

THE SHADOWS OF TRUTH: THE SEARCH FOR MORALITY IN THE BERACHAH  
INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR THE REDEMPTION OF ERRING GIRLS, 1915-1926

A THESIS

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## DEDICATION

For my husband, Josh Joblin, and my children, Elijah and Eleanor. Thank you for your patience and love throughout this process.

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## ABSTRACT

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### THE SHADOWS OF TRUTH: THE SEARCH FOR MORALITY IN THE BERACHAH INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR THE REDEMPTION OF ERRING GIRLS, 1915-1926

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The purpose of this study is to reveal what life was like for mothers and children inside the Berachah Home, a home for unwed mothers in Arlington, Texas in the early twentieth century. By using private Berachah Home ledgers and *The Purity Crusader*, a Berachah Home publication, this research connects this local home to larger society through evaluation of Berachah's connection to societal innovations and movements in the early twentieth century. This thesis argues that while the Home created their own morality goals for the women and children in their care, Berachah consistently catered to the stigma of unwed motherhood, rarely met their moral goals, and often contradicted their own message.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Three days before the start of the 1920s, Tempie Reeves, a fourteen-year-old girl, and her eleven-year-old sister, Iny Hudson, arrived at the Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls in Arlington, Texas, dropped off by a woman named Mrs. Anderson.<sup>1</sup> The girls traveled from Greenville, Texas, a seventy-three-mile trip, in the midst of the 1919 winter with temperatures well below freezing.<sup>2</sup> The cause for their long trip through the cold? “Betrayed by their brother-in-law” was the simple explanation, given in flowing script on a weathered ledger page.<sup>3</sup> In July 1920, Tempie would give birth to a little boy in the Berachah Home, giving a face to her betrayal.<sup>4</sup> Census records from 1920 confirm Tempie’s residence in the home; her relation to the head of the household: *inmate*.<sup>5</sup> Tempie’s sister Iny would remain in the home for years. These young girls were two of hundreds of thousands of women who ended up in maternity/rescue homes in the early twentieth century the United States.

This thesis argues that the Berachah Home was heavily influenced by societal innovations and movements between 1915-1926, while creating their own morality goals for the women and children in their care, the Home consistently catered to the stigma of

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<sup>1</sup> Admittance ledger, 1918-1920, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, Folder 7, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections.

<sup>2</sup> “DFW - December, Normals, Means, Extremes” *National Weather Service*, accessed October 18, 2017, <https://www.weather.gov/fwd/dfw12nrm>.

<sup>3</sup> Admittance Ledger, 1918-1920.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> 1920 United States Federal Census, Heritage Quest, accessed October 18, 2017. Merriam-Webster Third Collegiate Dictionary, s.v. “inmate,” 1916 :

1. One who lives in the same house or apartment with another. 2. One of a family or community occupying a single dwelling; also, one kept in an asylum, prison, etc. 3. An inhabitant.

unwed motherhood in larger society, rarely met their moral goals, and often contradicted their own message. A significant distinction of this research lies in its attempt to reveal and include the experiences and voices of the unwed mothers and children who lived in the Berachah Home, which historical scholarship on this topic has typically left out.

These unwed mothers and their children in rescue homes in the early twentieth century have been largely absent from scholarship on this historical topic, due to a lack of sources and information directly from these women. Very little, if any, specific documentation from these women exists today in conjunction with the Berachah Home. This research seeks to supplement the lack of these women's and children's voices, by looking directly at the private records kept by the home about them, specifically ledgers, and at *The Purity Crusader*, a home-sponsored periodical written and published on the Berachah Home property, to reveal their experience.

*The Purity Crusader* was a monthly periodical written and published on the Berachah Home property from 1915-1936.<sup>6</sup> Each edition of this periodical typically ran from eight to fifteen pages and were most often written and edited by J.T. Upchurch, the owner of the Berachah Home, and other staff members. The periodicals include religiously steeped stories, some of them supposedly written by female residents of the home. They describe visually titillating tales with the underlying request for donations. Donors were honored in most issues of the periodical, with their names printed in each, sometimes listing what they donated, monetary or otherwise. *The Purity Crusader* reported deaths and births, the comings and goings of the home and its staff members, and contained advertisements for other rescue homes across the nation. Subscribers of the

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<sup>6</sup> *The Purity Crusader* was formerly known as *The Purity Journal*, which was also written and published on the Berachah Industrial Home property from 1903-1915.

periodical were not limited to the local Arlington area, with mailings to forty-five states and over ten foreign countries.<sup>7</sup> By January 1920, J.T. Upchurch claimed *The Purity Crusader* had been mailed to over 3,500 subscribers that month alone.<sup>8</sup> Use of *The Purity Crusader* in formal scholarship has been limited, with few scholars including the periodical in their studies. Much of the scholarship discussed the early *Purity Journal* published by the Home, though was limited to 1904-1905. By using *The Purity Crusader* as a central element, this research explores and exposes a largely overlooked portion of information related to the Berachah Home.

The ledgers utilized in this research were from the Berachah Home and can be organized into two separate categories: application ledgers and admittance ledgers. The application ledgers chronicle the applications of women attempting to enter the home from 1917-1923, noting whether they were accepted or turned away. The admittance ledgers chronicle the day-to-day life inside the home, with records of births and deaths of both women and children, arrivals of new women, and departures of women and their children from 1917-1920 and 1922-1926.<sup>9</sup> These ledgers have been utilized in previous scholarship; however, there has been no in-depth research of these private ledgers for the years 1915-1926. Most scholarship in the general field of rescue homes focuses predominantly on Home-sponsored publications such as *The Purity Crusader* to understand the women and children. These publications, while important historical documents, reveal only one side of a complicated story. This research utilizes all available sources, thereby offering a more complete account.

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<sup>7</sup> Ochoa, "The Power of Observation," 37, 41.

<sup>8</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "The Valley of Indecision," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1920, 8.

<sup>9</sup> These ledgers are housed in the Special Collections department of the University of Texas at Arlington library.



Maternity homes like the Berachah Home, often called rescue homes in the period, surfaced in the United States during the late nineteenth century. These homes were not founded by the elite reformers of the Gilded Age; rather, they were founded by white middle-class evangelical Protestant men and women, with the intent to rescue “fallen women” through religious redemption.<sup>10</sup> Many of these reforming women had overlapping memberships with highly influential progressive era groups like the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA).<sup>11</sup> These reformers considered themselves rescue workers, and the institutions rescue homes, where they saved women’s souls from damnation.<sup>12</sup> The term maternity home is a modern term not used during the period. Many of the women accepted in these homes were pregnant, the most obvious tell of their fall from grace.

To fully understand rescue homes like the Berachah Home in the United States, it is important to look at the broader national organizations where much of the academic research of the field has been done. The founder of the Florence Crittenton Mission, one of most prominent rescue home networks in the United States, Charles Crittenton, had a close association with the WCTU as an avid supporter of the temperance movement in the late nineteenth century. The WCTU backed Crittenton’s cause for rescue homes, and eventually gave him a position in their organization, the first ever offered to a man in the WCTU.<sup>13</sup> Through the WCTU, Crittenton met Kate Waller Barrett, who would later become his partner in administrating the Florence Crittenton Missions, and was able to

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<sup>10</sup> Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (Ann Arbor, MI: Yale University Press, 1993), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. The WCTU focused its reform efforts primarily on the prohibition of alcohol. The YWCA sought to provide safe havens, education, and skill training for women in cities in the late nineteenth century. It is still in existence today.

<sup>12</sup> J.T Upchurch, “God Give Beautiful Victory,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1916, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 14.

expand his network of rescue homes. By 1910, the National Florence Crittenton Mission operated over seventy homes across the United States and in 1918 became the first charitable organization to receive a national charter through a special act of the United States Congress.<sup>14</sup> The Florence Crittenton Mission was the most well-known organization for rescue homes; however, the Salvation Army also had a national organization of homes that spanned the United States, with its roots originally in England in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Other homes spawned through religious sects existed throughout the United States simultaneously, and were part of the Social Gospel movement. Social Gospel, the religious wing of the progressive movement, had the specific aim of combatting social evils like the use of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, as well as prostitution and child labor. These religious homes include the Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls in Arlington, Texas, who had intimate ties with the Church of the Nazarene.

The founding of the National Florence Crittenton Mission, the Salvation Army homes, and the Berachah Home did not begin with the specific interest of accepting unwed mothers. All three of these organizations began with attempts to reconcile and eliminate vice districts. These districts had a heavy concentration of sex-oriented businesses such as brothels, as well as easy access to alcohol, drugs, and tobacco through saloons.<sup>16</sup> Such districts influenced the leading members who started these homes.

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<sup>14</sup> Ellen Baumlér. "'The Making of a Good Woman': Montana and the National Florence Crittenton Mission," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Winter 2003, 50.  
Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 14.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Vice districts were also called red light districts interchangeably. However, rescue workers, especially from the Berachah Home, referred to these places primarily as "vice districts" probably due to their belief that prostitution, alcohol, tobacco, and drug use were all immoral and wicked behaviors; Baumlér, "The Making of a Good Woman," 2003, 52;

Charles Crittenton and Kate Waller Barrett, leaders of the Florence Crittenton Mission, William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, and James Tony Upchurch, founder of the Berachah Home, all describe separate instances where they came into contact with vice districts, an experience which inspired each of them to combat the “social evil of fallen women” and end prostitution.<sup>17</sup> However, nationally and locally, these homes were unsuccessful in keeping prostitutes there to be rehabilitated and trained for menial labor jobs. Even with training, many of these women could not earn as much money outside of vice districts, and most did not want to trade their freedoms for the structured religious environment they would encounter inside rescue homes.<sup>18</sup> Prostitutes rarely committed themselves voluntarily, and evangelical workers had to rely on their own persuasions by taking nightly walking expeditions through vice districts to recruit these women. Unwed mothers were easier to detain because they were bound by the condition of their “illegitimate” pregnancy; they would often seek rescue homes to preserve their societal image, along with adequate care through the length of their pregnancy and the months after.<sup>19</sup>

Early twentieth-century rescue homes in the United States functioned under the intention of redemption of the girls and women who fell out of grace by having sex before marriage. Pregnancy was the most visible indicator of this “fall.” The evangelicals who ran these homes often made religion the core focus of their attempts to redeem women. Unwed mothers’ daily routines in the home were punctuated by multiple

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Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 11;  
Gerald D. Saxon, “The Berachah Home: A Home for the Homeless and a Friend to the Friendless,”  
*Legacies: History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 29.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>18</sup> Gwinnetta Malone Crowell. “To Keep Those Red Lights Burning: Dallas’ Response to Prostitution, 1874 to 1913” (Master’s thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 2009), 51.

<sup>19</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 17.

religious services. When these women were not praying, they were working. All women accepted had to assume their fair share of the workload, unless they were physically incapable of doing so.<sup>20</sup> Many rescue homes had to provide for themselves, so unwed mothers often worked the fields, did laundry, performed sewing, cooking, cleaning, and other related tasks. The workload, depending on the home, often kept the unwed mother busy from seven to ten hours daily.<sup>21</sup> In addition to work, the unwed mother was also given training in menial skills. Some historians suggest this was due to the belief that an unmarried mother, with her low moral and social standing, could only be educated in the most simplistic, basic tasks.<sup>22</sup>

This understanding of a woman's moral standing after an out-of-wedlock pregnancy held persistently in the early part of the twentieth century. These women could not remove the stain of moral error or illegitimacy from themselves or their children; however, the evangelicals who ran the homes firmly believed in redemption for the unwed mother. This redemption could be gained through a specific and rigorous process during the unwed mother's stay at some rescue homes and continued after with a lifetime of menial work and the rearing of her "illegitimate" children.<sup>23</sup> Unwed mothers in the early twentieth century were most typically expected to keep their children. Adoption, while possible in some homes, was uncommon in practice and policy. On the national level, the Florence Crittenton homes allowed adoption occasionally; however, at the

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>22</sup> Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe v. Wade*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000) 122, 127.

<sup>23</sup> Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 106.

Berachah Home, adoption was a violation of procedure.<sup>24</sup> Historians who focus on the post-World War II years, found a changed perception of unwed motherhood, as adoption became the only policy of maternity homes.<sup>25</sup>

To properly understand Berachah, background on the founders, and information on the location of the Berachah Home need explanation. The Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls first began as the Berachah Rescue Society. The name “berachah” derived from a scripture in Chronicles II in the Bible, meaning “blessing” in Hebrew.<sup>26</sup> The Home was founded by James Tony Upchurch, or J.T. Upchurch as he was most often referred, and his wife Maggie Upchurch in 1895 in Waco, Texas.<sup>27</sup> The Upchurch couple grew up in the Waco area and were both in their late twenties when they were drawn to rescue work. At the age of seven, while on a paper route, J.T. Upchurch witnessed a prostitute’s arrest by local law-enforcement. The woman gained not only Upchurch’s interest, but also his sympathy, a feeling that would stay with him into adulthood.<sup>28</sup>

Upchurch claimed that one night, at midnight in the mid-1890s, he and a close friend took a tour through the underworld of Waco’s “Reservation,” a city-regulated vice district that gained a significant amount of income for the city with some estimates

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<sup>24</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 33.  
Saxon, “The Berachah Home,” 31.

<sup>25</sup> See Rickie Solinger’s full work, *Wake Up Little Susie* for more information on maternity homes post-World War II.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Hawkes “Cemetery Due ‘Unveiling’” *Arlington Citizen Journal*. Undated; Berachah went by several names over the course of its existence including the Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls and later, Berachah Home for Mother and Child. To simplify, I will refer to Berachah as the Berachah Home in this paper.

<sup>27</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 1993, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 6;

J.T. Upchurch, *Lights and Shadows of Rescue Work*. Arlington, TX: Berachah Printing Company, 1903, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 3.

suggesting around \$12,000 in revenue each year.<sup>29</sup> Together the two men heard “blood-curdling laughter” accompanied by “dope fiends” wallowing in the dark.<sup>30</sup> They witnessed young men lured into buildings by attractive young girls who led them to drunkenness and midnight revel. Upchurch claimed the homes in the Reservation held a “coiled and deadly serpent of impurity with poisoned fangs to strike deep in the soul of all who entered.”<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, this foray into the Reservation led Upchurch to abandon his life as a bookkeeper for a wholesale firm in Waco, to dedicate his future to the rescue of the fallen woman like those in the Reservation.

Before leaving his job, Upchurch spent several years leading church services under the Methodist orthodox at local jails and poorhouses.<sup>32</sup> This experience transferred easily into his new chosen profession, determined to give the women of the underworld a chance to return to God, with the larger goal to close the vice district altogether.<sup>33</sup> Upchurch devoted the majority of his time to preaching in the Reservation, even securing a room over a saloon on the edge of the district and holding church services on back streets. However, he realized that he needed an actual home for the women to come to and separate themselves from life inside the Reservation. This task proved more difficult for the Upchurchs as money was hard to come by, their only income that of donations

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<sup>29</sup> Amanda Sawyer, “The Reservation,” *Waco History*, accessed April 27, 2018, <http://wacohistory.org/items/show/93>.

The Reservation opened in Waco in 1889.

<sup>30</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland: Touching the High Spots in Rescue Work,” *The Purity Crusader*, December 1925, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” 2.

during the church services given by Upchurch. They often took prostitutes into their personal home and lived sparsely off limited food.<sup>34</sup>

The lack of money would be far from the greatest problem the Upchurchs would face while trying to create the Berachah Home in Waco, Texas. They quickly found that support from the community would be far more limited than they expected, with very little encouragement and backing coming from the local population.<sup>35</sup> Upchurch himself never revealed why he and his wife chose to leave Waco and venture north to Arlington, Texas where the Berachah Home would set up more permanent roots. His only description of the period between Waco and Arlington declared it a time of “toil and conflict.”<sup>36</sup> Outside sources suggest several different reasons for the move, the first that they were run out of Waco by the Methodist Church who did not agree with Upchurch’s ideas on redemption, especially for women like prostitutes.<sup>37</sup> The second, that the Methodists in Waco wanted the unwed mothers to be able to put their children up for adoption, a policy Upchurch highly disagreed with.<sup>38</sup> While these religious reasons seem highly plausible, it also seems plausible that the city of Waco did not take Upchurch’s venture positively, in that his sole purpose was to end prostitution and close the Reservation, considering the amount of money the city made on the vice district each year.

