Guyana in 1977 before Jones and many of his

[36] Mike Cartmell. "Carolyn Layton: The Grey Eminence." Alternative Considerations of Jonestown Peoples Temple. January 3, 2014. Accessed February 23, 2018. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=30797.
[37] California Historical Society, John R. Hall research materials on Peoples Temple, 1954-2003, MS 3803, L-2, L-5.

other advisors, overseeing the construction of public buildings and establishing organization prior to the migration of the larger community. Upon their arrival, she swiftly set her educational system in motion, writing in a letter to her sisters, "I am teaching political science in our high school. I do a lot of teaching of political philosophy which I have always wanted to do as you may recall. This is the first time I have ever been able to teach what I have really wanted."[38] Her previous experience as a high school teacher, combined with her close relationships with the rest of the upper Peoples Temple leadership, made Carolyn a central figure of Peoples Temple schools and the Jonestown project over all.

One of the clearest illustrations of Carolyn's influence on the decisions and goings-on of Peoples Temple is an organizational chart dated July 12, 1978, discovered on the Jonestown grounds by the FBI following the events later that year. This chart (depicted below in Figure 1A and rewritten for clarity in Figure 1B) lists Carolyn Layton among what was by that point officially deemed the "Administrative Triumvarite" or the "Chief Administrative Officers", directly below Jim Jones and literally in the center of the organizational structure. Alongside her are Jones' son, Johnny, and fellow advisor Harriet Tropp. Marceline's peripheral role in the leadership of Peoples Temple by this point is also reflected in the diagram, with her name listed in a separate box that is seemingly unconnected to any other departments or leaders. In fact, when one compares Carolyn's rising influence to the declining influence of Marceline, as well as their relationship to one another, one gains even further insight into what comprised the power held by these two women within the movement.

[38] Rebecca Moore. *The Jonestown Letters: Correspondence of the Moore Family* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1986), 190.

Figure 1A: Original Jonestown Organizational Chart[39]

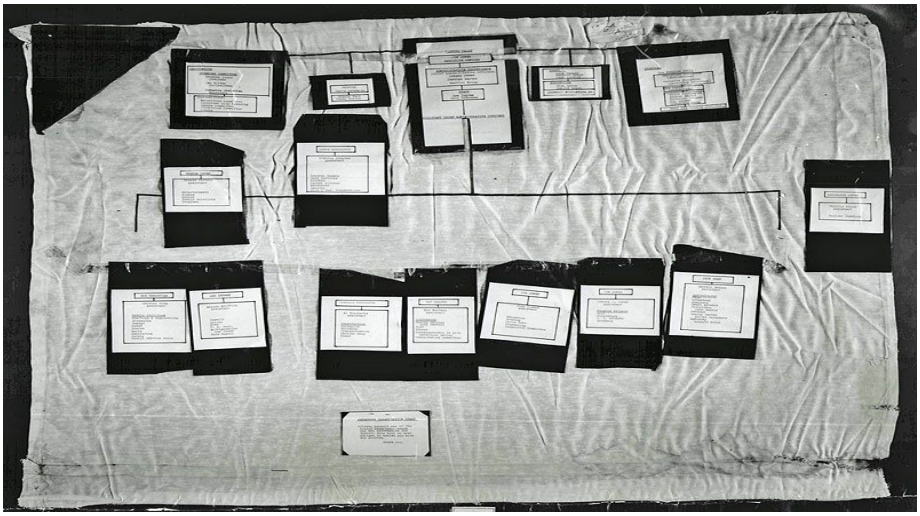
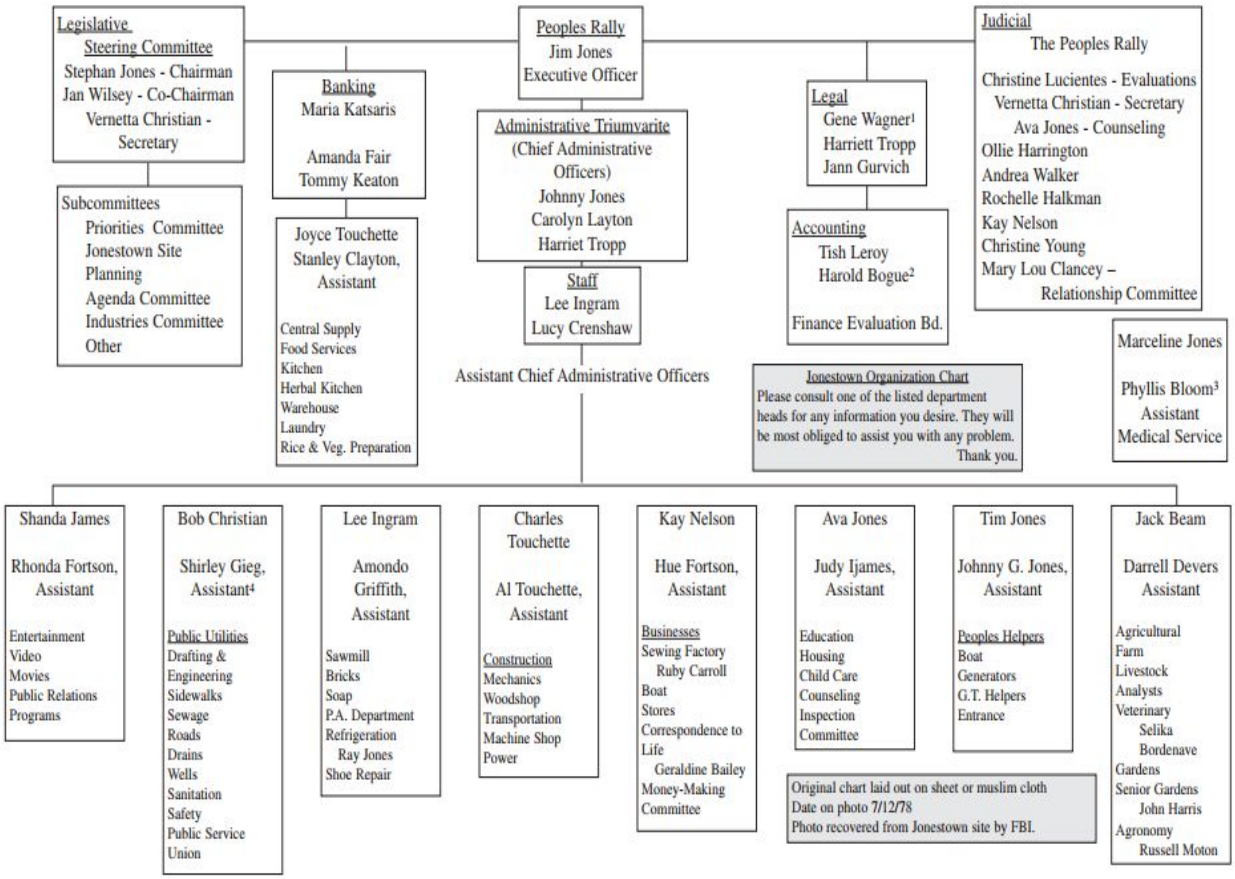


Figure 1B: Jonestown Organizational Chart[40]



WOMAN VS. WOMAN

Perhaps the clearest representation of the roles fulfilled by both Marceline and Carolyn within Peoples Temple is in how the two women interacted with one another. As stated previously, Marceline's decline in influence coincided with Carolyn's entry and rise to power within the movement; Carolyn was among the many members of the emerging California leadership structure who gradually pushed Marceline away from the decision-making table. But does this correlation speak to a causal relationship between the two? Did Carolyn's power come at the expense of Marceline's? Was there only room for one powerful woman at the head of Peoples Temple?

One of the most critical means of interaction between the two women began in Jones' own household soon after the inception of Carolyn's romantic relationship with Jim Jones. At that point, Marceline began experiencing severe back pain that rendered her bedridden for large portions of the day.[41] Marceline's children thus being left without an active maternal figure in the household, Carolyn (at their father's encouragement) filled the void, continually stressing her "close relationship" to their father all the while.[42] This supersession of Marceline by Carolyn as the maternal figure of the Jones household, while never formally acknowledged by Marceline, had a significant impact on the children and the family dynamic over all. As their eldest son Stephan Jones describes in one interview, he first blamed his mother upon learning of Carolyn and Jim's relationship, wondering how "such a great man [could have] gone astray unless his wife somehow caused it"; later, upon confronting his father about why Carolyn had taken on

[41] Reiterman, *Raven*, 121.
[42] Ibid., 122.

such a significant role in their lives, Jones replied simply that his mother, while beautiful, had a tendency to "manipulat[e] guilt."[43] Once again, one finds the same sexual double standard seen in Marceline's speech to the membership, only this time expressed through her son and Jones himself. Through such criticisms--alongside his praise and encouragement of Carolyn's place within his household--Jones established and reinforced an unspoken conflict or feeling of contention between the two women.

An important aspect of these criticisms was Jones' delegitimization of Marceline as a suitable matriarch for the Jones household. Paradoxically, while Jones was still publicly hailing Marceline as "an extremely strong leader" and "the prototype of everything next in a woman,"[44] he also privately attempted to justify her substitution in the home by Carolyn on the grounds that Marceline was "tearful and depressed" and in need of psychiatric care.[45] Although Marceline and her parents insisted that she was not psychologically ill, but rather only hurt by her husband's infidelity, Jones continued to insist that Marceline seek professional help. Eventually, according to Stephan Jones, Carolyn's role as a maternal figure evolved even further, with his father taking him on trips to stay with Carolyn in her Potter Valley cabin on frequent occasions.[46] The ultimate act of stripping Marceline of her matriarchal authority, this decision to physically remove children from the household illustrated the full extent to which Carolyn had become the more powerful woman in the Jones family structure.