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<sup>34</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 6-7; J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” 2.

<sup>35</sup> J.T. Upchurch, *Lights and Shadows of Rescue Work*. Arlington, TX: Berachah Printing Company, 1903, 6.

<sup>36</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” 4.

<sup>37</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 7.

<sup>38</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts. Interview by Cody S. Davis, February 13, 2008. In “Historical Archaeology at the Berachah Home: A Holistic Approach and Analysis of an Industrial Homestead in Arlington, Texas.” Appendix B. Master’s thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 2009, 83.

Upchurch moved his wife and small children to Dallas, Texas in 1899, where he established a small mission, which would later become the First Church of the Nazarene in Dallas. Due to the disagreement with the Methodist Church in Waco, Upchurch left the Methodist denomination for some time.<sup>39</sup> Upchurch chose Arlington, Texas as the permanent location for the Berachah Home because of its midway location between Dallas and Fort Worth; both cities had vice districts in the early twentieth century. While within accessible distance of both, the location of the Home was purposely placed away from both cities in a more rural area, far enough away to keep the residents from being lured back into their old lifestyle as prostitutes, as well as users of drugs and alcohol.<sup>40</sup> Upchurch claimed that the only excitement to be had at Berachah would be religious excitement, with nothing else to distract the mind.<sup>41</sup> Upchurch insisted that each time he traveled through the Arlington area, he had been drawn to a particular spread of land that consisted of seven acres.<sup>42</sup> Upon his third time traveling through the area, Upchurch stopped, knelt upon the ground, and claimed to have had the sincerest calling of God to place the Home in that location.<sup>43</sup> Upchurch would receive the money to purchase the land from his father-in-law James Adams, with the deed dated September 25, 1901. The first building, a two-story dormitory, which cost over three thousand dollars, opened with a dedication ceremony on May 14, 1903.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 7.

<sup>40</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "A Little Journey Through Berachahland," 4.

<sup>41</sup> J.T. Upchurch, *Lights and Shadows of Rescue Work*, 16.

<sup>42</sup> The initial purchase of land consisted of seven acres, however by 1925, the total amount of Berachah acreage would total 70 acres.

<sup>43</sup> J.T. Upchurch, *Lights and Shadows of Rescue Work*, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 7. The money provided to build the first building and all future buildings would come directly from donations.



Upon opening, Upchurch gave the Arlington location its own name; though still part of the Berachah Rescue Society, the seven-acre plot became the Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls.<sup>45</sup> In his opening remarks at the dedication ceremony in 1903, Upchurch claimed the Home would operate on the “stock owning, profit sharing basis, and a premium w[ould] ever be placed upon piety and industry among the inmates.”<sup>46</sup> Upchurch intended the institution to have the focus of an industry, one that not only rehabilitated women spiritually, but also taught them basic knowledge and skills so that they could be successful citizens upon leaving the Berachah Home.

Some claim that it was through working in the Home-owned handkerchief factory on the Berachah property that would create the main focal point of industry, which one source claimed operated from the industrial building.<sup>47</sup> This building also housed the printing press, where *The Purity Journal* and later, *The Purity Crusader* were published. Some women worked in the handkerchief factory, as it was an early, key point of revenue for the Home, while some others helped with the printing press.<sup>48</sup> Sources were unclear on when, how, and why the handkerchief factory closed; however, no mention of the

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<sup>45</sup> This name would later be changed to Berachah Home for Mother and Child.

<sup>46</sup> J.T. Upchurch, *Lights and Shadows of Rescue Work*, 9.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas B. Talbot, “Berachah Home for Women,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 14, 1912, Accessed October 13, 2017, The Historical Dallas Morning News, 1885-1985 Database; Untitled article. *Arlington Citizen Journal*. Undated. Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, Folder 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections;

There has been some more recent scholarly debate on the existence and time-frame in which the handkerchief factory existed. Only one primary source from the era mentions the factory – the above Dallas Morning News article. However, no primary sources from the Home between 1915-1926 mention the existence of a handkerchief factory. Cody S. Davis, in his thesis “Historical Archaeology at the Berachah Rescue Home” could find no archaeological evidence of a handkerchief factory. He also interviewed several descendants of workers of the Home, all of whom mentioned they had heard about the handkerchief factory, but could not say where exactly it had been located or when it closed.

<sup>48</sup> Janet Crane, “Under New Apartments City’s History Disappearing,” 1970(?), Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, Folder 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections; Katrina Williams, “The small cemetery is by no means a typical burial ground,” *Arlington Citizen Journal*. August 21, 1988.

factory was made in *The Purity Crusader* during the years 1915-1926. The factory itself presented an interesting talking point on the Home, as most recent newspaper articles and oral histories written and taken over the last thirty years claimed the handkerchief factory as a focal point of the Berachah Home and how it operated, though that does not seem to be the case for the majority of the Home's operation.

Rescue homes like the Berachah Home were largely affected by the innovations of the twentieth century. The accessibility of automobiles by the 1920s, the motion picture industry, attendance at local dance halls, and revealing clothing styles caused rescue workers like J.T. Upchurch and his staff to direct their disdain and blame for unwed motherhood on greater society through condemnation of such innovations. Rescue workers claimed that these advances in technology and changes in social patterns negatively affected the American population, leading to more out-of-wedlock pregnancies, and therefore more moral degeneracy.

This degeneracy could be shaped and remade through conversion in rescue homes, especially the Berachah Home, who remained interdenominational, but had close ties with the Nazarene Church. The Home widely participated in camp-style revivals, which were common in the early twentieth century holiness movement, where people traveled long distances to camp and participate in church services put on for days at a time through different evangelist groups. Revivals held at Berachah had popular evangelists in attendance in order to garner large crowds with the hope of increased donations for the Home.

While a part of the holiness movement, the Berachah Home, like other rescue homes, was affected by other popular movements in the United States, including the

eugenics movement and reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan. Berachah supported these movements and revealed close connections with both in *The Purity Crusader* between 1915-1926. These larger trends in American society directly shaped and affected rescue homes in the United States.

Scholarship on rescue homes in the United States has primarily focused on the nationally accredited homes. These sources were imperative to explore for this thesis. The most influential and useful secondary source in the academic discussion on this topic is *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* by Regina G. Kunzel.<sup>49</sup> Kunzel explores the complicated nature of the relationship between the two groups of women in nationally accredited homes at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup> Kunzel studies the evangelical women who started the homes in the late nineteenth century with their roots in religion, and social workers, a part of a new professional field of work in the early twentieth century, with their ties to science. By examining the working relationship between these two groups, Kunzel attempted to see how they affected and shaped the story of the unwed mother. Her explanation of this was brief; asserting the unwed mother, despite rules and contingencies placed upon her by both groups, still became an active historical agent in her own right. However, because her focus was primarily on the staff of these homes, the unwed mother and her child are largely absent from Kunzel's research.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993. Regina Kunzel is a Yale University historian of gender and sexuality.

<sup>50</sup> Kunzel's research is limited mostly to the Salvation Army Homes and Florence Crittenton homes.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 65, 111.

Katherine G. Aiken focused her work, *Harnessing the Power of Motherhood: The National Florence Crittenton Mission 1883-1925*, on the Florence Crittenton Mission homes beginning in the 1880s.<sup>52</sup> Much like Kunzel, Aiken utilized a broad overview of the nationally-accredited Florence Crittenton Homes as a primary example in her work. Aiken also looked at the evangelical women, social workers, and other staff members in these rescue homes as a focal points of her research. However, unlike the scholars before her, Aiken sought to accredit and redeem the women who managed these homes against the historical criticisms of their strict policies and rules for the women they accepted. Aiken claimed that the administrators and staff had their clients' best interests in mind and showed genuine compassion for the women who came to them from all walks of life. While Aiken acknowledged the negative aspects of the work done in the homes, she asserted that they were secondary to the innovations made by the female staff, who were seeking to create a better image for women in American society.<sup>53</sup> However, Aiken's evidence of such innovations and positive outcomes were rooted in Florence Crittenton Mission in-house publications, where the pages were filled with tales of success of susceptible working-class women who were saved from a life of sin. Aiken, with her focus on female Florence Crittenton employees, entirely ignored the unwed mothers who lived in the homes.

Marian J. Morton, unlike Kunzel and Aiken who studied rescue homes on a national level, focused her work, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in*

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<sup>52</sup> Katherine G. Aiken, *Harnessing the Power of Motherhood: The National Florence Crittenton Mission 1883-1925*, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1998)  
Aiken is a professor of history at the University of Idaho.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi.

*Cleveland 1855-1990*, on the local history of rescue homes in Cleveland, Ohio.<sup>54</sup> Morton claimed social welfare began in the home, much like charity, as early as the colonial period lasting into the nineteen-thirties through the New Deal era. Local governments and private welfare agencies were the groups primarily in charge of social welfare in their cities; for this reason, Morton claimed that much of “social welfare history, [wa]s local history.”<sup>55</sup> Broad evaluations of social welfare and rescue homes for unwed mothers provided an imprecise view of social policy as it differed throughout the United States. Morton focused her research chronologically on six different institutions in Cleveland, spanning over 100 years of social welfare services. By exploring these different institutions, Morton highlighted the inequalities of the social system for unwed mothers in Cleveland. However, unlike Kunzel, Morton asserted that unwed mothers were strictly victims, not agents in their own lives, incapable of exercising any sort of power on their own behalf.<sup>56</sup> Morton included little to no information about the female residents who resided in the homes; instead, like Kunzel and Aiken, primarily focused her work on female policymakers in conjunction with the home.

Rickie Solinger, in her work *Wake up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe v. Wade*, explored how race shaped the experience of unwed pregnancy with an emphasis on post-World War Two America.<sup>57</sup> While Solinger focused on the post-war period, she devoted pages to exploring the pre-war understanding of unwed motherhood

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<sup>54</sup> Marian J. Morton, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland 1855-1990* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1993). Morton is a professor of history at John Carroll University.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*. Solinger received her PhD in History from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York and is currently an independent historian and lecturer in the United States.

and rescue homes. She compared this information to postwar beliefs, looking mostly at the nationally accredited homes. Solinger asserted that for both white and African American women in the progressive and pre-war era, the expectation was that these women, while morally damaged and genetically flawed for having sexual relations and conceiving a child out of wedlock, were expected to keep the children they conceived. These children, Solinger insisted, were considered undesirable for adoption and genetically defective because of the situation surrounding their birth.<sup>58</sup>

While it was necessary to turn to secondary sources that focus on rescue homes specifically, the Berachah Home had a close relationship with Church of the Nazarene. As such, it was imperative to look into church and religious history related to the home. Robert S. Ingersol focused his doctoral dissertation, “Burden of Dissent: Mary Lee Cagle and the Southern Holiness Movement” on Mary Lee Cagle, an important female evangelist who chose to dissent against her family’s beliefs to preach and to eventually become an ordained minister for the Church of the Nazarene in the early twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> Ingersol asserted that Cagle knew J.T. Upchurch, the founder of the Berachah Home, and influenced several of the Home matrons with her spiritual message.<sup>60</sup> Ingersol further asserted that rescue homes like the Berachah Home, founded with close ties to the Church of the Nazarene, differed from other homes founded outside the pale of Nazarene beliefs, through typical Social Gospel in the progressive movement. Instead, Ingersol claimed the Berachah Industrial Home represented more of a populist form of social

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 8-9, 149, 151.

<sup>59</sup> Robert S. Ingersol, “Burden of Dissent: Mary Lee Cagle and the Southern Holiness Movement.” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1989). Ingersol received his PhD in Theology from Duke University. He is currently the denominational archivist for the Church of the Nazarene at their headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 224.

Christianity.<sup>61</sup> By using the term “populist” Ingersol claimed that the Church of the Nazarene represented the ideas and interests of ordinary people, whereas Social Gospel did not. Ingersol, like Aiken, used much of the in-home publications, written by staff members of the Berachah Home, to justify his argument, the unwed mother absent from his writing.

With the Berachah Home tied to local Dallas and Fort Worth vice districts, it was necessary to look at the following theses based around them. Both Gwinnetta M. Crowell and Jessica M. Webb explored these districts in Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, at the turn of the twentieth century, in their masters’ theses.<sup>62</sup> Crowell and Webb examined the response of locals to prostitution in their cities, including rescue worker J.T. Upchurch. Crowell and Webb claim the early intentions of the Home, to house former prostitutes and rehabilitate them for society, were neither feasible nor successful. Most prostitutes did not want to surrender their freedom for several years or lose the better income they earned through commercialized sex.<sup>63</sup> The unwed mother became a more practical client for the Berachah Home, as she had a physical child to keep her at the Home for the enforced amount of time.

“The Power of Observation: Dallas Progressives and Prostitutes at the Turn of the Century,” a master’s thesis by Leah L. Ochoa, argued that early progressive reformers in the Dallas area, such as J.T. Upchurch, used a form of sensational journalism in order to

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>62</sup> Gwinnetta Malone Crowell. “To Keep Those Red Lights Burning: Dallas’ Response to Prostitution, 1874 to 1913” (Master’s thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 2009); Jessica Michelle Webb, “They Sold Their Bodies: Prostitution, Economics, and ‘Fallen Women’ in Fort Worth’s Hell’s Half Acre, 1876-1919” (Master’s thesis, Texas Christian University, 2014).

<sup>63</sup> Crowell, 51. Webb, 72.

draw attention to the ills of prostitution, as well as to the Berachah Home.<sup>64</sup> A different approach than Crowell and Webb on the topic, Ochoa claimed that Upchurch circumvented the Comstock law, which prevented the mailings of salacious content, because he was both the editor and the publisher of *The Purity Journal* and *The Purity Crusader*, both of which he mailed to forty-five states and over ten foreign countries.<sup>65</sup> These voyeuristic tactics transformed poverty and prostitution into visual entertainment for middle and upper class citizens in the Dallas area, and around the world. This led to increased fundraising income for the Berachah Home.<sup>66</sup> Ochoa argued that these tactics used by Upchurch, while not necessarily successful in bringing in prostitutes to the home, were successful in providing funding.

The following article and thesis focus specifically on the Berachah Home during its years of operation for unwed mothers. Gerald D. Saxon, in his 1993 article “The Berachah Home: A Home for the Homeless and a Friend to the Friendless” argued that Berachah was a needed and was a positive progressive venture by J.T. Upchurch in the Dallas area at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>67</sup> Saxon claimed that through research of ledgers and newspaper articles, multiple women per month were not accepted to the home due to space restrictions. Those who were accepted, Saxon claimed, appeared to have been “lucky.”<sup>68</sup> Saxon also stated that the ledgers revealed “graphic proof” of the need for the Berachah Home, due to the troubling backgrounds of the young women seeking acceptance. Saxon leaves out vital information provided in the ledgers to make

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<sup>64</sup> Leah L. Ochoa, “The Power of Observation: Dallas Progressives and the Prostitutes at the Turn of the Century” (Master’s thesis, Texas A&M University-Commerce, 2016) 41.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 37, 41.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>67</sup> Gerald D. Saxon, “The Berachah Home: A Home for the Homeless and a Friend to the Friendless,” *Legacies: History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 31.



this argument.<sup>69</sup> This thesis explores the women found inside these ledgers as well as what was and was not being said about them, and how this affected their lives inside the Home.