Yet while Carolyn may have assumed the role of matriarch and sexual partner within the Jones family, Marceline maintained her position as matriarch of Peoples Temple, both in her

[43] Ibid., 123.
[44] California Historical Society John R. Hall research materials on Peoples Temple, 1954-2003, MS 3803, FF-5-m.
[45] Reiterman, *Raven*, 122.
[46] Ibid.

reputation within the community and in communications with organizations outside of the faith. In 1977, before moving to the Peoples Temple Agricultural Project in Guyana herself, Marceline gave an interview to *The New York Times* in which she described the movement and its mission. She explained the communal nature of the movement and its members, claiming that they "live by the rule of from each according to his ability and to each according to his need."[47] Throughout the interview, she frequently spoke on behalf of her husband, explaining the origins of his Marxist political philosophy in a biblical verse about aiding the poor; the article even quotes Marceline's descriptions of Jones' view of faith within Peoples Temple, stressing her belief that "Jim has used religion to try to get people out of the opiate of religion."[48] The article thereby presents Marceline as a spokesperson of Peoples Temple and cites her recollections of Jones' thoughts as accurate representations of the movement's philosophy.

This presentation from a source outside the movement of Marceline as a leader does not necessarily represent Marceline's actual influence within the movement at that time; however, it nevertheless indicates that Jones and other Peoples Temple leaders supported Marceline standing as a public face of the movement in the context of the public article, which speaks to some degree of respect and influence among her peers. Even more importantly, the article illustrates Marceline's personal comfort in presenting herself as an empowered figure within Peoples Temple as of 1977; long after her exclusion from the Planning Commission, Marceline continues to assert her opinions on the movement and underscore her role in its functioning.

As the movement approached its later years, the contentious dynamic between Marceline and Carolyn continued, further escalated by Jones and his behavior toward them both. The

[47] Wallace Turner, "Pastor a Charlatan to Some, a Philosopher to Wife." *New York Times*. September 2, 1977.
[48] Ibid.

movement's transition to Guyana coincided with Jones' rapidly ailing health and subsequent increasing dependency on quaaludes and other drugs; as a result, Jones began revising and more seriously considering the succession plans he had devised several years before (the plans wherein he listed Marceline as the person most fit to lead Peoples Temple after his death). In this process of revision, Jones placed Carolyn alongside Marceline in many of his discussions of succession; he even went as far as to take concrete steps to ensure Carolyn's position of authority following his death, sending a note to his bank in 1978 which stated:

> It is my wish at this time that my name, James W. Jones be removed as signatory to the accounts I have established in your banking institution. Marceline May Jones shall remain as signatory to the above accounts. Further I wish to create a power of attorney over these accounts in the name of Carolyn M. Layton. You already have her signature card on file at your bank. I wish this power of attorney to be the kind which survives after death. If there are any papers I need to sign in order to make this change please give them to Mrs. Layton to bring me to sign.[49]

Removing himself from the account, keeping Marceline as a signatory, and also adding Carolyn as a "power of attorney" illustrates Jones' clear intention that both women have some control over his estate and, by extension in the context of his Marxist community, Peoples Temple at large. In this way, this note showcases the very real influence held by both women throughout the movement's shift to Guyana until its ultimate end.

This chapter sought to identify the various means by which both Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton acquired, exhibited, lost, and regained power over the course of the Peoples Temple movement. Over the course of this evaluation, one not only described their influence on the framework of the community and its belief system, but also the shifting priorities of the movement itself during that same time period. Jones' ever-changing views regarding religion and

[49] California Historical Society, John R. Hall research materials on Peoples Temple, 1954-2003, MS 3803, A-40-c-4.

its role within the community, combined with the swiftly changing demographics of Peoples Temple membership, created a dynamic environment wherein leadership structures, particularly in the case of Marceline and Carolyn, experienced constant change and instability. At the same time, certain remnants from the movement's early years, such as its familial framework and sexual double standard, prevented any sort of overhaul or dismissal of what began Peoples Temple in the first place. Thus, one finds that Marceline and Carolyn, through very different manners, both played significant yet not all-powerful roles as leaders of Peoples Temple from its inception to the end of the movement.

What remains unclear, however, is why these women engaged in this movement in the first place, and to what extent those motivations strengthened, lessened, or changed completely over time. A focus on the women themselves forms the foundation of the next chapter.

II: THE DECISION TO LEAD: MOTIVATIONS FOR PARTICIPATING IN PEOPLES TEMPLE

> *"I was doomed to a life of agony and had been confined in a brace with no hope of recovery according to my doctors...I began to understand the Truth of his teachings about equality and brotherhood; and then, two meetings later, Pastor Jones, speaking with the Authority of the Most High Power of the Universe, again called me and told me to come down the aisle. When he took my hands, I was completely encircled by such love that I could feel the very presence of God. The next thing that happened was almost too astounding to tell in words. Pastor Jim said, 'I'll take your pain from you.' So saying, he put his back to mine, and I could feel myself filled with the most wonderful and joyful warmth, like a fire going up my spine as the Holy Spirit entered my body with its healing balm. Just as he said he would do, and contrary to all known laws of science, Pastor Jim Jones took my disease from me and left me in a state of health and well-being that I have not known since my childhood! Now I am serving God as an able-bodied woman and am a real crusader for Christ. I am thankful for the miracle of Healing which lifted my life from unspeakable Earthly misery to Heavenly comfort and strength!"*
>
> *-Helen Torkelson, Peoples Temple member*[50]

Women were drawn to Peoples Temple for a variety of reasons. Some, like Helen Torkelson, found Jones and his gift for spiritual healing compelling; others gravitated toward the movement's participation within larger civil rights and social reform movements. There were even those who grew attached to the movement simply out of their admiration for Jones and the power he wielded as the head of Peoples Temple. Despite their very different motivations and goals, the women were united in their use of their gender as the principal grounds upon which they ultimately assumed power within the movement. Peoples Temple's insular religious community created an environment in which they could claim, by virtue of being women, moral superiority over the men within the movement; the women then in turn used their dominance within this accepted sphere of womanhood to pursue leadership roles that were otherwise unavailable to them in mainstream society. This said, the leadership roles they attained within

[50] Helen Torkelson, *The Living Word*, July 1972, Vol. 1, No. 1.

Peoples Temple were not without limits and often found their roots within female-dominated areas such as teaching and childcare. As mentioned briefly in Chapter I, this strategy in which women attain power by asserting authority within their accepted gender roles was extremely prevalent in American society during Peoples Temple's twenty year existence and was one of the principal ways through which women gained respect and control within the public sphere. Thus in both their decision to join the movement and their justifications for leading it, these women in power within Peoples Temple can be viewed in the tradition of women seizing influence elsewhere in the United States during this same time period.

Nowhere is this phenomenon within Peoples Temple better expressed than in the personal histories of Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton. Internal correspondence and records from Peoples Temple are a window into their minds both as leaders and as women. In letters to her sisters (one, Annie, who was in the movement, and another, Rebecca, who was not), Carolyn reveals intimate details about her aspirations within the movement and her vision for Peoples Temple, as well as her relationship with Jones and his influence on such ideas. Although Marceline did not keep such regular records of her emotions over the course of the movement, taped conversations between her and other Peoples Temple members give insight into her thoughts during this same time. Such intimate moments, when combined with analyses of their actions within and outside of Peoples Temple, provide a clear picture of what inspired these women to assume spiritual and administrative leadership positions at the center of the movement.

SPIRITUAL FULFILLMENT

Marceline at the pulpit during a sermon in Indiana, 1957[51]

One of the perhaps least surprising motivations for women to join Peoples Temple was the desire for spiritual fulfillment; indeed, for all of the religious movement's emphasis on community and public service, many joined and participated simply out of the sincere belief that they would achieve a higher level of spiritual enlightenment. This motivation proved particularly influential in the earlier years of Peoples Temple when Jones and his fellow leaders still considered the organization to be a Pentecostal sect. During this time, the church actively promoted the idea that one could harness the power of Christ within oneself by joining the movement; for instance, Peoples Temple member Viola Bradley declared in an April 1956 issue of the group's newsletter, *The Open Door*:

> "My God is so high, you can't get over Him – therefore you can soar as high as you want too [to]. You may ascend – you may descend. You may explore the heights and the depths and the length and the breadth. You may go forward or

[51] California Historical Society, Photographs from Peoples Temple Records, [1959]-1980, MSP 3800.

> backward – you cannot miss God if you come in at the door through Jesus the Christ."[52]

This article, "The Christ in You," encourages its readers to join Peoples Temple in its efforts to grow closer to Christ's "open door." The later emergence of Peoples Temple's radio broadcasts and public access television programs increased the dissemination of these same Christian-inspired ideas and expanded Peoples Temple's reach to a variety of audiences. Such public proclamations of spiritual opportunity allowed Peoples Temple to gain significant attention from existing Indiana Christians like Hyacinth Thrash, who after hearing about the faith-based ideas of Peoples Temple exclaimed, "I found my church. I found my church!"[53] Her sister Zippodora Edwards later also expressed this sentiment in a letter written in Guyana, thanking Jones for giving her the opportunity to "walk with Christ."[54] For such women, the movement's emphasis on faith and engagement with one's own spirituality played a large role in their decision to participate in Peoples Temple.

Women were particularly attracted to Jones' apparent gift of faith healing. Even before founding Peoples Temple, Jones already had a reputation in Indianapolis for his ability to cure others by simply laying his hands on them in prayer.[55] Sisters Hyacinth and Zippodora found Jones' reputation as a healer captivating; his gift exemplified the strength of Peoples Temple's spiritual mission and reinforced their belief in the movement. In a 1972 letter to her family, Annie Moore notes how the movement's emphasis on faith healing was what finally inspired her

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[52] Viola Bradley, *The Open Door*, Vol. 1, April 1956, No. 4.
[53] Leigh Fondakowski. *Stories from Jonestown*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 2013, 260.
[54] Ibid, 261.
[55] Internal Peoples Temple documents and testimonies would later prove that Jones staged these healings, at different points planting members in the audience and instructing them to act as though they had been cured. Of course, this information was not widely known by the membership, and is thus not included in the evaluation of women's motivations in this period. Where it is suspected that women did have an awareness of the falsity of the healings, it is noted in the text.

to live at Peoples Temple's California facilities full time, writing that she was "convinced about Jim Jones' power and his 'words of wisdom' when [she] saw him pull incurable cancers out of people's throats", as she "never heard of any faith healer who could do that."[56] Vern Gosney, who joined the movement upon its arrival in California, recalls a similar feeling of inspiration and spiritual fulfillment in an interview with Leigh Fondakowski:

> It was just so wonderful. Many were healed and peoples were coming out of wheelchairs! I remember especially this very large old woman, she had been healed in a wheelchair, and the next day she's just carrying this casserole for a potluck. She's walking down the street, humming to herself, singing, just blissed out to the max.[57]

Through their experiences witnessing faith healings and in some circumstances, believing that Jones healed them directly, the women of Peoples Temple affirmed their belief in Christian teachings and the power of faith. In this way, the incorporation of spiritual elements to Peoples Temple sermons further solidified such women's commitment to Jones and the movement over all.