Cody S. Davis, in his master's thesis "Historical Archaeology at the Berachah Rescue Home: A Holistic Approach and Analysis of an Industrial Homestead in Arlington, Texas" explored the Berachah Home through an anthropological lens, archival research, oral history interviews, and archaeological excavations of the former site of the home in Arlington, Texas.<sup>70</sup> While Davis claimed archival research as one of the main three components to reveal a holistic view of the Berachah Home, few archival documents were cited in relation to the historical aspects of his research. In turn, he depended upon oral histories recorded much later and Saxon's 1993 article about the home.<sup>71</sup> However, Davis did provide multiple maps, photos, and figures to give an accurate depiction of the location of buildings on the Berachah Home property; these are not found in other publications used for this research.

The most closely-related and influential thesis specifically on the Berachah Home was "'Trophies from the Slums': Fallen Women and Texas Rescue Workers" by Kathryn Beth Tovo.<sup>72</sup> Tovo's work considered the Berachah Home in Arlington, Texas and Rest Cottage, a similar home affiliated with the Church of the Nazarene in Pilot Point, Texas. Tovo explored the assumptions and motives of rescue workers in these homes and how unwed mothers and residents interpreted reform ideologies in the early

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>70</sup> Cody S. Davis, "Historical Archaeology at the Berachah Home: A Holistic Approach and Analysis of an Industrial Homestead in Arlington, Texas" (Master's thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 2009) 4.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 27-42.

<sup>72</sup> Kathryn B. Tovo, "'Trophies from the Slums': Fallen Women and Texas Rescue Workers" (Master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1993).

twentieth century. Tovo's research, while compelling, failed to fully delve into the Berachah Home with the attempt to understand life of the unwed mothers and children. Tovo derived her ideas from the early publications of the *Purity Journal*, especially before 1910. Her research, however, barely explores the Berachah Home between 1915-1926.

To better understand the Berachah Home, an explanation of the Home's goals and the specific criteria used for admittance is needed. The Home had specific goals in mind, not only for the unwed mother but also for the Home overall. The Home shifted away from its work with prostitutes, around 1917-1918 and the focus became primarily the unwed mother.<sup>73</sup> The unwed mother herself had to fit into a certain category before she qualified to be considered for acceptance into the Berachah Home. The most common attribute seen amongst accepted women was race. Berachah only accepted white women for spiritual redemption. While not listed as a formal, explicit rule for the Berachah Home, Home ledgers, census records, and *The Purity Crusader* reveal a pattern of blatant racism against all non-white women. No record exists of an African American woman accepted into the Home between 1915-1926. Census records for 1920 and 1930 reveal a solid white cast of unwed mothers in the Home.<sup>74</sup> On May 1, 1923, a white woman applied who had twin infant children noted as being of "negro extraction," and neither

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<sup>73</sup> Hell's Half Acre Historical Marker, UncoveredTexas.com; J.T. Upchurch, "Government Closes Vice District:The Waco, Texas, Legalized Reservation of Crime Ceases to Be," *The Purity Crusader*, September 1917, 1; The federal government, between the years 1917 and 1918, closed the majority of red-light districts due to their proximity to military bases and the need to protect soldiers from venereal diseases during WWI.

<sup>74</sup> 1920 United States Federal Census, Heritage Quest, accessed October 18, 2017; 1930 United States Federal Census, Heritage Quest, accessed April 30, 2018; Census record for 1910 could not be acquired.

she nor her children were accepted into Berachah.<sup>75</sup> In August of 1921 a Spanish girl who had only been in the United States for nine months applied to Berachah and she was not accepted.<sup>76</sup> While the ledger holds no notation that this Spanish woman was rejected based on her race, there were multiple women who applied within days of her, who were accepted, and others who were not because of a lack of space. However, for her the notation it only said “[not] accepted.”<sup>77</sup> A similar story was noted in December 1920, when a Mexican woman applied, yet like the Spanish woman, she was not accepted.<sup>78</sup>

Rescue workers in the early twentieth century often argued that women, especially African American women, were not applying to rescue homes in the same capacity as white women. The reason cited was that the African American community did not entertain the same stigmas of unwed pregnancy as the white community. The African American community would often work together to accommodate the unwed mother, in these circumstances thinking nothing of her status as unmarried.<sup>79</sup> However, recent scholarship has delved deeper into this understanding, revealing that rescue workers often seized on these ideas of illegitimacy meaning something different in the African American community as a reason to not accept women of color.<sup>80</sup> That these rescue workers would so readily embrace this idea alluded to belief that women of color were presumed to be more naturally promiscuous and simultaneously maternal, based on

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<sup>75</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 66.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Applications Ledger, 1917-1920, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 48.

<sup>79</sup> Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (Ann Arbor, MI: Yale University Press, 1993), 71-72.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

stereotypes, again making it seem like the rescue home was not an appropriate or needed place for them.<sup>81</sup> However, some rescue homes were integrated, especially above the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>82</sup>

The Berachah Home also refused women of low mental and physical capacity. Any woman deemed to be of low intelligence or having a mental deficiency was not accepted. Often noted as “half-witted,” “mentally defective,” and “feeble-minded,” these women were quickly rejected by the Berachah Home.<sup>83</sup> In one instance, a mother brought in her twenty-four-year-old daughter who had been kicked in the head by a horse at the age of seven. Noted as being “undeveloped” mentally, the Home refused her.<sup>84</sup> Berachah justified this choice by claiming that even the best schools in the nation opted out of educating the “mentally deformed” due to them being unprofitable and unfavorable.<sup>85</sup> Physically, for acceptance, a woman needed to be in good health before admittance into the Home. Women were often rejected for being “diseased,” while specifics on symptoms or the type of disease were wholly left out, this similar sort of rhetoric was common for rescue homes to use in the early twentieth century when referring to venereal diseases.<sup>86</sup> Applications for these women were often made by police and juvenile officers, as the women were already in legal custody, where the state of their venereal disease had become public knowledge.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe v. Wade*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000) x.

<sup>82</sup> See Marian J. Morton’s book *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland 1855-1990*.

<sup>83</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, Berachah Home Collection, 24;

A.M. Ferry, “BERACHAH, A Character Building Institution,” *The Purity Crusader*, November 1923, 4.

<sup>84</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, 12.

<sup>85</sup> A.M. Ferry, “BERACHAH, A Character Building Institution,” 4.

<sup>86</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 18.

<sup>87</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, 66, 88.

While age played a role in the acceptance of women at Berachah, it was not as significant as the previously mentioned reasons for rejection. Women of all ages were accepted, with the most common ages running anywhere from thirteen to late twenties. However, it was not unusual for a woman in her late thirties to be accepted.<sup>88</sup> *The Purity Crusader* consistently targeted teenaged girls as their primary age group of women in danger of falling from grace.<sup>89</sup>

Women were also rejected based on moral rules created by the Home. A formal list of these rules was unavailable for research purposes; however, the Berachah Home ledgers reveal descriptive reasoning for why women were rejected based on Home rules. Women who were already legally married were rejected from the Home often, even though most cases of this situation mentioned fear and abuse of the mother and children by the husband and father.<sup>90</sup> Women who were widowed with children were also consistently rejected by the Home.<sup>91</sup> Since Berachah considered themselves to be in the business of saving the souls of erring girls, women who were legally married before God, were not considered to fall under the umbrella of redemption needs. If a woman's soul did not need to be saved from sin, but rather just her family from poverty or harm, then Berachah typically made no effort or space for them inside the Home.

The same situation applied for girls and women who had not had sex before marriage. These women were considered "not fallen," therefore, they did not need religious redemption like the other women accepted into the Home. However, many of

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>89</sup> Hattie Saylor, "Public Dance Halls," *The Purity Crusader*, August 1921, 2.

<sup>90</sup> Applications Ledger, 1917-1920, 24, 37, 40;

On rare occasions the ledgers reveal married women taken in by the Home, however these seem to only be under special circumstances.

<sup>91</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, 25, 27.

these women were trying to escape some sort of peril in their lives. On November 17, 1921 a seventeen-year-old woman from Oklahoma City applied to the Berachah Home in an attempt to “get away from her young step-father.” She was rejected admission into the Home, the notation stating, “not fallen, refused.”<sup>92</sup>

Unwed mothers with multiple children, fathered by the same man or not, were also often rejected by the Home.<sup>93</sup> These women were considered “repeat offenders” and were noted as “unwise to take under [the] circumstances.”<sup>94</sup> These women were considered a lost cause, as they did not atone for their sins after their first unwed pregnancy, but instead continued to live a life of sin. Rescue home workers often found women like this to be a dangerous threat and a bad influence to other women in the Home.<sup>95</sup> Later in the twentieth century, some states would move to enact laws mandating either imprisonment or sterilization of women who had multiple children out of wedlock.<sup>96</sup>

Women were also rejected admittance into the Berachah Home due to the desire to give up their child for adoption. The Berachah Home built its foundation on the premise of keeping mother and child together. When listing the Home’s most prominent principles, keeping mother and child together stood promptly as the first and most valued rule.<sup>97</sup> Women were not allowed, under any circumstances, to give their children away through Berachah. Upchurch and the staff at Berachah had no issue rejecting women who

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>93</sup> On the rare occasion the Home did accept women with up to two children, however this seems to be only under special circumstances.

<sup>94</sup> Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 3;  
Applications ledger 1920-1923, 27.

<sup>95</sup> Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 107.

<sup>96</sup> Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 23.

<sup>97</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1924, 3.

wanted to utilize adoption, though not because the Home was interested in the bond between mother and child being broken; rather, they considered adoption a way of covering up sin. Upchurch insisted that women who gave their children away were attempting to “cover up their dark sins of social impurity.”<sup>98</sup> He also believed that by taking children away from their mothers, the mother became a candidate to become a second offender, because she had not learned her lesson through bearing the weight of sin that accompanied the birth and raising of her first illegitimate child.<sup>99</sup> Upchurch believed that women were to bear the burden of their sins for the remainder of their lifetime, which meant keeping their illegitimate children. The Berachah Home did not stand alone in these beliefs. The Florence Crittenton Homes allowed adoption occasionally; however, this seemed to vary by home and location, though it was against the national organization’s policy for many of the same reasons as the Berachah Home.<sup>100</sup>

To emphasize the importance of keeping mother and child together, several of the redeemed unwed mothers performed a play called “Behind the Scarlet Mask” at the Berachah Home nineteenth anniversary celebration in May 1921.<sup>101</sup> This play followed the life of a woman named Violet Verner who gave her child away and had no choice but to turn to work as a prostitute in the Dallas vice district. The man who fathered her illegitimate child ultimately murdered Violet’s father and brother, the only people in her life who could help her. In turn Violet became a sort of “Vampire Queen” who ruled the

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<sup>98</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Some Facts You Should Know,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 7.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>100</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 33.

<sup>101</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Berachah’s Nineteenth Anniversary,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1921, 3; Several years later Upchurch would publish a book with the same title, however, it appears that the content of the book differs from that of the play. The author of the play is not mentioned in *The Purity Crusader*.

vice district creating her own “scarlet empire” of the underworld.<sup>102</sup> Eventually, the law caught Violet and sentenced her to death; however, the judge who sentenced her was the man who had fathered her child and killed her family members years before. Ultimately, the officer who had been ordered to execute Violet was revealed to be the child she had given away. The moral of this titillating tale, put on by the Berachah Home, was a direct critique of what happened when women did not keep their children born out of wedlock.

While the Home only accepted a narrow selection of women for redemption, they had high goals and strict rules for them to follow. Berachah intended to take these unwed mothers, these “poor fallen girl[s],” and bring them back to “a state of usefulness.”<sup>103</sup> *The Purity Crusader* emphasized this phrase repeatedly over the course of the eleven years of this study.<sup>104</sup> To be useful upon leaving Berachah meant several things for the unwed mother. To begin the process of becoming a useful citizen through Berachah, an unwed mother had to confess her sins.<sup>105</sup> She also had to experience religious conversion through the Home, regardless of her prior religious alignment. She had to spend at least one year in the Home. This year was required; if an unwed mother chose to leave before the one year mark, she was considered “dishonorably dismissed” and not a useful citizen. If a woman stayed beyond the one-year mark, but never experienced religious conversion, she was not considered “useful” based on Berachah’s standards and had to be

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Hattye Saylor, “Office Notes,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1916, 5.

<sup>104</sup> Mary Ausbury “The Valley of Regrets,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1917, 5;  
J.T. Upchurch, “Berachah’s Objective,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1925, 4;  
Fannie Cooper, “Zeta Sigma Society” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1922, 6;  
Hattye Saylor, “Office Notes,” July 1916, 5;  
J.T. Upchurch, “You and Berachah,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1919, 1.

<sup>105</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Berachah Conference,” *The Purity Crusader*, November 1917, 6. Specifics on religious redemption through the home will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two.



“dealt with in other ways.”<sup>106</sup> However, records of these other practices were unobtainable for this study. The final step and ultimate goal in the process of restoring an unwed mother to usefulness was marriage. Berachah considered themselves to be in the business of creating useful, moral women to “furnish as wives” to the men of the United States.<sup>107</sup> Upchurch proudly shared the marriage of one of the Berachah girls in the January 1921 edition of *The Purity Crusader*, claiming that marriage made her a “true womanly redeemed girl.”<sup>108</sup> According to Upchurch, men wanted wives, and they would not marry immoral women with children born out of wedlock unless they were properly redeemed.<sup>109</sup> An unwed mother could not be considered fully a useful asset to society without marriage to an honorable man.

The following thesis will explore the Berachah Home and attempt to better understand the life of the unwed mothers and children who came to live there between 1915-1926. Chapter Two of this study takes a deeper look into the innovations of the early twentieth century and how the Berachah Home interpreted both technological and social change and used these interpretations to explain why women participated in sexual intercourse before marriage. Yet while Berachah focused on some social changes, the Home did not acknowledge major social problems such as rape and incest. By ignoring these problems, Berachah catered to the double-standard against the unwed mother, whom they claimed to advocate for.

Chapter Three of this study delves into the strict and rigorous redemption process that all unwed mothers at Berachah were to go through, as well as the fundraising process

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Our Deadly Peril,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1919, 5.

<sup>108</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Another Wedding in Berachah,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1921, 6.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

of the Home. To be redeemed at Berachah, while an arduous process, provided opportunities to the unwed mothers in the Home, which were unavailable to those “unredeemed.” Simultaneously, the redeemed women were exploited at Home camp revivals and meetings as spectacles to garner attention, sympathy, and ultimately donations from attendees. The Home sponsored many funding campaigns, of which funding goals were rarely met, with needs exaggerated exponentially. Most women rarely met Berachah’s moral standards of redemption upon leaving, limiting Berachah’s success rate, based on their own standards, to less than fifteen percent.

Chapter Four discusses the children of the Berachah Home, and the Home’s perception of them based on their status as “illegitimate” children or children born out of wedlock. The Home claimed that these children had a permanent, dark stain on their lives; however, they suggest that training these children was a possibility, though only through increased donations. However, the Berachah Home contradicted their own message about these children through their support of the eugenics movement. Simultaneously, the Home supported the Ku Klux Klan, exposing the Home as exclusive, based on race and religion of both the unwed mother and her children. Yet even the women who met Berachah’s specific standards were considered to have little to no agency in their own lives, revealing again, the Home’s lack of consistency in meeting their own standards and contradicting their message overall.