Marceline especially encapsulated this feeling of optimism and spiritual engagement, particularly during Peoples Temple's Indiana years. Tim Reiterman writes in his 1982 history of the movement of Marceline's reaction upon initially seeing her husband perform healings for an audience. According to Reiterman, Marceline watched Jones touch members of a crowd at a church convention in Columbus, Indiana and upon seeing their reaction "stood there in awe, proud that the man she loved had been blessed with such a gift."[58] From such descriptions of her reverence toward her husband and his talents, one understands Marceline's sincere investment in Jones' capacity as a spiritual leader. This investment in turn further strengthened her faith in the

[56] Moore, *The Jonestown letters: correspondence of the Moore family, 1970-1985*, 94.
[57] Fondakowski, *Stories from Jonestown*, 75.
[58] Reiterman, *Raven*, 45.

religious underpinnings of the movement, resulting in her continued active leadership throughout Peoples Temple's Indiana years.

In the summer of 1959, Marceline traveled with her husband to Philadelphia to meet Father and Mother Divine, the founders of the International Peace Mission movement, and discuss their respective views on faith and spirituality. During this meeting, Marceline bonded with Mother Divine over their shared enthusiasm for religious fulfillment outside of mainstream Christian denominations (although unlike Mother Divine, Marceline did have experience with "conventional" Christianity, having worshipped the normative Christian God throughout her childhood).[59] Through this meeting and the several subsequent meetings between the Joneses and the Divines in the years that followed, Marceline continually demonstrated her investment in the religious aspects of Peoples Temple and her desire to communicate that faith, even to people outside of the movement. Thus Marceline, like many other women in Peoples Temple, treated her participation in the movement first and foremost through a religious lens.

Marceline's belief in the power of her husband and the Peoples Temple movement to strengthen one's faith became an integral component of her own leadership style. From the initial founding of Peoples Temple, Marceline stressed the importance of focusing the movement's attention on members who were truly committed to Jones' religious ideals. For this reason, many people who joined Peoples Temple in its early stages fell away as the group established a more coherent spiritual message; in response, Marceline noted simply that those who chose to stay "wanted to go on to perfection…And so where numbers were sacrificed, quality was gained."[60] Jones himself acknowledged that Marceline's commitment to Peoples Temple was grounded in

[59] Reiterman, *Raven*, 65.
[60] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 77.

sincere belief, noting that rather than exaggerate his teachings to attract a wider audience, "Marcie would always play it straight—she was never given to embellishment, even for the sake of dynamism."[61] Marceline's motivation to lead Peoples Temple thus grew out of her strong desire to strengthen the religious foundations of the movement.

Religion was one of the most common means through which women in the 1950's asserted their authority and gained power. In the postwar era, organized crime was on the rise in what many saw as a "conspiratorial threat to national security"[62]; meanwhile, persisting problems related to gambling, prostitution, and other vices continued to plague cities across the United States. In this environment of unrest and perceived immorality, conservative Christian women emerged as leaders on the basis of what historian Sarah Koenig calls "moral maternalism." Proponents of this maternalism asserted that it was the state's role to protect Americans from communism, vice, and other moral threats through what they saw as one simple cure: religion. This argument, in conjunction with women's traditionally accepted role as the most pious gender, propelled many women in the 1950's to positions of power within the government and beyond. Portland Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee for instance directed her 1950 mayoral campaign primarily toward moral reformers, churchgoers, and other concerned women, maintaining that it was her religious commitment and piety that necessitated her political engagement.[63] During a time in which men encouraged women to leave the workforce and return home, Lee and other women like her used their remaining sphere of influence surrounding faith to increase their personal power.

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[61] Hall, *Gone From The Promised Land*, 28.
[62] Lee Bernstein, *The Greatest Menace: Organized Crime in Cold War America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002) 26–27.
[63] Sarah Koenig, "Maternalism and the Mayor: Dottie Do-Good's War on Sin in Postwar 41 Portland," *Journal of Women's History*, 26:4 (Winter 2014), 108.

Marceline's participation within Peoples Temple's religious practices mirrored this wider use of assumed gender roles as a source of empowerment. From the very beginning of her role as a leader of the movement, Marceline solidified her position in Peoples Temple's leadership structure on the basis of her spiritual strength as a woman. Throughout the movement's time in Indiana, she continually underscored her genuine belief in Christian teachings which exceeded that of her husband (a fact with which Jones himself agreed). By continually stressing her spiritual commitment in this manner, Marceline naturally undertook responsibilities with roots in religious moralism, from organizing services to establishing rehabilitation centers for alcoholism and drug addiction. Her ascent to power thus relied heavily on the members' larger assumptions of gender; her position as a devout wife with a Methodist upbringing and a strong moral center made her a perfect fit to assume leadership within a movement looking to combat immorality and injustice through faith. In this way, Marceline can be counted among the many women in 1950's America who used their remaining realms of superiority (namely, religion) to in turn create new possibilities for leadership and personal power.

Marceline and her fellow women in the early days of Peoples Temple thus found many outlets in which to assert their influence in postwar America; their roles within the accepted spheres of womanhood during this time period allowed them to affect change as leaders of their movement in a manner similar to that of women outside of Peoples Temple. However, as the movement progressed toward the 1960's and American culture began to undergo drastic changes, one finds that the means by which the women of Peoples Temple assumed leadership also changed. As seen in the case of Marceline, this shift within Peoples Temple speaks to the broader changes in American conceptions of women and their role in society.

SOCIAL JUSTICE ENGAGEMENT

Bakke protest, San Francisco, circa 1977[64]

As mentioned in the chapter introduction, many women were attracted to the Peoples Temple more for its social justice efforts than its religious aspects. Their engagement with Jones and his movement focused less on faith healings or sermons and were more centered on the movement's political engagement in the surrounding community. While the specific causes that Temple members sought to support varied widely throughout its two-decade history, most centered on themes regarding civil rights, free speech, and even anti-government in its later years. Carolyn Layton's sister, Annie Moore, who joined Peoples Temple in 1972 expressed her belief in the movement's capacity for social change, declaring, "I want to be in on changing the world to be a better place and I would give my life for it."[65] Although there were politically minded women within the movement from its beginning, the number of such women who joined

[64] California Historical Society, Photographs from Peoples Temple Records, [1959]-1980, MSP 3800.
[65] Rebecca Moore, *The Jonestown letters: correspondence of the Moore family, 1970-1985*, 94.

specifically to affect social change rapidly increased as Peoples Temple transitioned its center to California in the 1960s.

This desire to drastically change society stemmed from what theologian Stephen Rose calls a "Herculean conscience", or a consciousness "formed by an existential awareness of major destructive forced in the world and by a strong desire to do something to combat them."[66] This worldview, according to Rose, went "far beyond the narrow pockets of self-interest to war and peace, ecological balance, social justice, and human rights."[67] Such political engagement among Peoples Temple women in the 1960s and 1970s echoed women's activism outside of the movement, but with a stronger emphasis on women in leadership roles than seen elsewhere. Much like in the case of Marceline, the women of Peoples Temple during this time once again used their positions as women in order to claim positions at the center of the movement. Thus in assessing why the women of Peoples Temple felt compelled to join and assume leadership roles within the movement, one gains insight into not only the inner workings of Peoples Temple but also larger changes in women's roles in mainstream society.

This belief among female members that they themselves could be unique sources of global change from within Peoples Temple appeared sporadically during the early years of the movement. A notable example occurred in 1956 when twenty-five women from Peoples Temple staged a "walk for peace" demonstration on February 10 in Indianapolis. In response to growing Cold War tensions and worldwide unrest in Korea, Cuba, and beyond, the women organized the march in protest of what they saw as the government's continued participation in a dangerous arms race. The walk, which presented itself as part of a national movement working for universal

[66] Stephen C. Rose, *Jesus and Jim Jones*. (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1979), 22.
[67] Ibid, 22.

disarmament, ended at the Peoples Temple Church, where the women listened to a talk from the coordinator of the San Francisco to Moscow "Walk for peace."[68] This completely female-driven protest, which included demonstrators from as far away as Richmond, shows not only a clear passion for such social change among the women of Peoples Temple, but also the means by which the church itself was able to serve as an asset in furthering their social goals.

This protest stands as another result of the moral maternalism discussed previously; during a time of limited opportunity for women to demonstrate outside of the home, their claim to moral superiority allowed their protest to be more readily accepted by their fellow Peoples Temple members and society as a whole. The difference seen here is that the women used their position within the movement to assert influence outside of the Peoples Temple itself. They no longer declared their dominance as religious leaders, but simply as leaders that could affect universal change. This seed of external activism would grow among the women of Peoples Temple as the movement did, becoming increasingly prevalent in their actions within and outside the movement in the decades to come.

By the time Jones decided to relocate Peoples Temple to California in 1968, the world had shifted significantly: the postwar era of conformity and strict gender roles had yielded to a new American culture dominated by anti-war sentiments, radical counterculture movements, and new perspectives on gender. Thinkers from the second-wave feminist movement were calling into question American society's limits on women's roles outside of the home and their consequent estrangement from fields such as politics, economics, and law making; as a result, women increasingly sought ways to combat perceived differences among genders and engage in

[68] "New Group Forming," *The Kokomo Tribune*, February 10, 1956.

political discussions at the same level as their male peers. In a similar fashion, women within Peoples Temple began to occupy an even greater number of leadership roles within their community than they had during their time in Indiana. In fact, by 1976, women's leadership had become an integral part of Peoples Temple's social justice efforts. A handwritten calendar which lists the event and organizations that Peoples Temple sought to support speaks to the wide-ranging political engagement that accompanied women's Temple membership by this time:

> Bakke Decision, "will send info; we are endorsing"
> Hot Pursuit, Hall of Justice, August 17
> Cal. Coalition Ag[ainst] Death Penalty, August 23
> Nelson Mandela Petitions
> Ben Chavis' [of WIlmington 10 fame] sister, August 26
> Meeropol [Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's son], SF Jewish Community Center, Thursday
> San Quentin, August 21
> Gay Rights Rally, August 20 (?)
> Amicus Brief and Hearing, August 29 (FEPC should protect gays)[69]

Women of Peoples Temple spoke openly about their political engagement and participated in everything from gay rights rallies to free speech marches to protests against the Supreme Court's Bakke decision (a decision which reversed California's affirmative action policies). They even went as far as to advertise their activism as one of the central qualities of their movement, writing in a May 1976 issue of their newspaper, *Peoples Forum*:

> Are you an activist yourself? Do you believe in the practical approach to resolving human problems? Do you have any spare time or energy? Is there anything you can or would like to do to help out? If you want to put your resources into something that gets results or simply want to become part of a warmly integrated community dedicated to human service, call.[70]

Thus as women's roles evolved and expanded in mainstream society, so did they within Peoples Temple.

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[69] California Historical Society, MS 4123.
[70] *Peoples Forum*, no. 6, 2d issue (May 1976), 3.

Women with aspirations of political change in the 1960s and 1970s thus found a strong reason to join and participate in Peoples Temple activities: Peoples Temple offered them a unique opportunity to transcend barriers that discouraged them from leading such fights for change elsewhere. Within the walls of the religious movement, the women had the freedom to lead such fights because they were still operating first and foremost as religious leaders, a much more widely-accepted avenue for women. While many female Temple members clearly sought social and political change prior to their involvement in the movement, Maaga asserts that "it wasn't until they met Jim Jones and joined Peoples Temple that their personal power and institutional influence matched their desire to make a difference in the world."[71] In an increasingly volatile United States whose emphasis on"dropping out" and "flower power" became increasingly eclipsed by the political violence and chaos of the late 1960s, Peoples Temple in John Hall's view provided women both the comfort and security of a communal group atmosphere combined with the social goals of a movement organization.[72] In this way, the movement provided not only an intellectual framework, but also an environment in which it was more socially acceptable for them to contribute to that framework and its implementation.

A notable example of such women who expanded their political enthusiasm and professional experience into leadership roles within Peoples Temple is Claire Janero, a member of the Temple's Planning Commission who moved to San Francisco to join the movement with her husband in 1971. There, Claire offered her college and managerial experience in service of Peoples Temple's new licensed care facility, Happy Acres, and soon became chiefly responsible

[71] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 55.
[72] Hall, *Gone From The Promised Land*, 68.

for its operation and management.[73] She spoke years after the end of the movement about her optimism and empowerment in her leadership role, saying that she aimed to change society and "convert the world to brotherhood."[74] Similarly, Grace Stoen, one of Jones' key advisors during this same period in California, later reflected on how her belief in social change found a uniquely empowering outlet within Peoples Temple; she explained in one interview that she never felt more influential than during her time in the Temple's Planning Commission and that, by her estimation, women held "all the respect, all the power"[75] within the movement.

Yet nowhere is this intersection of political engagement and empowerment more apparent than in the case of Carolyn Layton, a woman whose involvement in Peoples Temple stemmed first and foremost from her commitment to social change and her belief in the movement's capacity to make that change. Her sister Rebecca Moore noted Carolyn's commitment to Peoples Temples' social justice efforts as expressed through her letters, describing her as someone who "had to be involved in changing the world."[76] Moore also attributes Carolyn's desire to be an activist to her liberal Protestant upbringing, noting:

> Ironically, it was our own religious training that made Carolyn an activist and prepared her for Peoples Temple. The message of the Bible was clear: serve the poor. But the churches she'd known didn't seem to care about the poor, at least, not enough. The pietism of traditional while Protestantism bored and frustrated her. What did evangelism and prayer have to do with feeding hungry people or caring for the sick?[77]

Peoples Temple for Carolyn thus served as an outlet for this existing commitment to social justice, providing a community of people who were also willing to challenge unfair government

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[73] Harold Weisberg. *Lane Mark Peoples Temple Massacre*. The Weisberg Archive, Beneficial-Hodson Library, Hood College. Accessed March 5, 2018. http://archive.org/details/nsia-LaneMarkPeoplesTempleMassacre.
[74] Fondakowski, *Stories from Jonestown*, 267.
[75] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown,* 61.
[76] Moore, *The Jonestown letters: correspondence of the Moore family, 1970-1985*, 85.
[77] Ibid.

practices alongside her. Upon joining the Temple, Carolyn played an instrumental role in the organization of the Temple's protests in San Francisco, having a hand in demonstrations in defense of jailed journalist William Farr among others. In 1974, Carolyn even went as far as to offer herself alongside a select number of other Peoples Temple members to the Symbionese Liberation Army terrorist organization as a hostage in exchange for kidnapped newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst. As Jones explained in a television interview, this gesture stemmed from his desire to prevent the "Big Brother demagogic-type of government" that would ultimately result from the revolutionary cell's continued action.[78] Through such concerted efforts to loudly and publicly work against injustices in the United States, Carolyn stood at the forefront of Peoples Temple's political engagement throughout her time in the movement.

Grace Stoen's feeling that Peoples Temple offered women opportunities for leadership in activism that were not available elsewhere particularly resonates in Carolyn's writings after moving to Guyana to establish the Agricultural Project's school programs. There, as noted in Chapter I, she was responsible not only for the logistical assembly of the schools in Jonestown, but for creating their curriculum as well. Teaching "everything from Third World politics, Caribbean politics and socialist economic concepts"[79], Carolyn wrote in a letter to her parents, "I have always wanted to teach these subjects and this is the first time I have been able to teach what I really wanted to teach. So I am really enjoying this"[80]. This feeling of empowerment through activism permeates many of Carolyn's writings at this time and speaks to the importance

[78] "Q633 Transcript – Alternative Considerations of Jonestown & Peoples Temple." The Jonestown Institute. Accessed March 5, 2018. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=27506.
[79] Moore, *The Jonestown Letters: Correspondence of the Moore Family 1970-1985*, 198.
[80] Ibid.

of Peoples Temple's political mission to her overall involvement and contribution to the movement.

AFFECTION FOR JONES

Marceline and Jim's "rainbow family"[81]

A final and important motivation for many of the women in power within Peoples Temple was more personal--their love for Jim Jones himself. Both in their writings from their time with the movement and in recollections from surviving members after the tragedy of 1978, these women continually underscored the importance of their relationship with Jones to their overall participation in Peoples Temple. Former Temple member Laura Johnston Kohl described her immediate attraction to Jones upon joining the movement, noting that he "oozed sexuality."[82] She later continued to emphasize the strength of this appeal, noting that "when he smiled, when he talked and joked, when he watched, when he patted you on the back, he radiated it. With his black hair and penetrating eyes, he was very sexy."[83] Many women like Laura Kohl were drawn

[81] California Historical Society, Photographs from Peoples Temple Records, [1959]-1980, MSP 3800.
[82] Laura Johnston Kohl. "Sex in the City? Make That, The Commune." Alternative Considerations of Jonestown Peoples Temple. Accessed March 23, 2018. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/?page_id=32698.
[83] Ibid.

to Jones' charismatic presence; others found his power and authority over the movement compelling. There were even women whose affection for the leader stemmed from his role as a father-figure within the movement, as he provided comfort and security to women like Kohl who lacked strong male role models in their youth. Whatever their individual points of attraction were, these women found their relationship to Jones to be one of the strongest sources of their loyalty to the movement.

Grace Stoen, a leader who engaged in an ongoing sexual relationship with Jones throughout her time in Peoples Temple, described in a 1992 interview how Jones used sex as a way of attracting women to the movement and making them feel important, which in turn increased their commitment to Peoples Temple and loyalty to him personally.[84] Of course, this interpretation presupposes a level of passivity among the women themselves, presenting Jones as a man who, intentionally or not, manipulated women into nonconsensual relationships. While this is certainly the case for several women amidst the general membership and is most definitely worth noting when evaluating Jones' own motivations as a spiritual leader, the primary focus of this section concerns the women among Peoples Temple's leadership structure--Marceline and Carolyn among them--who did indeed develop genuine emotional feelings toward Jones. Such women considered their affection for him as one of the key motivating factors which inspired them to participate and work as ardently as they did as leaders of the movement.

For many of these women who developed romantic feelings toward Jones, their sentiments in turn prompted a desire to lead efforts to ensure the safety of Jones and his movement. As a result, one finds a direct correlation between the women's romantic proximity to

[84] G. S. Jones interview with Mary McCormick Maaga, 3 Dec. 1992, quoted in Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown,* 84.

Jones and their power and influence within Peoples Temple. Several of the women already described, from Grace Stoen to Annie Moore and Deborah Layton, stand as examples of such women whose romantic engagement with Jones matched their influence in the movement. Historian Judith Mary Weightman describes this phenomenon in her 1984 work *Making Sense of the Jonestown Suicides: A Sociological History of Peoples Temple*, arguing that women became part of the leadership circle "not only because of their abilities but also because of their loyalty to the cause and their intense personal loyalty to Jones. For the most part, this personal loyalty was very much connected with the fact that they were, or had been, Jones's lovers."[85] Their affection was thus in a majority of cases not a secret notion for Jones or for the membership at large, but rather an accepted aspect of these women's motivation to participate in the movement.