This thesis argues that the Berachah Home was heavily influenced by societal innovations and movements between 1915-1926 and while creating their own morality goals for the women and children in their care, the Home consistently catered to the stigma of unwed motherhood in larger society, rarely met their moral goals, and often

contradicted their own message. A significant distinction of this research lies in its attempt to reveal and include the experiences and voices of the unwed mothers and children who lived in the Berachah Home, who have typically been left out of most historical scholarship on this topic. However, Berachah Home records were limited, with the majority of primary sources available written, or filtered by Berachah Home staff members. Much of the primary source evidence used in this research will come from *The Purity Crusader*, a periodical published on the Berachah Home property, and from private Berachah Home ledgers.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ROAD TO BERACHAH

The years leading up to the 1920s ushered in a new outlook on life. With the occurrence and end of World War I and the closure of most vice districts in the United States, rescue homes like the Berachah Home began to primarily focus on the unwed mother. This happened for several reasons, the main one being that prostitution was not as common since the forced closure of vice districts. Though prostitution still existed, it was much harder to seek out, as it had to go fully underground. Another reason for the focus on unwed mothers was that premarital sexual intercourse went up significantly after World War I, with four-fifths of men and over half of women in the United States admitting to participating in these acts.<sup>110</sup>

This upward surge in participation in sexual acts stems directly from the specific change from “calling” to “dating” that took place in the late nineteen-teens and earlier in more urbanized areas.<sup>111</sup> Calling and most courtship prior to dating took place in the home of the female, where the interested male would meet her family, have refreshments, visit with everyone in a group, and, if well-liked by the family, would be encouraged to call again. As the courtship progressed, the potential couple could be allowed to sit in a different room, or even on the porch, but all social engagement took place in the home

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<sup>110</sup>David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940*, (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee Publisher, 2004), 134.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 132.

under the watchful eye of family. These customs were common for most social classes in the United States.<sup>112</sup>

Dating changed all of these customs, beginning mostly in urban areas, due to opportunities outside the home being greater in the city. Couples considered to be courting, gradually began to go out on dates outside the home which had less supervision, though they would often still be in crowds of people at restaurants, movie theaters, and dance halls. The automobile changed this even further, extending a connection to city life to those who did not live directly in urban areas.<sup>113</sup> While calling traditionally had been performed with the explicit intent to acquire a wife or husband, dating, by comparison, became an aspect of social entertainment that did not necessarily bear the weight of expected permanence like calling had. Women started rebelling against the “Victorianism” practices of their parents, many engaging in dating and premarital sex willingly, claiming that their nightly escapades at dance halls with different men were part of a new, modern set of moral standards their parents’ generation did not understand.<sup>114</sup> Dating became a casual aspect of life for young Americans and an utter nightmare for the evangelicals who ran rescue homes like the Berachah Home. The women who came to the Berachah Home between 1915-1926 came from different homes and different locations, some of which still practiced the old “calling” and some that allowed “dating.” While some women came to the Berachah Home alone and pregnant, having fallen from grace through a broken relationship, others arrived at Berachah through means outside their control.

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 110.

This chapter argues that the Berachah Home inadvertently catered to larger society's understanding of unwed motherhood rather than battling against it as they claimed, by not recognizing rape cases amongst their residents, blaming the unwed mothers' parents and new societal innovations of twentieth century for out-of-wedlock pregnancy, and further adding to the double-standard against women in American society. While claiming to push for a better society for these women to return to, the Berachah Home morally suppressed the unwed mothers under their care and added to the stigma of unwed motherhood in greater society by tying these topics to larger moral problems that Berachah fell short of fully understanding.

Regardless of who, when, or where, the women who ended up in the Berachah Home between 1915-1926 were all women who had sexual intercourse before marriage, with the most tell-tale sign of the act being pregnancy. The Home predominantly built its purpose, its message, and its hopes for the future around the redemption of women who had been involved in the act of sexual intercourse resulting in pregnancy. However, for all the importance that sexual intercourse and pregnancy had to the Home, its ability to get donations, and the continuation of their religious mission to save these women's souls, the terms "sexual intercourse" and "pregnancy" were never used in the Home's monthly periodical, *The Purity Crusader*.<sup>115</sup>

When discussing a woman who had sexual intercourse in *The Purity Crusader*, the actual act was rarely explicitly mentioned. Instead, sex was referred to in descriptive, yet elusive rhetoric. One article, claimed to have been written by Dorothy Carter, an

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<sup>115</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary Online, both the term "sexual intercourse" and "pregnancy" and variations of both terms, existed in the English language centuries before the Berachah Industrial Home opened its doors in 1903.

unwed mother in the Berachah Home who had recently passed away, described sexual intercourse as a woman who “unfolded her petals which withered one by one at the touch of the blighter, and fell to the earth in humiliation.”<sup>116</sup> Essentially, Dorothy’s description captures the act itself; however, it also connects it to shame and humiliation that the Home asserted came directly after. Other descriptions of sexual intercourse in *The Purity Crusader* follow largely the same pattern. “Keeping company with young gentlemen,” or even “being robbed of the brightest jewel of [her] life,” were popular and common descriptions of sex.<sup>117</sup> Sometimes the author alluded to the act with simple descriptions like, “Flora had fallen.”<sup>118</sup> Articles that discuss sexual intercourse before marriage, even when not talking about a specific woman, describe the act of becoming an unwed mother “unnatural, inhuman and ungodly.”<sup>119</sup> The private ledgers kept by the Berachah Home revealed much of the same language, albeit less descriptive. Many women were described as “ruined” or “betrayed” by a man in their life, with the physical act removed from the description altogether.<sup>120</sup>

Like sexual intercourse, the term “pregnancy” and other variations were not used in *The Purity Crusader*. When describing Dorothy Carter’s journey to the home, she was discussed as leaving Oklahoma on a train wishing to “shield her loved ones from open

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<sup>116</sup> Dorothy Carter, “Blighted Beauty,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1917, 2.

<sup>117</sup> “What One Erring Girl Faced,” *The Purity Crusader*, September 1925, 4;

Cora Minick, “Berachah as I See It,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1917, 8.

<sup>118</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat, Tragic Story of a Man Who Never Smiled,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1917, 6.

<sup>119</sup> “Mother” Sieber, “Restoring a Birthright,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1916, 2.

<sup>120</sup> Admittance Ledger, 1916-1918, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, Folder 7, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 40, 50, 52, 54; Admittance Ledger, 1922-1923, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, unnumbered page, July 7, 1922, 8.

disgrace.”<sup>121</sup> A similar story about a local teacher described how she had to leave the town she worked in and sought a shelter to “hide her disgrace,” meaning the physical signs of pregnancy.<sup>122</sup> In other articles, the fact that the woman in the story had become pregnant was entirely left out, with only the description of a fairy-tale, too good to be true relationship, abruptly ended by “the day of reckoning.”<sup>123</sup> This was the day her family found out about her “pitiful tale of wrong-doing,” when society closed its doors in her face saying “her kind enters not.”<sup>124</sup> Pregnancy was the only obvious tell of sexual intercourse before marriage; otherwise, her family and society would not have had to find out about her premarital relations.

This caustic use of rhetoric in *The Purity Crusader* reveals the intense amount of shame that surrounded unwed motherhood in the early twentieth century. Some historians suggest that unwed motherhood and illegitimate children did not truly become a crisis until sometime in the nineteenth century, with feelings of shame and disgust at unwed mothers becoming a normal reaction for people across the United States.<sup>125</sup> The act of sexual intercourse and the resulting pregnancy outside of marriage was considered so shameful that even the Berachah Home, whose mission surrounded helping unwed mothers, could not openly talk about these topics in their own publications without using terms like “shame” and “disgrace.” While trying to create awareness for the cause of the “erring girl,” the Berachah Home added to the stigma of unwed motherhood in the early

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<sup>121</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Resurrection Lillies,” *The Purity Crusader*, April 1917, 1.

<sup>122</sup> C.C., “Shall My Girl Dance,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1923, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Jack Maxwell, “The Unpaid Debt,” *The Purity Crusader*, April 1923, 5.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 66-67.



twentieth century, by confirming and reiterating the shame surrounding the matter in greater society.

Many unwed mothers who came to Berachah were counted as women who fell under the “old, old story,” a common rhetoric often used by the evangelical women who ran rescue homes. The “old, old story” consisted of a weak woman, both mentally and physically, who fell in love easily and trusted a man who ultimately betrayed her, leaving her alone, unmarried, and pregnant.<sup>126</sup> This theme can be seen throughout *The Purity Crusader*, especially in the fictionalized narratives of warning, which were fiction stories written by Berachah staff members, meant to enthrall, warn, and terrify their readers. These were published often throughout this eleven-year study. Such stories of warning often revealed a “tempter,” the male villain of the tale, who appeared kindly, the son of someone important, but merely under the “guise of a true lover.”<sup>127</sup> The man in these tales always had ill intentions for the innocent woman in his sights. A narrative of warning detailed the ill intentions of Clarence Doggett as he watched Flora, his intended lover:

He watched every move of her fingers as an eagle watches its prey. He wanted to swoop down upon this harmless maiden and bury his poisoned talons in her delicate flesh, then soar away to his den and there bit by bit, take from her the charms by which he was charmed. His diseased brain had long since refused to admit wholesome thought. His affection was desire, passion, everything animal, nothing noble.<sup>128</sup>

The fictional character Clarence had every intention of using Flora for his own sexual ends, with the idea of love and marriage only words he would use to lure Flora and fool her into having sexual intercourse with him.

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

<sup>127</sup> Jack Maxwell, “The Unpaid Debt,” April 1923, 5.

<sup>128</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 2.

The evangelical workers at the Berachah Home firmly believed in the “old, old story,” not merely for tales of warnings to their readers, as the Home ledgers reveal similar realities.<sup>129</sup> Many women, upon entering the Home, were listed as “betrayed by sweetheart” and “betrayed by lover.”<sup>130</sup> Historian Regina Kunzel, argued that this same theme could be seen in other rescue homes of the era, and that it offered important clues to how rescue workers understood their work in rescue homes and the unwed mothers under their care.<sup>131</sup> By applying the “old, old story” to many women who came to live at Berachah, the Home essentially created a stereotype: a woman who, through her ignorance, her innocence, and her own passivity became an unwed mother. These were all attributes the Berachah Home could fix, and gave an easy explanation for how and why good girls were falling into lives of sin. This explanation gave the evangelicals of the Berachah Home hope. The unwed mother, though she had fallen into a life of sin that could never be fully absolved, could be redeemed; through her innocence and trusting nature, she fell victim to a villain, the animalistic male counterpart present in all versions of the “old, old story” told by Berachah and other rescue homes.<sup>132</sup> While inculcating the male counterpart as a villain, the stories rarely expected them to take any form of serious blame for their actions. Many of the men’s names were written in Home ledgers; however, their names were rarely, if ever, made public in *The Purity Crusader*.<sup>133</sup>

The “old, old story” does not make reference to or include sexual assault or rape of the women who became residents of the Berachah Home. According to the Oxford

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<sup>129</sup> An explanation of the Home ledgers can be found in the introduction on page 3.

<sup>130</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, 7, 18.

<sup>131</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 1993, 22.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Some examples of men whose names are mentioned in the ledgers: Admittance Ledger, 1918-1920, 24, 30, 36; Admittance ledger 1918-1920, 40, 44, 60.

English Dictionary, the term “rape” means “to violate (a person) sexually, *esp.* (of a man) to force (a woman) to have sexual intercourse against her will,” with the word’s origin in this context dating back to the sixteenth century.<sup>134</sup> The term rape was never utilized in any Berachah documents, including both *The Purity Crusader* and the private ledgers kept by the Home.

Unwanted sexual advances by men, especially for working women were common and well-known by 1920s, with little legal protections available to women of all ages and social classes. While unions were able to enact protective legislations that helped shield women from overly-demanding physical labor, there was little to nothing done to protect women from unwanted sexual advances in the work place, with even less protection for women outside the working environment.<sup>135</sup>

Berachah’s lack of usage of the term rape does not mean that the act did not exist or occur to women who entered the Home. In the February 1916 edition of *The Purity Crusader*, a woman noted as Bertha, an unwed mother at the Berachah Home, shared her story of what led her to Berachah. She had been keeping company with a boy who was determined to ruin her, and claimed she “was not over persuaded but [she] was overpowered,” by him.<sup>136</sup> The story does not reveal his name, nor does it place any real blame on the male as a person; rather, it goes on to discuss how Bertha was thankful to the Berachah Home for taking her in, though her life had been blighted, and that what little family she had had not forsaken her.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Oxford English Dictionary online: n.3 rape.

<sup>135</sup> Sascha Cohen, “A Brief history of Sexual Harrassment in America Before Anita Hill,” *Time Magazine*, April 11, 2016, <http://time.com/4286575/sexual-harassment-before-anita-hill/>

<sup>136</sup> Bertha H, “Arachna’s Web: My Life Story,” *The Purity Crusader*, February 1916, 6.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

A similar story was written in the August 1919 *Purity Crusader*, where a young fifteen-year-old girl was described as “wronged by her lover” and “cruelly betrayed [by her lover] into the wicked clutches of the rounders of that town.”<sup>138</sup> The language used here clearly reveals rape and sexual assault of this young woman by said men. She fled town after she was assaulted, but was brought back by her father, where she “confessed her sins” and “gave the names of the seven young men who were implicated in her defilement.”<sup>139</sup> These men were later arrested after the court learned of the girl’s age, which made it a penitentiary offense, since the age of consent in Texas was eighteen.<sup>140</sup> However, had she been older, the men would have gone without consequences for raping her.

In both of these cases, the women who were sexually assaulted were blamed for sinning and losing their virginity, despite being forced against their will to have sex. The Berachah Home still considered these women and others like them to be fallen women who had erred against God and needed to be redeemed, rather than looking at the larger problem in society, where men could force women to have sexual relations with little consequence. By not recognizing this larger problem, the Berachah Home revealed the significant influence larger society had on the way the Home was operated.

Incestuous relationships were also commonly seen in this era, with many women coming into the home impregnated by close male members of their family.<sup>141</sup> On May 12,

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<sup>138</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “The Red Lanterns of Warnings,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1919, 2; According to yourdictionary.com, a Rounder is someone who is defined as frequently drunk or shows immoral or improper conduct.

<sup>139</sup> Upchurch, “The Red Lanterns of Warnings,” August 1919, 2.

<sup>140</sup> Stephen Robertson, “Age of Consent Laws,” Children & Youth in History, University of Sydney, Australia, accessed May 4, 2018, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/case-studies/230>.

<sup>141</sup> Kunzel claims that home ledgers across the nation reveal incest quite often. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 109.

1922 a thirteen-year-old girl with a small baby applied for entrance into Berachah, with the ledger listing the girl's eighteen-year-old brother as her child's father.<sup>142</sup> The brother was noted as "sent to Reformatory," however what became of him through legal actions was not listed. In February 1923, eighteen-year-old Minnie Cantrell applied for entrance into Berachah, her "father responsible for [her] downfall."<sup>143</sup> Just one month later, in April 1923, another girl applied to the Home, "her father and brother in jail charged with her ruin."<sup>144</sup> These were just a few examples of women at Berachah who were victims of incestuous relationships with men in their family. While it does appear that some men faced legal action, what remained unclear about these situations was the lack of explanation regarding consent on the part of the women.

Whether these women who were impregnated by their family members willingly participated or were forced to have sexual relations will never be known, because they were all labeled under the same basic context in Home ledgers. Women who were "ruined" or "betrayed" by their lovers were listed using the same language as those in incestuous relationships: "ruined" or "betrayed" by a member of their family. Since no distinction was made between the two, it remains impossible to track the number of women who were sexually assaulted and raped, leading to pregnancy and residence at the Berachah Home. Startlingly, this realization reveals that the Berachah Home did not care how a woman lost her purity, whether willing or against her will; either way, both types of women had sexual relations prior to marriage and, according to Berachah, both required redemption of their souls.

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<sup>142</sup> Application Ledger, 1920-1923, 36.

<sup>143</sup> Application ledger 1920-1923, 62.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 64.