In the cases of both Marceline and Carolyn, one finds ample evidence of affection for Jones, albeit expressed in different ways. For Marceline, her positive feelings toward her husband as a man (rather than simply as a leader of Peoples Temple) appear most often in private letters to Jones himself. In one letter from 1970, she expresses her prioritization of Jones in her life, writing:

> As the time approaches for our 21st wedding anniversary, it seems appropriate to take inventory of our lives together. In one more year, I will have spent half my life with you. It is the only part of my life that counts. In that time I've known great joy and great sorrow. It has been my love for you that has tempered all things and made the good and the bad melt to compose a beautiful harmony.[86]

Marceline's clear affection for her husband, even after learning of his affairs with Carolyn and other women within the movement, speaks to the depth of her emotional commitment to Jones.

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[85] Judith Mary Weightman, *Making Sense of the Jonestown Suicides: A Sociological History of Peoples Temple*. (New York: E. Mellen, 1983), 117.
[86] Denice Stephenson, ed., *Dear People*, (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2005), 58.

This emotional commitment, as seen in the cases of many of the other women previously described, resulted in turn in an increased desire to commit herself to the work of Peoples Temple; as Marceline describes in an unpublished interview, "I stood in such awe of this marvelous ministry and I stood feeling the burden of this responsibility that had been placed upon the one that I loved more than any one in the world.[87] Her positive sentiments toward her husband thus actively informed her participation as "Mother Jones" throughout the course of the movement.

Although Carolyn expressed many of these same feelings as Marceline, she ironically showcased them more overtly, as evidenced by the far greater number of accounts describing Carolyn's affection for Jones by other members of Peoples Temple. Grace Stoen for instance considered Carolyn's emotional attachment to Jones to be the most important reason for her continued involvement in the movement, noting in one interview that "power didn't mean much [to Carolyn]. Love was what motivated her."[88] Even Stephan Jones, son of Marceline and Jim, acknowledged the strong relationship between his father and Carolyn Layton, describing later how both "she loved Jim Jones and she wanted to change the world."[89] Her emotional investment in the leader of Peoples Temple was therefore very evident to those around her, especially those who were among the movement's inner leadership circle. Much like Marceline, Carolyn herself also described how Jones fulfilled her emotionally in a way that nothing else could, in her case within a letter to her parents:

> Our communication is so deep that we can often know the other's emotions. I naturally have no para-psychological powers and am very down-to-earth, but I

[87] RYMUR 89-4286-BB-18-z, 62-6.
[88] G. S. Jones interview with Mary McCormick Maaga, 3 Dec. 1992, quoted in Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 84.
[89] S. G. Jones interview with Mary McCormick Maaga, 7 Dec 1992, quoted in Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 63.

> know him so well I often can tell how he will feel about things. He knows more about me than I know myself and always accepts me totally. Total acceptance and communication make our love deeper than I thought possible between two humans.[90]

One finds in this passage the same drive seen in Marceline to further an emotional attachment with Jones by means of engagement in the activities of the movement. Although the various other motivations identified previously clearly also played a role in the acquisition and exhibition of social influence by both Marceline and Carolyn, their explicit affection for Jones forces one to also recognize the underlying emotional bonds that undoubtedly permeated all such other reasons for their involvement.

What emerges from this chapter is an understanding that the women of Peoples Temple participated and sought power within the movement for several reasons. Our case studies, Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton, were no exceptions to this trend, each woman exhibiting behaviors and desires that mirrored those seen elsewhere in the movement. In each case, their justifications for leadership and their efforts to gain power within Peoples Temple's innermost circles were rooted in the gender politics of the time period. Both Marceline and Carolyn obtained their respective statuses within the movement by using these politics to their advantage, participating in a range of social movements while still operating within the accepted woman's sphere of religion. In this way, they were able to gain more power than like-minded women operating outside of the movement during this same time.

While Marceline and Carolyn shared an emotional attachment to Jones and a commitment to his mission of social reform, conflict eventually threatened their positions within

[90] Rebecca Moore. *A Sympathetic History of Jonestown: The Moore Family Involvement in Peoples Temple*. (Lewiston, N.Y., USA: E. Mellen Press, 1985), 90.

the movement. What these conflicts entailed and how the women in question attempted to resolve them form the central focus of the next chapter.

III: VOICES FROM THE OUTSIDE: ANALYZING THE OPPOSITION TO FEMALE LEADERSHIP

> *"We feel that you came to the people giving them the greatest reason to live, the greatest reason to die, the greatest reason to fight—socialism (we have another name for it). However, you can't do it all, you can't move unless your followers realize the necessity to shape history themselves. This is again where staff has failed. They are to the most part white egotical people maintaining a hierarchy. Not allowing you to take the reins and go ahead full steam. Holding you back saying it's not time, having to be fucked, degrading people—especially if they have a little knowledge about Socialism."*
>
> *- "The Eight Revolutionaries" in a letter to Jim Jones, 1973*[91]

As Marceline and Carolyn climbed the ladder of the movement, they encountered opposition both inside and outside of Peoples Temple. Some opponents questioned their decision-making or their overall ability to lead, while others focused more on the voices that the women and their larger leadership structure chose not to include amongst their ranks. In this chapter, one seeks to understand not only what the arguments against women like Marceline and Carolyn were, but also how these women responded to the criticisms voiced against them. Such arguments on both sides again speak to the influence of larger historical trends on women within the movement--namely, the sexual double standard that pervaded the consciousness of those judging the movement from the outside.

The opposition to Marceline and Carolyn as leaders appeared in two distinct yet related categories: those outside of the movement (e.g. reporters, journalists, etc.) who criticized the leadership structure of Peoples Temple from what they observed while researching it, and former Peoples Temple members who left the movement and subsequently voiced their criticisms of it. It is unclear the extent to which people who remained in the movement were critical of Peoples Temple's leadership structure; as Jones and his fellow leaders would would likely not approve of

[91] "The Eight Revolutionaries' letter," California Historical Society, Moore Family Papers, MS 3802.

the expression of these sentiments, one is less likely to find written documentation confirming such opposition among the Peoples Temple ranks. For this reason, any such criticisms found from peoples within the movement appear in this study as points of comparison in evaluating the two principal oppositional groups identified above.

ENEMY NUMBER ONE: THE MEDIA

Journalists were among the first group of people to launch criticisms of Peoples Temple, criticisms which mainly took issue with the movement's leadership. While the majority of such attacks focused on Jones himself, several publications specifically drew attention to the women within Peoples Temple's leadership structure. In writing their pieces on the movement, such journalists relied on a combination of Peoples Temple publications that circulated publicly in the San Francisco area, interviews with leadership, and in some cases, undercover investigations conducted within the movement. In all of their writings, these journalists revealed their biases with regard to women in leadership that were deeply entrenched in American society's sexual double standard.

Journalist Julie Smith became one of the most vocal media critics of Peoples Temple leadership after she investigated the movement on behalf of the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1976. At that time, most of the *Chronicle*'s reporting centered on San Francisco's growing LGBT community, the city's continued housing of the counterculture movement, and its emerging dominance in the pornography industry; the newspaper paid little attention to religious movements, including Peoples Temple. The few news articles concerning Peoples Temple which appeared prior to 1976 focused on the movement's interactions with the outside community; Julie Smith was one of the first reporters from "outside" who attempted to reveal the inner

workings of Peoples Temple, particularly its leadership structure. Having being kept out of the newsroom and designated "beauty editor" in an industry still largely dominated by male voices, Smith relished at the chance to cover a "serious" story like that of Peoples Temple.[92] Smith, much like Marceline and Carolyn, saw Peoples Temple as an avenue through which she could further her professional goals amidst adversity.

Although Smith described her first impressions of People Temple as fairly positive--she noted in a later interview that a combination of politics and faith healing was "just [her] kind of thing"[93]--her opinion quickly deteriorated upon meeting Jones and the rest of his inner circle. She describes Jones sitting on a throne, surrounded by ten women from the Planning Commission who stood when he stood "as if at a prearranged signal."[94] Smith points to this interaction in which she first saw the behavior of the female leadership toward Jones as the moment in which she first believed "something really wrong"[95] was occurring within Peoples Temple. This feeling swiftly grew when Smith learned that many of the women she observed were involved in an ongoing sexual relationship with Jones. As a result of these interactions, Smith presented the women in power in her article as mindless followers who simply supported Jones and executed his commands. Her critique of the women in power centered on what she perceived to be a lack of personal agency on the part of the Planning Commission members in her first meeting with them.

It is significant that a female reporter was one of the first to report on the women of Peoples Temple, as her descriptions mirror the predominant male view regarding women's

[92] Clare E. White, "A Conversation With Julie Smith," *The Internet Writing Journal*, June 2001. https://www.writerswrite.com/journal/jun01/a-conversation-with-julie-smith-6011.
[93] Quoted in Fondakowski, *Stories from Jonestown*, 118.
[94] Ibid., 120.
[95] Ibid., 120.

sexuality at that time. As described in Chapter II, the pervasive sexual double standard throughout American society in the later twentieth century reinforced a division between the sexes wherein men could more freely express their sexuality and use that sexuality for a specific purpose. While one might expect all women of this period to have resisted this societal trend, in reality many were as susceptible, if not more, to inadvertently advocating ideas which perpetuated the sexual double standard. Thus upon learning that many of the women in Peoples Temple were in a sexual relationship with Jones, Smith criticized what she saw as women stepping out of their sexually docile and socially subordinate gender role. Smith's impression of the women in power was thereby reflective of her own internalization of these societal standards, as her criticism was directed almost entirely toward the women's sexual promiscuity rather than that of Jones as well.

Additionally, Smith's critique of the women in power and their blind sexual subservience to Jones echoed an ongoing conflict within San Franciscan activism regarding women's sexuality and sexual activity. As of 1976, the second wave feminist movement was split into two separate groups: those that fought against what they saw as ritualized violence in areas such as pornography, erotica, prostitution, lesbian sexual practices, and more; and those who argued that complete sexual freedom was an essential component of women's freedom. Those of the former group, known as "anti-pornography feminists," formed an organization called Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media (WAVPM) and based their operations in the city with the largest group of like-minded feminist thinkers: San Francisco. As a result, Julie Smith was surrounded by rhetoric from groups like WAVPM which called into question the use of women as sexual objects and the implications of this treatment on their agency as women. Thus in

addition to the persisting sexual double standard inherited from post-war America, Smith also wrote her article in an atmosphere in which even modern feminist thinkers were in disaccord. Such an environment in which women were critiquing one another prompted Smith in turn to single out the women of Peoples Temple in her article on the movement, pointing to their behavior as proof of their own complicity in the brainwashing and subordination by Jones.

Although Smith's editors at the *Chronicle* ultimately removed such criticisms from the final published article, Smith herself continued investigating and speaking out against Peoples Temple following that meeting. Her criticism of Jones and, just as importantly, the women who surrounded him in turn prompted other journalists to view the movement and its leaders with a critical eye. They too based their reports not only on their findings from their individual investigations, but also their views regarding gender roles and power dynamics among sexes.

Fellow journalists Marshall Kilduff and Phil Tracy were among this subsequent group of critics, publishing an article in 1977 in *New West Magazine* entitled "Inside Peoples Temple." The article is outwardly opposed to the movement, describing Jim Jones as misleading, exploitative, and responsible for physically and emotionally abusing Temple members. Kilduff and Tracy were by no means unique in this opinion--in fact, most publications outside of the *Ukiah Daily Journal* were critical of both Jones and the Peoples Temple movement; however, the *New West* article is similar to Julie Smith's in that it also specifically points to female leaders as parties who were principally responsible for creating the movement's "mixture of Spartan regimentation, fear and self-imposed humiliation."[96] The authors for instance list Micki Touchette, a woman responsible for corresponding with political figures on behalf of the

[96] Marshall Kilduff and Phil Tracy,"Inside Peoples Temple," *New West* Magazine, August 1, pp. 30-38, from California Historical Society, Moore Family Papers, MS 3802.

movement and thereby increasing Jones' political clout, as well as Grace Stoen, a leader who managed many internal Peoples Temple activities as well as the organization's finances. Kilduff and Tracy present these women as the enforcers of Peoples Temple's "cruel"[97] policies and punishments, instructing other members to write letters "incriminating themselves in illegal and immoral acts that never happened."[98] In total, the authors spend more of the article critiquing the organization and practices of these women leaders than of Jones himself.

By singling out the female leadership in this manner and describing how their actions perpetuated what they considered to be a corrupt and dangerous organization, Kilduff and Tracy showed a clear imbalance in how they perceived the women in power within Peoples Temple versus the men. Interestingly, their only direct communication to members still in the movement while writing the article was with two men, Mike Prokes and Gene Chaikin. Despite their positions within Peoples Temple's Planning Commission and their roles in the execution of the movement's restrictive policies, Prokes and Chaikin appear only briefly in the article to deny any harassment of Temple members. Kilduff and Tracy do not include these men in any of their discussions regarding the corruption of Temple leadership; in this way, the male authors reveal their own gendered view of power within the movement. Their critique's focus on the women of the Planning Commission speaks to the continued questioning of female leadership by men in mainstream American society, particularly in the case of religious movements. From attacks on Heaven's Gate's Bonnie Lou Nettles to in-depth critiques of The Family International's Karen Zerby, American newspapers as of 1977 had established a clear trend of imbalanced criticism toward female leaders within new religious movements.

[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

Kilduff and Tracy took special aim at Marceline Jones for her active role in supporting and executing Jones' deception. They argued that Marceline intentionally misled Temple members by aiding in the fabrication of Jones' faith healing. Following the public healings at Temple services, Marceline reportedly "would emerge holding a foul-smelling scrap of something cupped in a napkin--a cancer 'passed.'"[99] In reality, this "cancer bag" contained individually wrapped pieces of meat. In retelling such incidents, the article presented Marceline as a corrupt leader looking to deceive and take advantage of Peoples Temple members to the same extent as her husband. Kilduff and Tracy questioned Marceline's moral ethics as a leader and underscored her complicitness in the pain and abuse of Peoples Temple members. In this way, their presentation of Marceline and her fellow female leaders was somewhat different than earlier investigations by Julie Smith, as Kilduff and Tracy did in fact find instances of individual agency and empowerment among the women of the inner circle. Their issue with these leaders was not their apparent mindlessness or naiveté, but instead their active role in knowingly maintaining an untrustworthy organization.

Once again, however, their criticism and distrust of Marceline demonstrated a clear double standard in how they viewed Marceline versus Jones and his fellow male leaders. They criticized Marceline for orchestrating the manufactured faith healings, pointing to her actions as indicative of her low moral character, while also writing about men such as Prokes and Chaikin (both of whom also misled the membership regarding Jones' abilities) as unabated voices of the movement. Furthermore, their criticism of Marceline within the article overshadowed their critique of Jones' manufactured faith healings themselves, again shifting the blame for Peoples

[99] Ibid.

Temple's corruption toward the women involved. The authors thus through their article communicated their expectation that Marceline would maintain a higher level of morality, an expectation clearly based in large part on her gender. Although Kilduff and Tracy of course did not have complete access to the movement, their interpretation of it based on the information they were able to obtain demonstrated their clear internalized skepticism of women in power.

ENEMY NUMBER TWO: APOSTATES

While the press and related outside groups substantially contributed to the criticism of Marceline, Carolyn, and their fellow women in power, a second group with greater knowledge of the inner workings of Peoples Temple mounted even more criticism of their behavior as leaders of the movement. This second group was mostly comprised of former members who, upon defecting and returning to mainstream society, publicly voiced their criticisms of Peoples Temple's leadership. While these apostates mounted attacks against both male and female leaders of the movement, the principal concern of this section is the criticisms of the women in power. Recent narratives from former Peoples Temple members vary drastically from those written during the movement's existence; the defectors one refers to in this instance are those who spoke out against women in power within Peoples Temple prior to 1978. Such criticisms combine personal interactions with broader reflections on the organization of the movement, offering insight into the internal dynamics which surrounded the women in question.

The defection which prompted the greatest amount of criticism toward Marceline, Carolyn, and their fellow female leaders occurred in 1973 when eight members publicly left Peoples Temple in California. The group, later referred to as "The Gang of Eight," consisted of four female and four male college students who, while dedicated to Jones' socialist beliefs, chose

to leave specifically because of how Peoples Temple leaders ran and organized the movement. In a letter to Jim Jones, the group members declared their reason for leaving, beginning simply, "To put it in one word—staff. The fact is, the eight of us have seen a grotesque amount of sickness displayed by staff. "[100] The letter then proceeds to list a number of Peoples Temple leaders and the behavior that prompted the Gang of Eight's defection. Planning Commission members Sandy Inghram, Karen Layton, Grace Stoen, and Janet Phillips are the first "staff" mentioned by name, the former members contending that these leaders were dishonest in their belief in the socialist ideas of Peoples Temple and thus should not be relied upon as leaders of the movement. To the Gang of Eight, these women's loyalty hinged entirely on their sexual relationship with Jones, claiming they "had to be fucked to be loyal"[101]; for this reason, the defectors argued, these leaders failed to inspire the dedication to Peoples Temple that they demanded from the general membership. This claim that socialism was not the primary driving force for women like Grace Stoen and Karen Layton is of course not entirely unfounded, as one established romantic affection as a crucial motivation in Chapter II; however, The Gang of Eight directly opposed the notion that this affection deepened the women's commitment to the movement, instead contending that it underscored the shallow nature of their involvement.

What is immediately evident in evaluating The Gang of Eight's contentions against the women of Peoples Temple is the demeaning nature with which they present their opinions of the "staff." Their claim that the women required a sexual relationship with Jones in order to maintain their loyalty to the movement presupposed an environment in which female happiness was entirely contingent upon their sexual relationships; this assumption was strongly grounded in

[100] "The Eight Revolutionaries' letter," California Historical Society, Moore Family Papers, MS 3802.
[101] Ibid.

patriarchal expectations of the period which identified women's primary goal as being the attainment of physical affection or even romantic love. Furthermore, the Gang of Eight's description denies that the women had any intellectual or idealistic principles of their own. These assumptions, which did not extend to the male leadership, again reinforce the double standard under which the women in power within Peoples Temple were judged by their opponents. After all, the Gang of Eight barely mentioned Jim Jones in a negative light in its letter, despite his clear involvement in the operation of Peoples Temple's administrative team. It is thus noteworthy that the Gang of Eight's strongly gendered document was written by both men and women, all of whom were very close in age to many of the women in the Planning Commission; in a sense, the defectors were very similar to those in power, and yet they nevertheless actively criticized the young female leadership. This fact further speaks to the internalized sexism present across all levels of society as of the 1970s. Just as Maaga acknowledged an attempted erasure of female power in her historiography of the movement, so too were voices in the time period attempting to erase women's personal agency because of their relationship with Jones.

The Gang of Eight's criticism extended beyond the motivations among the female leadership; the group also took issue with how the Planning Commission treated Peoples Temple's black members. Again, their criticisms mentioned both men and women within the Planning Commission, but their treatment of the female leadership proved particularly pointed. In the view of the defectors, these women did not share Jones' belief in racial equality, but instead regularly disrespected black members and actively excluded them from the inner leadership circle. They point to Planning Commission member Helen Swinney as a key example of this discrimination:

> It is known in People's Temple that Helen Swinney isn't to be messed with. She brings in a lot of money for the church, so she's left alone, inspite the fact she's a racist through and through. When Helen meets People's Temple's black members down town or in public eye, she ignores them. We're not speaking of outside the ranks black people, we're speaking of Peoples Temple's black members. We have many testimonies to this fact. These people are both black and white (mainly black). It was staff that said "don't talk about Helen Swinney unless you can bring in as much money." This is a cruel and sick thing to say to poor white and black people that will never have the opportunity Helen had. Too, it has a stinking capitalist over tone with no socialist concern. It's true Helen has a lot of money, does what she wants and enjoys a condescending capitalist position.[102]

This feeling that the racial divisions within Peoples Temple were in fact more rigid than in mainstream American society served as the principal reason for the Gang of Eight's exit. They questioned why a membership comprised largely of black men and women had a leadership body of almost entirely white women, writing, "You said that the revolutionary focal point at present is in the black people. There is no potential in the white population, according to you. Yet, where is the black leadership, where is the black staff and black attitude?"[103] The group also pointed out that the process by which Peoples Temple selected new leaders appeared to favor race over experience, with "new white upper middle class folk"[104] being chosen over black members who had been loyal to the movement for a significantly longer period of time.