The Berachah Home spent many pages in the *The Purity Crusader* finding and placing blame on people or societal choices as to why women were becoming unwed mothers. The parents of the unwed mother were the most consistently blamed by the Berachah Home during the eleven years of this study. Upchurch claimed that “we have very little trouble with the girl: but we do have great trouble with the parents *who have let the girl slip through their hands to ruin.*”<sup>145</sup> Parents were often blamed in *The Purity Crusader* for holding a certain amount of fear when it came to their children. One issue of *The Purity Crusader* claimed that parents from all social classes seemed to “lack initiative” when it came to parenting, and were afraid to express their opinions to their children.<sup>146</sup> Because of this, parents allowed their children to seek entertainment outside the home without supervision, leading to promiscuous acts and unwed motherhood.

Berachah also insisted that this fear was connected directly to parental ignorance, relaxed attitudes about children, and the staunch refusal to believe that their sons or daughters could go out and do anything less than honorable.<sup>147</sup> Upchurch claimed that because of current society, children knew more “of the ways of the world at thirteen than their parents knew at twenty,” leading to children participating in more mature acts earlier in life. These relaxed tendencies led to unwed mothers who reached the Home and automatically rejected the strict rules and firm matrons who were to govern the entirety of their stay.<sup>148</sup> However, the matron of Berachah, Nettie Norwood, claimed that this issue was not particularly a problem with the rules at the Berachah Home, but rather a problem with the home life of the women coming to stay at Berachah. If these unwed mothers had

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<sup>145</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Some Facts You Should Know,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 5.

<sup>146</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Children are the Criminals of Today,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1922, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Nettie Norwood, “Home Notes,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1918, 3.

a strict, but loving home to begin with, they would not have ended up at Berachah at all.<sup>149</sup>

Authors in *The Purity Crusader* also claimed that parents needed to be more honest with their children and provide them with sexual education. Sexual education could in turn be used as a weapon against the social evil of sex before marriage. One article claimed that it was better to tell children, even at the young age of six years old, the truth, rather than false stories like that of the stork. If a child grew up believing in those made up stories, as many did, then they remained ignorant of what reality awaited them, leading young girls to be preyed on by men, not knowing to resist his sexual advances.<sup>150</sup> This argument made by the Home presented an interesting, yet conflicting view of children in the early twentieth century. In all narratives of warning presented by the Home, the male counterpart was portrayed as well aware of his actions and over-educated when it came to sexual intercourse. Often, these men were of similar age to the woman in question, though sometimes a few years older. Yet the Home claimed that all children were improperly educated about sex. How were young males able to learn about sex and the stealing of young women's virtue if they were uneducated about the very topic? The Home does not present an answer to this question, nor do authors of *The Purity Crusader* address their perpetual hesitance to speak frankly and directly about sexual intercourse in their articles.

While parental blame was often placed on both parents, many times the blame was placed primarily on the mother of the unwed mother. As women started to take on

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "The Parade of Vice," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1917, 8; S.E. Betts "Who is to Blame," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1920, 3; Hattye Saylor, "Education a Weapon," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 8.

more responsibilities outside the home in the early twentieth century, especially in urban areas, children often found themselves at home without supervision while both parents worked. In one instance written about a Fort Worth, Texas school, a young girl claimed she had been invited to “petting parties” where boys and girls would pair off and participate in sexual relations with one another. The young girl attended two parties before she informed an adult about what was going on. Both parties took place at girls’ home during the day, while their mother and father were away at work.<sup>151</sup> The emphasis on the absence of parents was placed more heavily on the mother being out of the house, rescinding her typical duties of the home, which included rearing and watching over the children. According to Berachah, if the mother had been home, then these “petting parties” would not have been able to take place at all. Others claimed that mothers were primarily to blame because they were the ones in charge of rearing the children, and they allowed their young daughters to go out into the world to social gatherings dressed inappropriately, with little to no resistance on the mother’s part.<sup>152</sup>

The private Berachah Home ledgers revealed a similar pattern when it came to parental blame. Most women who applied to the Home provided some sort of explanation about who their parents were and their current status in the unwed mother’s life, especially regarding her mother. For example, under one application, the mother was listed as an “invalid;” another said the new resident was an, “outcast whose mother was

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<sup>151</sup> “Startling Facts About high School Conditions,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1923, 4-5.

<sup>152</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Are Mothers to Blame,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1925, 7;

Nettie Norwood, “Lack of Proper Training,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1924, 5;

While this paragraph appears to address the working class of parents in this time, women from all social classes were accepted into Berachah, though this form of parental blame does focus specifically on the working class.



an outcast.”<sup>153</sup> These explanations reveal an attempt of the Home to understand the unwed mother’s situation and explain how she came to be an unwed mother. These explanations like, “father disappeared, mother dead,” were used simultaneously with, and sometimes in lieu of, the “old, old story,” revealing an attempt to explain and understand the life of the unwed mother by fitting her into the stereotypical box they best understood.<sup>154</sup>

While the Berachah Home tended to blame parents for their failures with children, unwed motherhood was often attributed to greater society and the innovations of the early twentieth century. Clothing and make-up became a serious issue with the Home leading into the 1920s. The increased number of women working outside the home called for lighter, simpler clothing styles without the heaviness of the previously standard petticoat. Manufactured clothing became readily available, especially in more urbanized areas. Women slowly stopped creating their own clothing, and started buying them at stores instead.<sup>155</sup> Dresses and skirts, typically worn at ankle-length prior, became shorter, reaching mid-calf and knee-length.<sup>156</sup> The cosmetic industry exploded leading into the 1920s, with women interested in enhancing their beauty in order to hide facial acne and scars.<sup>157</sup> The Berachah Home found these styles to be a corruption of society, especially of men. The June 1921 edition of *The Purity Crusader* asserted on the front page that wickedness amongst men came directly from the “evil influence of one or more vile women,” especially through immodest attire, which tempted men away from their moral

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<sup>153</sup> Application Ledger 1920-1923, 14, 19.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>155</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, 124.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 124.

lives.<sup>158</sup> Tales of females corrupting the male population through the use of make-up also found its way into the pages of *The Purity Crusader*. Since make-up improved upon the looks of the wearer, this created a certain allure for men, tempting them when they would not have been otherwise.<sup>159</sup> However, the male in this situation was viewed as being at no fault; rather, the blame for tempting him fell on the woman for dressing in vulgar or inappropriate clothing and make-up.<sup>160</sup> This very idea asserts exactly the opposite meaning of the “old, old story,” giving women agency and power, whereas the “old, old story” insinuates they had none.

Upchurch believed that dress reform could help improve morals of people in the United States, claiming that Adam and Eve were scantily clad in the Garden of Eden, which led them to trouble; therefore, God made them put on clothes. Upchurch suggested that clothing created a protection from lewdness for both men and women.<sup>161</sup> Berachah responded to these new fashions by enforcing a strict dress code for all unwed mothers who lived at the Home. They were required to wear identical cotton, floor-length, long-sleeved dresses, the baring of ankles or arms strictly prohibited. Women were to keep their hair pulled back in tight buns at the bases of their heads, with new-age short hairstyles disallowed.<sup>162</sup> Women were not allowed to wear make-up or jewelry either, with all jewelry turned in to the Home upon arrival and promptly hidden away.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A League of Honor,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1921, 1.

<sup>159</sup> “Better than a sermon,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1921, 5.

<sup>160</sup> Mable McKee, “Reflector,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1917, 5.

<sup>161</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1924.

<sup>162</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 1993, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 15; Prior to the 1920s, women had kept their hair long, wearing it in this style. For a woman to let her hair down, loose, was considered an invitation for intimacy and was only considered appropriate with a significant other or when alone.

<sup>163</sup> Janice Johnson, “Return to Society,” *Arlington Citizen Journal*, January 22, 1989.

Upchurch considered these embellishments to the female body sinful and disgraceful. However, Upchurch also did not allow “old-fashioned, street-sweeping, germ-gathering dress skirts,” which he believed were poor for women’s health, from a sanitary standpoint.<sup>164</sup>

In addition to parenting failures and revealing clothing, the Berachah Home placed a lot of blame on the motion picture industry for the corruption of youth through highly sexualized films. Motion pictures existed in the United States as early as 1896, with over fifteen thousand movie theaters in operation by 1923.<sup>165</sup> Religious hostility against motion pictures and movie theaters became common across the United States as in some places, weekly movie theatre attendance beat church attendance by the thousands.<sup>166</sup> Upchurch considered the motion picture industry to be one of the most deadly dangers of the young life in the nation. He claimed that they were loaded with “bloodshed, affinity rot, divorce cases and many other abominations,” which were poison that the youth were consuming, in turn corrupting their hearts and minds.<sup>167</sup> After the Eighteenth Amendment passed, and prohibition became law in the United States, Upchurch insisted the motion picture industry had become even more dangerous than an open saloon.<sup>168</sup>

Upchurch himself traveled to Los Angeles almost yearly during the 1920s, speaking out against the social evil of unwed motherhood and its connection to the Hollywood motion picture industry. In the April 1925 edition of *The Purity Crusader*,

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<sup>164</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Modern Dress vs. Decency,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1923, 6.

<sup>165</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, 93.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>167</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Heart to Heart Talk by the Editor,” *The Purity Crusader*, February 1918.

<sup>168</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “What Can We Expect?” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1921, 6;  
J.T. Upchurch, “The Heart of Hell,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1925, 3;

Upchurch discussed his recent trip to Hollywood and his experience walking down a street with theaters lining all sides. Some of the titles on display were “Outdoor Pajamas,” and “Pretty Plungers,” both titles that alluded to sexual storylines, yet the most decent attribute Upchurch found about these theaters were the inappropriate titles. Upchurch asserted certainty that nothing but death lurked behind the playhouse doors.<sup>169</sup> While visiting Los Angeles in 1921, a movie producer approached Upchurch about being part of a film discussing the dangers of dancing and dance halls to the youth of the nation. Upchurch refused to participate due to his fear that the other “vile” motion picture advertisements would induce people to return to the theater at another time and become contaminated by the films.<sup>170</sup> When the movie producer could offer him no guarantee that these posters and advertisements could be kept out of view of patrons, Upchurch abandoned the project without further consideration.<sup>171</sup>

Upchurch’s choice to reject participation in this film presented a conundrum for Berachah Home beliefs. Upchurch himself, and the Home overall, scorned dancing and public dance halls, claiming they led women to encounters with unscrupulous men, resulting in their ruin.<sup>172</sup> However problematic this conundrum might have been, the Home moved forward, sticking to its principles, and denouncing both motion pictures and dancing. Dancing had become a trend for the youth of America around 1910, when rigid posture dances from the nineteenth century drifted out of style and were replaced by informal and often intimate social dancing. New dances emerged during and after World

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<sup>169</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “The Movie Colony,” *The Purity Crusader*, April 1925, 5.

<sup>170</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “The Movies on Trial,” *The Purity Crusader*, November 1921, 1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Hattye Saylor, “Public Dance Halls,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1921, 2.

War I like the tango, the fox trot, and the Charleston.<sup>173</sup> These dances were considered by the Berachah Home to be inappropriate, and had a direct connection with the choice of clothing, make-up, and hairstyles that women considered to be “flappers” started to sport during this era.<sup>174</sup> The Home and other religious bodies believed that the dim lights, soft music, and close embrace of dancing lured decent girls and boys to destroy their character.<sup>175</sup> The Home criticized dancing of all kinds, even dancing in the privacy of one’s own home. An article in the March 1923 *Purity Crusader* presented a detailed story about a girl taught to dance at home by her mother. Her mother forbade her from dancing outside the home, but once the girl became an adult, she sought a teaching job through a school district that had no qualms about public dancing. The woman soon found herself pregnant and alone, and before the first term ended, “she left town, and sought a shelter to hide her disgrace.”<sup>176</sup> The moral of this story, per Berachah, was that if she had not been taught to dance as a child, the woman never would have grown up to become an unwed mother.

Along with parental failure, revealing clothing, motion pictures, and dancing, the Berachah Home blamed new age novels and the press for the corruption of youth. By 1920, the majority of Americans were literate and partook in reading newspapers and books often, seeking them for news and entertainment.<sup>177</sup> The Berachah Home found most novel-reading to be a “pernicious evil,” especially sensual novels; however, they did not feel this way about what they deemed “wholesome fiction,” books such as *Uncle*

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<sup>173</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, 205.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 205-206; Flappers wore short dresses, often without sleeves, they wore their hair short, wore make-up, and often indulged in tobacco usage.

<sup>175</sup> “Dancing Evil,” *The Purity Crusader*, February 1922, 7.

<sup>176</sup> C.C. “Shall My Girl Dance,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1923, 5.

<sup>177</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, 197.

*Tom's Cabin*.<sup>178</sup> Berachah deemed their own stories of warning, like “Whiskey Nat,” and “The Black Trail,” as falling under the same category of wholesome fiction, divulging important and helpful information to readers.<sup>179</sup> Sensual novels, they claimed, led readers down a path of sin culminating in unwed motherhood.

The printing press caught equally as much disdain from the Berachah Home as sensual novels, with the Home claiming that “the immoral crime wave that ha[d] swept the world for the past two or three years c[ould] be traced to the screen and printing press,” in May 1923.<sup>180</sup> They claimed that any ordinary newsstand could furnish a man with enough “poison in his soul to damn a nation.”<sup>181</sup> Said poison came from the use of nude or semi-nude photographs in magazines, which in turn boosted sales. However, Berachah claimed that boosted sales in this instance only revealed the publishers’ ability to assassinate the character of the people of America, leading them morally astray.<sup>182</sup>

One of the biggest technological innovations of the twentieth century would earn extensive attention from the Berachah Home as a focal point of blame for unwed motherhood: the automobile. While cars existed for almost twenty-five years before the Home drew attention to them for their cause, they did not become accessible to the average American until the onset of the 1920s. At the beginning of World War I, one in every thirteen households possessed an automobile; by 1920, ownership had increased to one in three.<sup>183</sup> This increase in ownership was due to mass production and the decrease

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<sup>178</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, November 1916, 4.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.;

“Whiskey Nat” and “The Black Trail” were both stories published over multiple issues of *The Purity Crusader*.

<sup>180</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1923, 2.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, 27.

in price of cars, particularly Ford's Model T, which by 1921 cost less than half its original 1910 price.<sup>184</sup> Since cars were accessible to the average American, they also became an important part of dating; with simple transportation, men could now more easily take women places outside of the home. In historian Regina Kunzel's work, she discussed some women who enjoyed the fun of parties and dances, which they could not have attended without attaining a ride from men. These women would use sex as payment at the end of the evening for the ride and entertainment.<sup>185</sup> Parties, dance halls, and movie theaters were often the primary destinations of dates; often, after the evening plans, the automobile would be driven somewhere and parked in a secluded place before venturing home. Due to this lack of supervision, the Berachah Home considered automobiles sinful, and called gasoline the "new liquor," as it powered the cars that led women to ruin and unwed motherhood.<sup>186</sup>

These new innovations of the twentieth century caused an intense reaction within the evangelical groups who ran rescue homes, especially those who ran the Berachah Home. Accepting that parents or society were at fault for unwed motherhood created a monster, in a sense, for the Home to battle against – that educating parents to be better parents, and creating a coalition to fight against new innovations in the United States could effectively combat and prevent unwed motherhood. However, the Home willfully chose to ignore problems that did not fit as easily into their manufactured storylines, such as rape and incest. Instead of recognizing that a larger problem existed culturally amongst

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>185</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 109.

<sup>186</sup> Hattie Saylor, "Gasoline Supplants Whiskey," *The Purity Crusader*, August 1921, 3.

men in the United States, the Home used new-age scapegoats to explain unwed mothers' situations, as well as misusing double standards.

Evangelicals in rescue homes across the nation argued that there were "double standards" when it came to the evaluation of women and men.<sup>187</sup> An article in *The Purity Crusader* explained that the double standard had existed for centuries, and meant that women were held to a higher standard in life than men. Whereas men could curse and "sow their wild oats," with society easily forgiving their actions, a woman could participate in the same situations and be considered ruined for life.<sup>188</sup> The Home argued that the Bible did not recognize or mention two different sets of morals based on gender; rather, it prescribed only one set for all men and women to follow. This meant that a man was to be held to the same standard as a woman, and sex before marriage was just as damning on his soul as it was on hers.<sup>189</sup>

Throughout the duration of the study, a multitude of articles were published in *The Purity Crusader* condemning the double standard, some written by staff members of the Home and others by guest writers. These articles expressed outrage at this societal practice, especially that men guilty of pre-marital sex were "unarrested, unconvicted, unwhipped, lost no social prestige, and [were able] unite with any club, lodge, or church," with no consequences or disdain for their actions.<sup>190</sup> The Home also claimed that women were not necessarily to blame for their "fall" as it was more their "misfortune

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<sup>187</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 50.

<sup>188</sup> T.W. Shannon, "Origin of the Double Standard of Morals: Article 1," *The Purity Crusader*, December 1918, 6; Christine Collins, "The Three Leaved Gate," *The Purity Crusader*, March 1916, 7.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> T.W. Shannon, "Origin of the Double Standard of Morals: Article 2," February 1919, 8; Jack Maxwell, "The Double Standard," *The Purity Crusader*, March/April 1923, 3.



than their fault,” because men deserved just as much blame, if not more than women who participated in sexual acts before marriage.<sup>191</sup>

The Home considered themselves a champion for the erring girl and unwed mother, and through *The Purity Crusader* and their open disdain for the double standard, they intended to create a more open society, where men could partake in as much responsibility for their sins as women. The Home, however, expressed more blame and open disdain for the unwed mothers they took in, reinforcing the double standard within the pages of *The Purity Crusader* more often than they condemned it.

In the February 1919 editorials of *The Purity Crusader*, J.T. Upchurch claimed that young girls needed protection and guidance to help them through dangerous places in life, especially since many of the women who came to the Home fell between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Upchurch claimed that these young women needed to be protected from falling because “if the boys make good they will need wives someday and should have good ones.”<sup>192</sup> Essentially, Upchurch meant that boys and men who make good, or rather, repent for the sinning they did while they were young, would need pure, chaste, wives one day. Boys and men could repent and be rehabilitated from their sins of sex before marriage without attending a rescue home, and still be considered good men without the stain of sin on their lives, to the point that they deserved wives who were wholly pure for them. Upchurch’s words reiterate and reinforce the double standard against women, since he did not insinuate that redeemed women through the Home would be these good wives for such men to marry; rather, he meant that they should have wives who were protected from the sins that the women in Berachah committed.

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<sup>191</sup> Hattye Saylor, “The Single Standard,” *The Purity Crusader*, April 1916, 7.

<sup>192</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” February 1919, *The Purity Crusader*, 4.

This same double standard expressed by the Home can be seen when girls younger than thirteen became unwed mothers and were mentioned in *The Purity Crusader*. On the front page of the March 1917 edition of *The Purity Crusader* an article tells the story of a twelve-year-old preacher's daughter who was brought into the Home after being "wrecked by a family friend."<sup>193</sup> Accepted into the Home, the young girl became "wonderfully redeemed" which restored her, and her entire family to the favor of God.<sup>194</sup> This story reinforces the double standard in that a girl under the age of twelve needed redemption for having pre-marital sex, however, there was no mention or consideration of the man's soul or redemption thereof, who also participated in the sexual intercourse that led to the young girl entering the Home. While rape was not an acceptable explanation for unwed motherhood through the Home, this situation leads to question if rape did take place in this instance or any other instance, why would someone need to be redeemed after being forced to participate in sexual relations against their will? Of course, as previously discussed, the Berachah Home made no distinction in those who willingly participated and those who did not. This reinforcement of the double standard not only further crippled women's societal image through *The Purity Crusader*; it also reinforced the acceptability of abusing women with no consequence to the abuser.

Women from all walks of life arrived at the Berachah Home in the early twentieth century, differing more amongst their lifestyles and what led them to becoming unwed mothers than the Berachah Home expressed in either *The Purity Crusader* or private

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<sup>193</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "These Also Overcame By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them," *The Purity Crusader*, March 1917, 1;

The age of consent in Texas in 1917 when this article was penned was 10 years old. The girl in question was legally old enough to give consent at the time.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

Home ledgers. Women who were betrayed by the men they loved became unwed mothers. Women who were raped and forced into incest relationships became unwed mothers. The Home created a long list of excuses as to why women were falling from grace and having children out of wedlock, from blaming parents, to new clothing trends, to automobiles. The world changed in the early twentieth century in ways the Home found to be defiling and negative to the women they desperately claimed to be protecting. Yet the Berachah Home, rather than attempting to correct the stigma around unwed motherhood in American society, catered to it, reinforcing the double standard against women by not holding their male counterparts accountable for the same—if not more damning—sins. Arriving at the Berachah Home was only the beginning of the journey for the unwed mother in the early twentieth century; months, and for some, years inside a rescue home awaited them.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### REDEMPTION AND FUNDRAISING

The Berachah Home, not unlike many other rescue homes of the era, centered every aspect of life inside on Christianity. The Evangelical workers inside the Home based all of their teachings and daily regimes around prayer, as they considered the only way to help women who had children out of wedlock to be through religious redemption, a rigorous process, per Home standards.<sup>195</sup> Women who followed Home rules and went through the redemption process at Berachah often had more opportunities in the Home as opposed to their “unredeemed” peers. However, the women’s redeemed status also qualified them to be used as spectacles for the Home, to garner donations. Berachah consistently set high moral standards for redeeming unwed mothers and infrequently met them. Simultaneously, the Home set consistently high financial goals that did not reflect the true needs of Berachah, which were rarely met.

When founded in the late 1890s, the Berachah Home opened as an interdenominational organization with no specific ties to any church denomination. Rather, it connected to several, particularly through unofficial ties with the Church of the Nazarene. J.T. Upchurch, the founder of the Berachah Home, founded the First Church of the Nazarene in Dallas in the early 1900s, and was said to have been present at the merging ceremony that created the official denomination in Pilot Point, Texas.<sup>196</sup> The Berachah Home had no qualms about being interdenominational until May 1916, when

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<sup>195</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 26.

<sup>196</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 7.

many of the people involved in the larger southwest holiness movement began uniting under the Nazarene Church. Upchurch decided to create a voting forum at the Berachah Home May 1916 twenty-first anniversary celebration, where all attendees would have the opportunity to vote whether the Home should become officially sanctioned by the Nazarene Church.<sup>197</sup> Upchurch claimed that out of nine hundred votes cast, all but four voted to remain interdenominational. That the votes were cast this way suggests connections to denominations outside the Nazarene Church, especially with the Methodist Church, which Upchurch fostered close ties with in the Arlington area by 1916. By remaining interdenominational, the Home did not receive support or consistent funding from the Nazarene Church; however, the Home was placed into a trust created by a board of trustees.<sup>198</sup> The trust placed the current twenty-seven acres of land, along with its buildings and equipment to “never be sold, mortgaged, or alienated from its work of redeeming outcast girls.”<sup>199</sup> The trust also said that the Home and surrounding land could not be used for profit and could not be inherited by Upchurch’s children; it was to remain in the trust and used only as a sanctuary for the redemption of erring girls.<sup>200</sup> Later, after some subscribers to *The Purity Crusader* expressed concern with how Upchurch’s successors would be held accountable to continue the work of assisting erring girls, a clause was added in the trust, that the property would be “forfeited to the State of Texas upon failure of the [Berachah] Society or its successors to comply with the stated

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<sup>197</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Direct Ownership,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1916, 7.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid;

The Board of Trustees consisted of people voted into office each year at the Berachah Anniversary Celebration.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> J.T Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 4.

agreement.”<sup>201</sup> By remaining interdenominational, the Home counted on receiving support in the form of donations, from people of all protestant denominations.

While the Berachah Home remained interdenominational throughout its existence, to best understand the teachings and policies of the Home, an understanding of Nazarene church practices is necessary due to Nazarene influence on Berachah Home philosophies. The Nazarene Church formed under the holiness movement, a movement in the United States that started in the post-Civil War era. It was based on John Wesley’s teachings of the eighteenth century, with belief that sinners could be redeemed and sanctified as saints. By becoming a saint, people could be free of outward and pernicious tempers and thoughts, which would allow them to attain a degree of holiness close to God himself. Many people from the South and Midwest joined the holiness movement in attempts to separate themselves from larger denominations, whom they believed did not endorse practical holiness, rather focusing on worldly values. Through the holiness movement, the Nazarene church formed with strict codes for dress and behavior, with no sympathy for superficial or fashionable things.<sup>202</sup>

These basic principles of the Nazarene Church shaped the lives of the unwed mothers and their children inside the Berachah Home. Religious services were required for all unwed mothers, regardless of prior religious associations. These services were conducted in different ways throughout the day. No matter what job the unwed mother held in the Home, she was required to spend at least forty-five minutes before work or

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<sup>201</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 4.

<sup>202</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v “holiness movement,” accessed May 10, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Holiness-movement>

courses in bible study and family prayer.<sup>203</sup> The unwed mothers who participated in office work at the Home were then required to participate in office devotions with J.T. Upchurch and his wife, which were conducted for as long as he thought best.<sup>204</sup> The Home also had a system of bells set up on the property that would be rung certain times throughout the day. Whenever the women heard the bells, they were required to stop work and pray right where they were.<sup>205</sup> Even though these religious gatherings and prayer sessions were required, praying on demand was not enough to be considered a “redeemed” woman in the Home. The Home sought a redemption back to usefulness for each unwed mother who came to them.<sup>206</sup> This rigorous process had several strictly enforced steps to be followed precisely by the unwed mother.

The first step in the process of redemption through Berachah was confession. In order to begin the process an unwed mother had to confess her sins to a staff member at the Berachah Home, particularly someone of importance such as the matron or J.T. Upchurch. This confession was to include all the wrongs that led them to the Berachah Home, especially those that made each an unwed mother. Many women did not come into the Berachah Home immediately ready to confess. Therefore, once or twice a year the Home held an event called a “Spiritual House Cleaning.”<sup>207</sup> An official Examining Committee of Home employees were elected to be in charge, often consisting of the same people: the Upchurchs, the matron Nettie Norwood, and Albert M. Ferry, the publisher of

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<sup>203</sup> Nettie Norwood, “A Pen Picture of Berachah: The Matron Takes Us Into Her Confidence and Tells Us of the Vital Work in Which We are Interested,” *The Purity Crusader*, February 1919, 1; Inside the Home the women were required to participate in a certain jobs assigned to them. Some of these jobs were sewing, cooking, washing, ironing, childcare, and nursing the sick.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Nettie Norwood, “Home Notes,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1921, 2.

<sup>206</sup> See explanation of the Home’s use of the word “usefulness” in the introduction.

<sup>207</sup> Hattye Saylor, “Berachah’s House Cleaning,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1916, 6.

*The Purity Crusader*. This event lasted over eleven hours per day, for between six and ten days.<sup>208</sup> The women of the Home would be called into a back room individually before the Examining Committee where “confessions [were] made, wrongs [were] righted, crooked paths straightened and good experiences obtained,” while the rest of the women waited in the parlor, praying.<sup>209</sup> While meeting with the Examining Committee, the women were noted as being questioned and “probed” individually.<sup>210</sup> Afterward, the woman was given a slip of paper with the committee’s findings, which was to be read in the parlor, in front of everyone. This examination was not limited to the unwed mothers of the Home; applied to the staff, as well. The Examining Committee was noted to have spent the first session examining each other as to their own religious experiences and personal conduct since the last house cleaning, though they did not have to read their findings in front of everyone.<sup>211</sup>

During one house cleaning in March 1916, sickness visited the Home, and many members of the Home came down with influenza. Some were described as unable to sit up during the long hours of religious services due to their illness; however, they were not permitted to leave. The spiritual cleaning was described as a “siege.”<sup>212</sup> However, when too many girls took sick, a doctor was called in, and performed several healing services during the event.

After an unwed mother confessed her sins, she had to experience the next step of redemption to move toward a redeemed life in the Home. To successfully pass step two,

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Berachah Conference,” *The Purity Crusader*, November 1917, 6.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Hattye Saylor, “Berachah’s House Cleaning,” 6.



an unwed mother had to experience religious conversion, regardless of whichever denomination or religion she aligned with prior. The January 1922 edition of *The Purity Crusader* included a list of the religious backgrounds of the women currently in the Home. Twenty-one were listed as Baptists, Methodists: twenty-two, Presbyterians: twelve, Christian: one, Catholic: one, and no church: four.<sup>213</sup> These conversions could take place anytime throughout the year, but the most evidence for these conversions exists under the explanations of the Spiritual House Cleanings. Upchurch described religious conversion and the procedure of redemption for unwed mothers as a time-consuming process, which could not simply be done through a few prayers. Women were to experience and reveal real repentance before him and the committee before he considered them a candidate for true religious redemption.<sup>214</sup> The staff members who wrote about these Spiritual House Cleanings described them as great successes, which created “wonderfully clear,” spiritual atmospheres, as each event claimed to have saved all the women in the Home, except one or two, with many of them becoming sanctified.<sup>215</sup> Essentially, these Spiritual House Cleanings were a trial by fire in which unsaved and unredeemed mothers were put on the spot in front of their peers, their faults and sins on display. The other women in the Home were required to pray for these women for hours and days until religious conversions were practically forced upon the previously unredeemed.

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<sup>213</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Won’t You Help Berachah Help These Girls and Their Little Ones,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1922, 8.

<sup>214</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1919, 4.

<sup>215</sup> Hattye Saylor, “Berachah’s House Cleaning,” 6;  
J.T. Upchurch, “A Berachah Conference,” 6.

The next two steps in the process of redemption were required in the long term and would determine if a woman was fully redeemed upon her exit from the Home. The unwed mother had to remain in the Home for at least one year and she had to keep her child.<sup>216</sup> Berachah forbade adoption under its rules, claiming that unwed mothers should have to bear their sins as badges of shame for the remainder of their lives by rearing their “illegitimate” children.<sup>217</sup> The one-year requirement was enacted because the Home did not believe that “the kind of girl who,” came to Berachah could be “permanently restored in a few weeks.”<sup>218</sup> Upchurch and staff members were insistent that women needed to spend at least one year with them, not only to go through the full redemption process, but also to be “taught to love and care for their babies,” as the Home did not believe unwed mothers had the ability to do so without instruction.<sup>219</sup>

The final step in the redemption process to create a woman who was fully useful to society happened upon the exit of an unwed mother from the Berachah Home: she had to marry a respectable man. Upchurch shared the marriage of one of the Berachah girls in an edition of *The Purity Crusader*, claiming that marriage made her a “true womanly redeemed girl.”<sup>220</sup> Without marriage to someone respectable, a former Berachah girl was considered to have fallen short of the ultimate goal of the Home, to fully redeem her and return her to usefulness. However, based on the information available in the Home ledgers, the Berachah Home rarely ever met their full redemption goals with women upon leaving the Home. Of the 139 women who left the Home between 1916-1923, only

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<sup>216</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” December 1925, 4; Some sources from Berachah claim one year after the birth of the child.

<sup>217</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Some Facts You Should Know,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 7.

<sup>218</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” December 1925, 4.

<sup>219</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Berachah Solves the Problem,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1920, 2.

<sup>220</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Another Wedding in Berachah,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1921, 6.

thirteen women were married and fully redeemed upon departure, with the majority of women leaving unmarried to live with family members.<sup>221</sup> This meant that less than eleven percent of women were considered fully redeemed based on Home standards upon departure. Therefore, the majority of women, over eighty-nine percent, were departing from the Home as unredeemed, unuseful citizens, per Berachah Home standards.