The Gang of Eight's impression of an imbalance between the demographics which composed the membership of Peoples Temple and those responsible for leading that membership was an accurate one; according to Rebecca Moore's estimated population of Jonestown, black women comprised by far the largest group of members, totalling 460 people by 1978 (see Figure 2). The next highest demographic, black men, equaled only around half of the black female population, followed distantly by first white women and then white men. Yet in comparing this

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.

membership composition to the people who participated in Peoples Temple's Planning Commission, white women make up the vast majority of the leadership structure (see Figure 3). Although the number of white women within the movement amounted to not even half of the total population of black women members, that demographic accounted for over fifty percent of the total Planning Commission membership. Such contradictions between what the Planning Commission claimed to stand for and the voices they represented within leadership structure exemplified the hypocrisy that the Gang of Eight opposed.

Figure 2: Race and Gender in Jonestown[105]

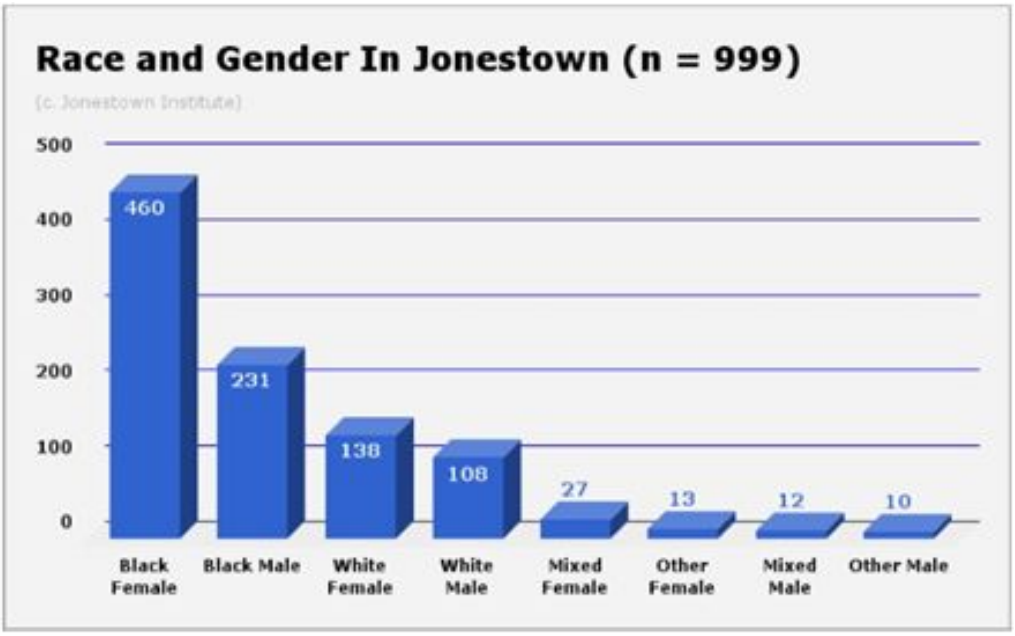
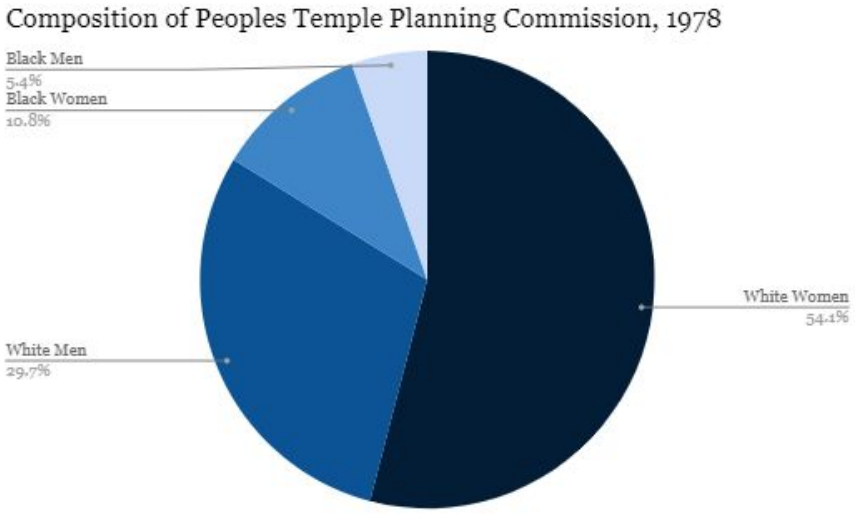


Figure 3: Composition of Peoples Temple's Planning Commission, 1978[106]

[105] Rebecca Moore, "An Update on the Demographics of Jonestown."
[106] Chart generated based on data compiled by Fielding McGehee for The Jonestown Institute, Alternative Considerations of Jonestown & Peoples Temple. Accessed December 23, 2017. https://jonestown.sdsu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/08-planning_comm.pdf.



Among those listed in the Gang of Eight's letter as the perfect example of the "double standard" and "dishonesty"[107] of Peoples Temple leadership was Carolyn Layton. To the eight former members, Layton epitomized the disingenuous nature of the Planning Commission. They counted her among the initial list of women whose loyalty was entirely dependent on their sexual activity, adding that she neither prayed nor participated during church sessions. Furthermore, they found her to be "negative as hell"[108] during most religious gatherings; yet, despite this apparent apathy, Carolyn remained in Peoples Temple innermost circle. For the Gang of Eight, Carolyn's indifferent behavior illustrated her hypocrisy in demanding deference from the general membership and thus her overall weakness as a leader of the movement. This perceived weakness, corruption, and hypocrisy among Peoples Temple's female leaders were ultimately strong enough factors to drive away a group of eight adherents from a movement in which, even as they left, they still professed to believe.

[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

MARCELINE AND CAROLYN REACT

While one might anticipate such substantial opposition among those outside and formerly inside Peoples Temple to in turn inspire some form of self-reflection on the part of Marceline, Carolyn, and their fellow female leaders, this was far from the case. Rather, the ultimate effect of such public denouncements of their leadership was to reinforce their existing belief that their movement and way of life were under attack. This "siege mentality" in turn increased their paranoia and discussions of conspiracy amongst themselves. This paranoia manifested itself in several of the women's writings; one such article in *Peoples Forum* for instance defensively declared, "we are not paranoid. We simply have found no other logical way to make sense of our experiences."[109]

Carolyn Layton's paranoia and focus on silencing opponents particularly increased as more articles appeared and former members spoke out publicly, each new defection prompting more writings and pamphlets which contended that Peoples Temple was in danger of sabotage. Mary McCormick Maaga describes Carolyn's mindset during this time as a complete "demonization" of Peoples Temple's opponents, which the inner circle member saw as "the "embodiment of chaos and evil."[110] Under this schema, says Maaga, Carolyn saw the biggest threat to the movement as undercover reporters or potential defectors, those who looked like "insiders" but were in fact "outsiders." In letters to her family and in notes to Jones, Layton underscores the importance of focusing her attention on exposing this malevolence within the movement. Layton's response to criticism of her own leadership was thus indirect in nature,

[109] Quoted in Rebecca Moore, *A Sympathetic History of Jonestown*, 135.
[110] Maaga, *Hearing the Voices of Jonestown*, 28.

largely ignoring the actual voices outside of the movement that were making claims regarding her leadership and instead operating under the assumption that similar voices existed within Peoples Temple's ranks.

It was in response to these growing criticisms that the women of the Planning Commission first considered the idea of "revolutionary suicide." In their view, such criticisms of their leadership would inevitably invite government forces to try and disband the movement; were this to occur, they reasoned, they would not only be stripped of their influence as leaders but also potentially be arrested or otherwise detained. In such an environment, the only means of maintaining control would be through collective suicide. Although there is no clear documentation which indicates who first suggested suicide within the Planning Commission, Carolyn wrote a detailed letter in which she described the logistics necessary were they to commit to such a plan.[111] Marceline was more skeptical of this reaction and remained the voice of dissension within the Planning Commission until the movement's very end; for her, suicide would not be an act of maintaining agency but rather an abandonment of their ideological mission.[112] When Debbie Layton Blakely, a former Planning Commission member and close friend of Jones, defected from the movement and left Jonestown, the leadership began more seriously considering the ramifications of criticisms from apostates on their survival and the survival of Peoples Temple. Ultimately, the Planning Commission decided collectively that, in the event of physical confrontation with government forces, their suicide was the only option. On November 18, 1978, that option was ultimately exercised.

[111] RYMUR 89-4286-X-3-e, pp. 32a-32e.
[112] Ibid.

Upon first glance, it may appear that the internal dynamics of Peoples Temple paint a complete picture of the movement and its members. Yet, as this chapter proves, the criticisms launched against Marceline, Carolyn, and their fellow female leaders shed light on the broader gender politics and societal pressures that maintained their influence on them even within the walls of the Peoples Temple community. From both defectors and outside sources, these women leaders experienced criticism that far exceeded that of their male contemporaries. Such opposition further solidifies one's understanding of why women such as Marceline and Carolyn would find comfort in the Peoples Temples' community that is largely removed from society, as these societal criticisms had less of an impact on their roles as leaders and as women. This said, the influence of this opposition is not to be minimized, as it ultimately played an integral role in the women's decision to end their lives in November of 1978. This chapter therefore more than the previous two places Marceline and Carolyn in the context of American society over all, showing that, even in the paradise that was Jonestown, they were not immune to the impact of the voices that surrounded them.