Unwed mothers who confessed, experienced religious conversion, kept their babies, and were in the process of living in the Home for a year were considered to be “redeemed” inside the Home.<sup>222</sup> Redemption held a lot of importance in the Home, especially for the unwed mothers, because their redemptive status had bearing on how they were treated by Home staff, as well as other unwed mothers within the Home. All women received a basic education, with classes including Reading, Spelling and Definitions, Language/Conversation, Letter Writing/Composition/Penmanship, and U.S. History and Geography.<sup>223</sup> They each participated in a wide variety of jobs in the Home until the staff decided which they were best suited to. Some of these jobs included cooking, sewing, laundry work, first aid and nursing, and childcare in the nursery.<sup>224</sup> While working and attending classes, the women were placed on a grading scale, a basic A, B, C rubric with an A being the highest attainable grade, and everyone beginning with a C, then working their way up. In order to earn a C grade the unwed mother had to be converted inside the Home. Therefore, all women who had not confessed and

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<sup>221</sup> Admittance Ledger 1916-1918; Admittance Ledger 1918-1920; Admittance Ledger 1922-1923; Admittance records for 1921 were unavailable for this study.

<sup>222</sup> Marriage was never considered part of the redemption process inside the Home, because once a woman was married, she left the Home with her husband. Therefore, to be “redeemed” during your steps all steps prior to marriage had to be completed.

<sup>223</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Berachah Curriculum,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1916, 6.

<sup>224</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Little Journey Through Berachahland,” *The Purity Crusader*, December 1925, 4.

experienced conversion were considered failing in all courses and work.<sup>225</sup> To earn a B, the unwed mother had to consistently make grades between 80 and 90. If she made between a 90 and 100 she would move into A classification. A grade of an A was required for all unwed mothers to participate in public religious services or participate in special work.<sup>226</sup>

Special work for these redeemed A students included several different activities at the Home. In May 1916, a group of redeemed girls from the Home performed as a choir at a convention hosted by Berachah. The women wore all white and were considered quite a spectacle at the convention.<sup>227</sup> In May 1917, a group of redeemed girls at the Home performed a play at the yearly anniversary celebration.<sup>228</sup> One of the most exclusive activities redeemed unwed mothers had the opportunity to participate in was the Berachah Band. This band often traveled with J.T. Upchurch, touring local Texas cities for months at a time. The band would perform and Upchurch would speak to crowds in each location, often accompanied by a singing quartette of redeemed women.<sup>229</sup> While the band started out small with only a few instruments, by 1925 it had grown to an eighteen-piece brass band that broadcasted special performances on the local WBAP radio station.<sup>230</sup> Special donations were occasionally made specifically for the band; for example, in July 1926 several hundred dollars were donated to the band and used to buy a new instrument car, new instruments, and new uniforms for all band

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Lexie C. Denyven, "The Valley of Blessing," *The Purity Crusader*, July 1916, 5.

<sup>228</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Tried for Her Life," *The Purity Crusader*, June 1917, 5.

<sup>229</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, August 1916, 4.

<sup>230</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Berachah to Broadcast," *The Purity Crusader*, February 1925, 3.

members.<sup>231</sup> That same year, the band won first place in their division in a West Texas contest, bringing home a \$225 prize.<sup>232</sup> The next year, the band traveled to the Pacific coast, performing in multiple places along the Western seaboard.<sup>233</sup> Without being redeemed A students, these women would not have been able to participate in band activities.

In order to become skilled in the art of playing musical instruments, the women in the Home had the opportunity to take part in music classes. *The Purity Crusader's* description of who could and could not participate in music classes was limited; therefore, it was unclear whether all women were allowed to participate in lessons for piano, clarinet, guitar, and violin, among others. However, only women listed as redeemed could play publicly and receive recognition.<sup>234</sup>

All unwed mothers in the Home were required to participate in the Zeta Sigma Society. This group, formed at the Home in 1911, focused on developing the mind, literary skills, and public speaking abilities of the women in the Home.<sup>235</sup> Weekly programs were performed before the others at Berachah. The women were encouraged to write and express their feelings through literary means. Redeemed women often had the privilege of having their work published in *The Purity Crusader*, their writings often tragic tales depicting sad home lives and betrayal by lovers, catering to the “old, old story.”<sup>236</sup> While Zeta Sigma Society membership was mandatory, the women who

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<sup>231</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1926, 3.

<sup>232</sup> “Memphis and Stamford Bands Tie for First Place in Contest for West Texas C. of C. Honors,” *Dallas Morning News*, 6-25-1926.

<sup>233</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” September 1926, 3.

<sup>234</sup> F.E. Wiese, “Department of Music,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1922, 14.

<sup>235</sup> Fannie Cooper, “Zeta Sigma Society,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1922, 6.

<sup>236</sup> Icy Drake, “My Life – As I Would Like for it to Have Been,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1917, 2.

participated, if redeemed and found to be talented, were able to receive special treatment such as having their work published and performing at Berachah events like the yearly anniversary.<sup>237</sup> However, some unwed mothers did not wish to participate. These women were listed as part of the “timid class,” though they were still required to participate in the in-Home programs. If they did not participate, they had to pay fines consisting of three hours work in the Berachah cemetery.<sup>238</sup>

Redemption status did not only affect participation in fun activities and events outside the Home; it also affected praying. While all unwed mothers were required to stop and pray throughout the day at the sound of bells rung on the Berachah campus, there were also prayer bands put together by Home staff. These bands met at least once per day to “take council and have prayer,” and find comfort in one another.<sup>239</sup> These prayer bands were organized based on redemption status, with the unwed mothers who had been in the Home the longest and were fully redeemed forming band one. Band two consisted of women who were saved, yet were not “fully established,” spiritually.<sup>240</sup> The final band, band three, consisted of the rest of the women in the home, some of whom were newly saved and on paths to full redemption, whereas others were not. The matron claimed that these women knew very little about what it meant to live Christian lives and how to straighten their crooked paths.<sup>241</sup> By separating the prayer bands in this manner, bands one and two became exclusive and more privileged for the women in them. The unwed mothers in the Home were all aware of who was in each band, leading to a

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<sup>237</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Four Wonderful Days,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1917, 7.

<sup>238</sup> Fannie Cooper, “Zeta Sigma Society,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1922, 6.

<sup>239</sup> Nettie Norwood, “Home Notes,” *The Purity Crusader*, July 1919, 3.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

hierarchy amongst them, especially when coupled with the grading system and special participation in otherwise disallowed activities.

The power of redemption, however, did not stop there for the unwed mothers. Women who acted out in the Home, ran away and subsequently returned, or broke any Home rules were not punished by Berachah staff members; rather, that power was given to the well-behaved women of the Home. While *The Purity Crusader* does not specifically say that it was only redeemed women who had this power over their peers, it appears to be the only option, as women who were not in good standing in the Home, who had not met the Home's internal standards and experienced full redemption during their stay, would not have been given the power to make decisions that affected the lives of others inside.<sup>242</sup> This power over other women catered to the hierarchy inside the Home, where women who were redeemed were favored over those who were not. This power, along with the other benefits of being considered redeemed, created an incentive for women to follow closely to Home rules and gain the good graces of staff members. Being redeemed in the Home created possibilities and opportunities that were unavailable to most outside the Home. However, the women had to experience religious conversion. Essentially, for the unwed mother to "make good" on Home standards, she had to fit herself into a finely-tuned box the Home had created for her. If she was unable to do so, she found herself on the outskirts of life inside the Home.

The public appearances by redeemed women happened often throughout the year, as the Berachah Home often hosted and participated in large camp revival style meetings across the state, often traveling out of state as well. Camp revivals were a popular type of

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<sup>242</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, September 1926, 2.

religious meeting that emerged in the late nineteenth century and were popular through the holiness movement. These revivals were held outdoors, with attendees often traveling between thirty and forty miles with supplies to camp for several days.<sup>243</sup> Important holiness movement preachers and speakers were advertised and drew people to these events. People attended these revivals not only to be involved in church services, but also to socially engage with their peers. These revivals included constant church services with religious conversion as the emphasis.<sup>244</sup>

Each May the Berachah Home hosted an Anniversary Celebration camp revival both to celebrate another year of work, and to bring people to the Home, explain what kind of progress the Home made in the last year, and hope the attendees would donate money to the Berachah cause.<sup>245</sup> Berachah's anniversary was no different than other camp revivals of the time, as they brought in popular evangelists in hopes of garnering larger crowds. For example, in 1916, the Berachah Home had Reverend Bud Robinson preach at the anniversary. Robinson, a well-known evangelist in the south by 1916, had a lisp and an entertaining, crowd-drawing way of preaching. He would often use lines like, "Help me [Lord] to sign the contract to fight the devil as long as I've got a fist and bite him as long as I have a tooth, then gum him till I die."<sup>246</sup> Revival-goers found his style of preaching amusing, leading his presence to be quite a draw, especially for Berachah, whose work with unwed mothers was often considered taboo, or even inappropriate.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> "Camp meeting," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, accessed May 20, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/camp-meeting>

<sup>244</sup> Ibid; J.T. Upchurch, "Wonderful," *The Purity Crusader*, June 1919, 3.

<sup>245</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Feast of Tabernacles," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1921, 4.

<sup>246</sup> Dorli Gschwandtner, "Uncle Bud Robinson, 1860-1942," Southern Nazarene University, accessed May 20, 2018, <http://snu.edu/bud-robinson>

<sup>247</sup> For more information about this, see the introduction and Upchurch's forced departure from the Methodist church.



The schedule for the Anniversary camp revival often consisted of five to ten days of events, including preaching from seven to fifteen evangelists, singing and prayer services led by Home staff members, and performances by redeemed unwed mothers.<sup>248</sup> While these redeemed women were allowed the privilege of participation in these events, they were also used as spectacles to garner donations for the Home. For example, each month Berachah put on an All Day Meeting, which was a smaller, one-day revival that would consist of prayer services, often from local religious leaders. However, the redeemed unwed mothers were in charge of at least one service during the meeting, which was always advertised in *The Purity Crusader*. The women themselves were used as spectacles to draw locals to the meeting to see the women and the “good work” done by the Home firsthand.<sup>249</sup> By revealing only the redeemed women to those who attended revivals, the Home attempted to show their progress in creating good and useful citizens, which they hoped would, and often did, lead to increased donations. By keeping those unredeemed women out of the limelight and away from the attention of guests, the Home created an illusion of complete success under their own moral standards.

All camp revivals hosted by the Home, including All-Day Meetings, were held with the primary intention of gaining funding for the Home. Since Berachah did not have formal backing from any governmental entity or church denomination like some larger rescue homes, they were completely reliant on the donations from individual people or

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<sup>248</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Four Wonderful Days,” *The Purity Crusader*, May 1917, 7.

<sup>249</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “All Day Meeting,” *The Purity Crusader*, March 1917, 7;  
J.T. Upchurch, “Special All-Day Meeting at Berachah,” February 1922, 8.

groups. Berachah used these revivals to generate support and interest from people who otherwise had known nothing, or little of Berachah's work.<sup>250</sup>

In order to gather funding, the Home employed multiple advertising techniques over the period of this eleven-year study, including large sum campaigns and campaigns for supplies. The Berachah home employed multiple large sum campaigns, beginning in 1917 with the one hundred and thirty-thousand dollar campaign. Upchurch claimed the reason for this campaign stemmed from the overwhelming amount of women who had been applying to Berachah, of which at least ten women a month had to be turned away due to lack of space.<sup>251</sup> Upchurch claimed the money would be used to erect a new main building, a receiving home, an infirmary, a school and chapel, a tabernacle and convention hall, as well as fences and parking lots. He also intended to expand upon coursework for the women, to include domestic science, gardening, printing, and more.<sup>252</sup> Upchurch wanted at least five thousand dollars of this goal to be met within the first month of the campaign in January 1917, of which four thousand three hundred dollars was earned.<sup>253</sup>

The Home did not attempt to earn this with just the staff members they had on hand. Local Arlington people created teams of workers to help gain donations. One man, a local Justice of the Peace, quit his job to work solely as lead organizer of these teams.<sup>254</sup> These campaign organizers set up businessmen's luncheons, to gather local businessmen,

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<sup>250</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Feast of Tabernacles," April 1921, 4.

<sup>251</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Dollars for the Betterment of Berachah Campaign Launched," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 1.

<sup>252</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Berachah Campaign," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 7.

<sup>253</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "One-Hundred and Thirty Thousand Dollars This Year," February 1917, 7.

<sup>254</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Announcements," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1917, 5;  
J.T. Upchurch, "Attention Sunday Schools," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1917, 6.

educate them about the Home, and gather donations.<sup>255</sup> They also attempted to get in touch with all Sunday schools in the state, seeking a pledge of one dollar per month to the campaign.<sup>256</sup> However, Upchurch claimed the campaign hit a rough patch when the United States joined World War I, with a total of fifty thousand dollars earned toward the campaign in 1917.<sup>257</sup>

By January 1919, a new three-hundred thousand dollar campaign was initiated by the Home, though the prior one-hundred and thirty-thousand dollar campaign never finished to completion. Upchurch claimed that the increase to three-hundred thousand was necessary due to the unusually high cost of labor and materials after the end of World War I.<sup>258</sup> However, by August of 1919, the campaign changed again and moved up to a five-hundred thousand dollar campaign, which Upchurch claimed was needed to “provide assistance for the large number of girls left stranded by the soldiers,” who recently returned from World War I.<sup>259</sup> However, by January 1921, few reports had been given on the progress of the campaign before a new campaign launched. This million dollar campaign doubled Berachah’s previous financial goal; however, for this goal they intended to enlist one thousand businessmen across the United States to donate one-hundred dollars per year for ten years. Half of the one million would go to Berachah

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<sup>255</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Arlington Campaign,” *The Purity Crusader*, February 1917, 6.

<sup>256</sup> Upchurch, “Attention Sunday Schools,” April 1917, 6.

<sup>257</sup> Hattie Saylor, “Office Notes,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1918, 5; The financial records for the Home are not available for 1917, so the exact amount toward the campaign is unknown.

<sup>258</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “You and Berachah,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1919, 1.

<sup>259</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Five Hundred Thousand Dollars for Berachah Home,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1919, 7.

Home improvements and the other half would create a permanent endowment fund for the Home.<sup>260</sup>

The problem with these increased requests for funding was that the Home claimed to need the funding to provide more space for the unwed mothers they took in, so not as many women would have to be denied entrance. In 1917, a total of one-hundred and nine girls and women applied for entrance into the Berachah Industrial Home.<sup>261</sup> Thirty-three were accepted, while thirty-nine were rejected because of lack of space.<sup>262</sup> An article in the January 1918 edition of *The Purity Crusader* asserted that one-hundred and five women had to be rejected from Berachah in 1917 because of a lack of space.<sup>263</sup> The Berachah Home exaggerated their need in *The Purity Crusader* in an attempt to garner more donations. While it cannot be denied that a significant amount of women had to be turned away, the next several years' documentation of applicants in the ledgers reveal a decrease in women seeking refuge overall. In 1918, eighty-five women applied, followed in 1919 by seventy-seven total applicants for that year, revealing a 29% decrease in applicants between 1917 and 1919, with the amount of women rejected by the Home decreasing by 50%, despite this, donation requests increased by 74% during this span.<sup>264</sup> Between 1920-1923, applications increased steadily until they reached a high-point of one hundred and twelve applicants in 1923; however, this amount of applicants exceeds 1917's number by a mere three applicants, though exact statistics were unavailable to

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<sup>260</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "E.M. Dealy, of Dallas News, Visits Berachah," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1921, 2.

<sup>261</sup> Applications Ledger, 1917-1920, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 1-21.

<sup>262</sup> The other 37 women of the 109 were either left blank in the ledger or rejected from the Home with no explanation given.

<sup>263</sup> Nettie Norwood, "Home Notes," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1918, 3.