CONCLUSION

Following the events of November 18, 1978, the world would attempt to paint the members of Peoples Temple who died in Guyana with a broad brush. *The New York Times* called them a mass of "slave-like" and "brainwashed"[113] people; *The Los Angeles Times* simply labelled the group "mindless."[114] The voices of the members who died that day were blurred together in a flurry of news headlines, FBI investigations, and analyses of the leader that led them all toward tragedy. As the existence of Peoples Temple began to fade from public consciousness and retreat into the annals of history, researchers slowly began to differentiate the vast number of perspectives which comprised the Peoples Temple membership. Yet even in these early years of historical analysis, the dominant narrative around Peoples Temple still rested with Jones and the men of the movement, with women being described only in context of these men or left out of accounts entirely. This is not to say that these voices disappeared completely; rather, women's writings, reflections, and decisions from their time as leaders of Peoples Temple remained dormant within the historical record, waiting to be evaluated by scholars in years to come.

This thesis sought to understand the women in power within Peoples Temple: who they were, what they stood for, and how they navigated through a rapidly evolving United States. It aimed to answer these questions through the eyes of Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton, tracking the movement by way of these women's relationship to it over Peoples Temple's twenty year history. In so doing, one reached two distinct conclusions: first, that both Marceline and Carolyn participated in the Peoples Temple movement with a strong sense of purpose that was

[113] "Guyana Official Reports 300 Dead At Religious Sect's Jungle Temple",*The New York Times,* November 20, 1978.
[114] Leonard Greenwood, "Bodies of Jim Jones, 409 Cultists Found", *The Los Angeles Times*, November 21, 1978.

intimately tied to historical trends of the period; and second, that they both used their position as women to gain power and influence within the movement. In some respects, this levying of their gender allowed the women to transcend barriers for female leadership within mainstream society; in others, Marceline and Carolyn still struggled against opposition to them as women and as leaders, opposition that limited the extent to which they could assume and maintain power.

The analysis of women's actions in this manner stands as an illustration of the purpose that groups like Peoples Temple served for women in the mid-twentieth century. Peoples Temple's roots within mainstream society afforded women like Marceline and Carolyn the comfort and familiarity of existing gender norms, while the movement's simultaneous autonomy and separation from the outside world offered them the freedom to capitalize on those established roles. During a period of sweeping change within American culture, Peoples Temple provided the distance and structure needed for women to gain social and administrative power.

Perhaps even more broadly, this thesis contributes yet another lens through which to understand the history of women's status within American culture. Marceline and Carolyn's respective ascents within Peoples Temple can be viewed as compact representations of the struggles among women in the late 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s to take on new responsibilities outside of the home. In analyzing the reasons why both women found the movement so important, the thesis showcases what they perceived to be a lack of complementary opportunities in everyday America for women like them. In this way, the thesis proves that American women encountered many limitations within mainstream society, even amidst decades of social and political progress.

LIMITATIONS

While this thesis contributes a new perspective to the growing scholarship on the women of Peoples Temple, it is of course limited by the scope of the women it chose to highlight. In using Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton as its case studies, the thesis focused its attention on the women of the Planning Commission with whom Jones had a physical relationship; in so doing, the thesis pays less attention to the stories of other women within the leadership structure who, while exerting influence over the movement, did not maintain such a relationship. In one's continued efforts to define the Peoples Temple members as individuals, the only true way to fairly represent all of the women of the movement with complete certainty would be to investigate each of their stories individually.

Additionally, in choosing to write about a particular subsection of people within the Peoples Temple movement (namely, the women in power), this thesis inherently omits the narratives of other Temple members, members whose perspectives have yet to be explored in great depth by other Peoples Temple scholars. Among such voices include those of black women, elderly women, and women of lower social classes, none of whom held substantial influence in the Planning Commission or elsewhere in the movement. Attention is paid almost entirely to the white women in power in this thesis, which renders it representative of the actions and motivations of only one subset of a much larger community.

RESEARCH YET TO BE DONE

Because of such limitations, this thesis serves as a baseline from which future studies of the female leaders of Peoples Temple may expand. For instance, through a more detailed and

purposeful analysis of the women of Peoples Temple who did not assume official leadership roles, one may gain a better understanding of how women of different hierarchical statuses within the movement interacted with one another. This potential analysis also extends to those women who may not have had a formal title or leadership role, but who nevertheless oversaw certain aspects of the movement's day to day operations. A discussion of other female American religious leaders of the time may similarly provide insight into the extent to which the phenomenon identified among the Peoples Temple women was actually unique to them, and how much their experience mirrored religious practices elsewhere. Through such continued investigations and analyses, one may continue to grow the existing body of literature about the women of Peoples Temple and thereby build a historical narrative that is representative of all the women involved. By continuing to elevate women's voices and analyze their unique experiences within the movement, historians may at last create a collection of work about Peoples Temple that is truly revolutionary.

APPENDIX A: TIMELINE OF PEOPLES TEMPLE EVENTS

This table lists the critical events in the history of Peoples Temple discussed in this thesis, with special attention paid to events which affected the lives of Marceline Jones and Carolyn Layton directly.

Month/Day	Year	Event
June	1949	James Warren Jones and Marceline Mae Baldwin marry
April	1955	Wings of Deliverance incorporated in Indiana
	1955	Marceline opens first nursing home for Temple members
February 5	1956	Jim Jones becomes ordained minister in the Assemblies of God
February 10	1956	25 women from Peoples Temple participate in "Walk for Peace" in Indianapolis
	1956	Wings of Deliverance church opens as "Peoples Temple of the Disciples of Christ"
October	1958	Marceline and Jim Jones adopt two Korean children, name them Stephanie and Lew Jones
June 1	1959	Stephan Gandhi Jones born, Jim and Marceline Jones' only natural-born child
Summer	1959	Jim Jones Jr. adopted, the first African-American baby adopted by white couple in Indiana
Summer	1959	Jim and Marceline Jones visit Father and Mother Divine in Philadelphia
	1960	Peoples Temple accepted into Disciples of Christ denomination
October	1961	Jim Jones has vision of nuclear holocaust in Chicago and Indianapolis
July	1965	Peoples Temple moves from Indiana to Ukiah, California; files as non-profit corporation
Summer	1967	Larry Layton marries Carolyn Moore
	1968	Jim Jones names Marceline as his successor in his will
	1968	Larry Layton and Carolyn Moore Layton join Peoples Temple
April	1969	Carolyn Moore Layton divorces Larry Layton, begins longstanding affair with Jim Jones
April	1972	Peoples Temple buys "Happy Acres" Ranch in Redwood Valley

	1972	Annie Moore joins Peoples Temple
	1972	Planning Commission first organized
September	1973	"The Eight Revolutionaries/"Gang of 8" defect
February	1974	Peoples Temple submits lease applications for property to be known as "Jonestown" in Guyana
		Carolyn Layton offers herself to the Symbionese Liberation Army in exchange for Patricia Hearst
June	1974	First group of "pioneers" goes to interior, living at Mathews Ridge, as construction work begins in Jonestown
October 16	1975	Elmer and Deanne Mertle defect, change names to Al and Jeanne Mills
	1976	Journalist Julie Smith investigates Peoples Temple for the San Francisco Chronicle
October 18	1976	Mayor Moscone appoints Jim Jones to San Francisco Housing Authority Commission
Spring	1977	Concerned Relatives oppositional group forms
July	1977	Tim Stoen leaves Peoples Temple
July 17	1977	"Inside Peoples Temple" article published in edition of New West Magazine
July	1977	Mass exodus of Temple members to Guyana begins
July	1977	Jim Jones leaves US for last time, goes to Jonestown to stay
May 12	1978	Debbie Layton, Temple financial secretary, defects from Jonestown to US Embassy in Georgetown
Fall	1978	Carolyn Layton writes memo outlining options for Jonestown's future, including mass suicide
October 27	1978	Temple leader Terri Buford defects from Georgetown
November 15	1978	Ryan party – with members of press and Concerned Relatives – arrives in Guyana
November 18	1978	Leo Ryan among five assassinated at Port Kaituma airstrip; 12 others wounded; Larry Layton taken into custody
November 18	1978	909 people die in Jonestown in murder/suicide; four Temple members die in Georgetown
Nov/Dec	1978	Surviving Temple members in Guyana return to US, face interrogation

		by FBI
December 15	1978	Peoples Temple Corporation files petition for dissolution in California Superior Court

APPENDIX B: LIST OF PLANNING COMMISSION MEMBERS

This appendix lists Jonestown residents who reportedly served on the Peoples Temple based on research compiled by The Jonestown Institute for http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/. The list includes the gender of each Planning Commission member (Male or Female) as well as their race (Black or Caucasian) and the source which identifies their involvement in the leadership structure.

NAME	GENDER	RACE	SOURCE
Paula Jean Adams	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Sharon Amos	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Jack Lovell Beam	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Rheaviana Wilson Beam	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Deborah Layton Blakey	F	C	Raven
Tersa Buford	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Michael Julian Carter	M	C	Raven
Timothy James Carter	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Patricia Ann Cartmell	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Patricia Pauline Cartmell	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Eugene Bernard Chaikin	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1552
Sandra Cobb, aka Sandy Jones	F	B	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Lemuel Thomas Grubbs, aka Tom Grubbs	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Judith Kay Ijames	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Marion Lee Ingram, aka Lee Ingram	M	B	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Ava Jones, aka Ava Cobb, Ava Brown	F	B	FBI document 89-4286-1207

Johnny Jones, aka Johnny Moss Brown	M	B	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Maria Mary Katsaris	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Carolyn Louise Moore Layton	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Karen Lea Layton	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Laeticia Leroy, aka Tish Leroy	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Christine Renee Lucienties	F	C	Raven
Ann Elizabeth Moore	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Beatrice Alethia Morton, aka Bea Orsot	F	B	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Enola Marthenya Nelson, aka Kay Nelson	F	B	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Dale Edwin Parks	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Joyce Ann Parks	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Michael Joseph Prokes	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Laurence Eugene Schacht	M	C	Raven
Carol Ann Stahl	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Cleave Lonso Swinney	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Helen Beatrice Swinney	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1557
Charles E. Touchette	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1552
Joyce Touchette, aka Joyce Swinney	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1552
Harriet Sarah Tropp, aka Sarah Tropp	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207
Richard David Tropp	M	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207

Rita Jeanette Tupper	F	C	FBI document 89-4286-1207

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