<sup>264</sup> Applications Ledger, 1917-1920.

determine how many women were accepted or rejected, due to lack of information provided in these later ledgers.<sup>265</sup> This applicant number of one hundred and twelve reveals a 3% increase in applicants when comparing 1917 and 1923; however, donation requests for the Home increased from one-hundred and thirty thousand dollars to one million dollars during this time, a percentage increase of 669%. The Berachah Home consistently requested higher amounts of funding to provide for their cause, which Upchurch and staff insisted grew more each year. However, based on information provided in the ledgers, the amount of women seeking refuge between 1917 and 1923 did not grow exponentially, instead decreasing for several years before slowly rising again, whereas requests for donations increased by over six-hundred percent. Cash audit records from 1922 and 1923 reveal a total income of the Home between thirty-three thousand and thirty-six thousand each year.<sup>266</sup> Therefore the Berachah Home set consistently high financial goals for their work, which were rarely, if ever, met.

Some campaigns run by the Home were more successful than the large sum campaigns. The most successful of these was the Daily Bread Campaign, which was sponsored by Reverend Alonso Monk, Jr. a local Methodist preacher. This campaign typically took up one page in each *Purity Crusader*, beginning in the Fall of 1919. The campaign's purpose was to attract subscribers to pledge fifty dollars for one day in the coming year. The pledged money would cover all operating expenses for the Home for the selected day, which included food for all the women and children in the Home and

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<sup>265</sup> Applications Ledger 1920-1923; There are no applications ledgers for the years 1924-1926.

<sup>266</sup> Berachah Home 1922, 1923 Cash Audit, Ernst & Ernst, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 2, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections; This includes all donations from subscriptions, the daily bread campaign, all campaigns, etc.

salaries for the workers.<sup>267</sup> Everyone who donated, if they permitted, would have their name printed on a page in *The Purity Crusader*, and the women and children of the Home would pray for them on their selected date.<sup>268</sup> 1920, the first year of the campaign, seemed to be the most successful with each day's pledge met, however the trend did not continue.<sup>269</sup> In May 1921, Upchurch wrote a scathing article in *The Purity Crusader* condemning those who had neglected the appeals of the Home for the campaign, leaving more than one hundred and fifty-four days to be provided for that year, some of which had been pledged, but the funds never sent in.<sup>270</sup> This theme would remain a constant trend for Berachah and the Daily Bread Campaign over the coming years, with Upchurch often pleading with subscribers in his editorials to pledge days and send the funds in right away.<sup>271</sup> Occasionally Upchurch would send out a desperate plea for donors to help make up the deficit in operating expenses not provided through the Daily Bread Campaign. In October 1922, the Home needed over two-thousand dollars to be back on track. This meant those living in the Home had to fast for all but one meal a day, and all staff members went without payment for several months.<sup>272</sup> Even though the Daily Bread Campaign enjoyed a successful opening year in 1920, it, like other Berachah funding campaigns, failed to meet donation goals, with the Home often struggling in their attempts to garner desired funding.

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<sup>267</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, September 1919, 4.

<sup>268</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Contributors to the Daily Bread Campaign," *The Purity Crusader*, March 1920, 8.

<sup>269</sup> Alonso Monk Jr. "Second Annual Daily Bread Campaign," *The Purity Crusader*. October 1920, 7.

<sup>270</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, March 1921, 5. There is a discrepancy in the printing of this edition of *The Purity Crusader*, while this edition is listed as March 1921, it appears to actually be the May edition of 1921, with a typo on the Home's part.

<sup>271</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1925, 2.

<sup>272</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, October 1922, 4.

The Berachah Home, though not officially affiliated with the Nazarene Church, followed closely to Nazarene practices and teachings, especially in the redemption process. The Home had specific and rigorous steps for unwed mothers to follow in order to be considered redeemed based on Home standards. However, because of this rigorous process and high standards, women rarely completed the full redemption process to become useful citizens. While unwed mothers attempted to progress through the steps of the redemption process they were rewarded, given the ability to participate in public programs, have their writing published in *The Purity Crusader*, and decide punishments for unredeemed women who broke rules inside the Home. The power given to those attempting full redemption was often undermined, however, by the Berachah Home, as they used their best-behaved, redeemed women as spectacles to draw in crowds to the Home and garner donations for their cause. By using the redeemed women as spectacles, and hiding the unredeemed, Berachah created an illusion of complete success. While on display in person for those who attended Berachah camp revivals, *The Purity Crusader* delivered the same message, with increased attempts at large sum campaigns to garner funds the Home claimed to require due to an increase of applications. However, close examination of the Berachah Home ledgers revealed that though Home requests for donations grew by over six-hundred percent; the increase in applications only grew by three percent between 1917-1923. Berachah exaggerated their need, and rarely met attempted funding goals. Ultimately, the Home set high moral standards and financial goals that the unwed mothers and donation campaigns were rarely capable of meeting.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE FRUIT OF THEIR SIN: CHILDREN, RACISM, AND LEAVING BERACHAH

In September 1926, a three-year-old “illegitimate” child, or child born out of wedlock, played on a bed near an upstairs window at Berachah. Somehow, unbeknownst to those of the Home, the little boy managed to open the screen, then “fell two stories foremost onto a concrete pavement.”<sup>273</sup> Upchurch described the accident as a “terrible fall,” and all members of the Home, staff and unwed mothers alike, prayed for the little boy, who, by the next morning had made a miraculous recovery, and played with the other children as if nothing had happened, with no broken bones or serious injuries.<sup>274</sup> This sort of miracle was one that Upchurch claimed often occurred at Berachah, as the Home was a monument to Christ.<sup>275</sup> Unfortunately, most articles about the children of Berachah were not steeped in miracles. Instead, the children born to unwed mothers at Berachah were inside a Christian institution in Arlington, Texas, where their lives were built and structured based on Christian theology. These children were held to a different standard than their mothers, with the influence of greater American society weighing heavy on the moral choices and decisions made about them. The Home allowed influence from greater society to shape their beliefs and plans for both children and unwed mothers, often contradicting their own message through eugenics, racism, and the agency of the unwed mother in the Home.

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<sup>273</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, September 1926, 3.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid. This story about the little boy is not mentioned in the ledgers, so whether or not it actually occurred is unknown.

<sup>275</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “A Monument to Christ,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 2.



Children comprised of one of the most important commonalities in the Berachah Home and other rescue homes across the nation, as they were the attribute that led most women to seek residence there in the first place. When originally founded in the 1890s, the Berachah Home did not intend to participate in any sort of maternity work, as children were not their primary concern, rather focusing on saving the souls of women who had become victims of vice districts.<sup>276</sup> This would change later, especially when most vice districts closed and maternity work became their primary focus. This shift can especially be seen through the Home's rebranding, changing the official name of the Home from "Berachah Industrial Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls" to "Berachah Home for Mother and Child," which took place in the early 1920s.<sup>277</sup> The way the Home operated did not change, their focus was still the redemption of "erring girls," however this rebranding gave the Home a more inclusive and less judgmental title which would be more appealing to potential donors. In December 1922, Upchurch noted that some "friends from Dallas" donated an iron arch and a sign that was erected over the "Dallas and Fort Worth pike" at the intersection that led to Berachah. The sign included, in large letters, "Berachah Home for Mother and Child," with a hand pointing toward the Home.<sup>278</sup>

Both before and after this inclusion of "child" in the Home's official title, children were often mentioned as an afterthought at Berachah, due to most evangelical workers perceiving of children as tools to aid in the redemption of their mothers. Outside of

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<sup>276</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "From Alpha to Omega," *The Purity Crusader*, May 1922, 1.

<sup>277</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Make it a Liberal New Year Gift," *The Purity Crusader*, January 1922, 8. The first evidence of this name change is reflected in the January 1922 *Purity Crusader* on a donation card that can be cut out and mailed back. There was no earlier reference to the name change, therefore the name could have changed earlier – but was not mentioned specifically in *The Purity Crusader*.

<sup>278</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Editorials," *The Purity Crusader*, December 1922, 5.

keeping their children as constant reminders of their sin, the Home also used the children as tools in other ways. For example, in the July 1921 *Purity Crusader*, Matron Nettie Norwood recounted the story of a woman who left the Home unredeemed; the next they heard of the woman, she sought to return to the Home after her child had been run over by an automobile, the child's "brain splattered out on the street."<sup>279</sup> Norwood asserted that because of the girl's poor choices God had killed the child to teach her a lesson. Norwood identified the child as a tool used to punish the unwed mother, thus putting the unwed mother's interests as a human before that of the child. Historian Regina Kunzel found that this practice of putting the mother's well-being first changed when social workers became the primary workers in other maternity homes; however, the Berachah Home never allowed social workers.<sup>280</sup>

The Berachah Home left behind limited information about the children and their lives at the Home. Most women who gave birth in the Berachah Home did so under the care of a local doctor noted as "Dr. Harvey" in Home ledgers.<sup>281</sup> Dr. Harvey lived in Arlington and was called in for all births at the Home.<sup>282</sup> Payment for the doctor's services typically came from the unwed mother and her family if they were able to afford it; otherwise, Home funds were used to pay for these costs.<sup>283</sup> The children would sleep in bed with their mothers and spend the day at "baby camp" which could be compared to

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<sup>279</sup> Nettie Norwood, "Home Notes," *The Purity Crusader*, July 1921.

<sup>280</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 128. Kunzel claimed that social workers put the interests of the child as the primary focus of their work.

<sup>281</sup> Admittance Ledger 1924-1928.

<sup>282</sup> Irma Dee Weddle Grounds, Interview by Cody S. Davis, February 12, 2008.

<sup>283</sup> Crane, Janet. "Under New Apartments City's History Disappearing." 1970(?). Berachah Home Collection;  
Some examples of who paid for the doctor's services can be seen in Admissions Ledger, 1916-1918 beginning on page 46.

current day care systems.<sup>284</sup> Tending to the children at baby camp became the primary job for some unwed mothers in the Home. The daily life of children at Berachah mirrored the life of the mother's in that they were required to pray throughout the day; with children over the age of three attending a kindergarten class furnished by Berachah.<sup>285</sup> Older children attended the local Arlington public school for their primary education.<sup>286</sup>

The lives of children were rarely mentioned in *The Purity Crusader*, with the main focus of most articles primarily dealing with unwed motherhood. However, when the children were mentioned, their stories were primarily used to garner funding for the Home. In 1919 the Home started a campaign to build a "children's building," which would primarily house the children for the majority of their activities.<sup>287</sup> The Home relied completely on donations, especially those from *Purity Crusader* subscribers, to fund Berachah in every aspect, including that of erecting new buildings. The campaign for the children's building requested a minimum of thirty-five thousand dollars in donations, which inspired frequent articles about the children of Berachah in *The Purity Crusader*. These articles referred to "Berachah Babies" as a potentially "great asset to the State if properly housed and trained."<sup>288</sup> If Berachah did not receive the funding for the new building then they claimed the children were "liable to become criminals."<sup>289</sup>

At the 1919 Anniversary camp revival, a redeemed unwed mother took the stage and told her story, of how she and another woman had both come to Berachah, pregnant

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<sup>284</sup> Hattye Saylor, "Two Weeks in Berachah in 1903 as Told by the Folding Bed," *The Purity Crusader*, March 1919, 1.

<sup>285</sup> Mildred McClelland, "With the Kindergarten," *The Purity Crusader*, May 1922, 12.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Shall We Do It?" *The Purity Crusader*, April 1919, 1. The *Purity Crusader* is unclear of whether or not the children slept in the building after it was built at the end of 1922.

<sup>288</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Children," *The Purity Crusader*, June 1919, 1.

<sup>289</sup> Upchurch, "Shall We Do It?" April 1919, 1.

by the same man. While she spoke her story, both of these children were presented on stage with her. *The Purity Crusader* claimed that the children “made a very definite and favorable impression on the audience,” who donated a total of one thousand dollars specifically for the new children’s building at the anniversary alone.<sup>290</sup> The children were placed on stage as an anomaly for anniversary goers to gawk at and garner sympathy, which in turn led to increased donations. These children were no longer people, but rather a tragedy, one the Home capitalized on.

By referring to the children as a public commodity rather than people, they became both an investment interest and scare tactic, convincing people to donate money to the Home. By referring to the children as future criminals, *The Purity Crusader* ignited fear in its readers that, without Berachah’s training, their own children could be compromised in the future by the “illegitimate” children born at Berachah. Thus catering to and emphasizing the beliefs in larger society that children born out of wedlock were not only different from “legitimate” children, but that they were a danger to society.

This fear of illegitimacy affecting future generations negatively became a common thread seen in *The Purity Crusader*. Children were not a primary concern for the Berachah Home due to beliefs that children born out of wedlock had permanent, irreversible genetic stains. These stains occurred due to the “sinful” circumstances surrounding their births, which historian Rickie Solinger claimed as a reason why homes like Berachah in the United States disallowed adoption. An “illegitimate” child, without married parents, held a genetic taint that made them undesirable for adoption into decent

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<sup>290</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Loaded,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1919, 3.

homes.<sup>291</sup> J.T. Upchurch, in *The Purity Crusader*, asserted that no act of man could make an “illegitimate” child legitimate and even though he asserted that these children should be blameless for the choices made by the parents, he firmly advocated that each of these children had an irremovable “dark stain upon their lives.”<sup>292</sup> Upchurch asserted that marriage was an institution of God, and only children born within the walls of that sacred altar could truly lead honorable lives.<sup>293</sup> Yet in another *Purity Crusader*, while discussing the story of a young girl who received bullying from her classmates due to being “illegitimate,” the author criticized the bullies and begged them, “please do not criticize the little thing for her crime.”<sup>294</sup> Essentially in this scenario that child had committed a crime, according to the Home, and therefore received blame for the actions committed by her parents, which led to her birth. In messages in *The Purity Crusader*, the Berachah Home staff contradicted their own opinions and message when it came to who should receive blame for illegitimacy.

According to the Berachah Home, the genetic stain on these children did not end there. Staff members of the Home asserted that prenatal influence had a heavy hand in shaping future generations. Hattye Saylor, the secretary of the Berachah Home, wrote an article in the April 1916 *Purity Crusader*, which was also republished in the August 1926 *Purity Crusader*, about current scientific research, which she claimed traced the descendants for two hundred years of two men, one, Max Jukes, a criminal, and the other, Jonathan Edwards, a Christian preacher. Hattye claimed the scientist found that over one

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<sup>291</sup> Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*, 149.

<sup>292</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Motherhood: The Crowning Glory of Womanhood,” *The Purity Crusader*, August 1922, 1;  
Upchurch, “Shall We Do It?” April 1919, 1.

<sup>293</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1925, 2.

<sup>294</sup> T.W. Shannon, “Our Double Standard of Morals,” February 1919, 8.

thousand of Jukes' descendants were "convicted criminals, habitual thieves, notoriously wicked, or professional paupers."<sup>295</sup> By comparison, all of the over one-thousand descendants of Edwards were all found to be upstanding and well-behaved citizens, with the only negative blot of his line being Aaron Burr, the former Vice President of the United States, well known for killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel.<sup>296</sup> This article revealed that staff of the Home believed that those stained with negative influences, like illegitimacy and criminal backgrounds were liable to pass these "defects" on to future generations, leading to hundreds of years of criminals and a further flawed population.

The belief that genetic taint passed on to future generations was further reiterated by Hattye Saylor who worked at Berachah for many years, was unmarried, yet remained dedicated to the Home, writing many articles for *The Purity Crusader*. In a story told by Joe Nation, son of Edward Nation who worked for Berachah for over thirty years, one of the unwed mothers of Berachah named her child after Saylor, though the baby died not long after birth. Saylor did not take this endearment as a compliment, went down to the Berachah Cemetery with a hammer, and chipped the child's name "Hattye" from the grave, for fear that future generations would believe that the illegitimate child had belonged to her. Unequivocally, she wanted to make sure her name remained clear and untarnished by the taint that followed not only unwed motherhood, but also that of flawed genetics, passed from unwed mother to "illegitimate" child.<sup>297</sup>

The fear of endless "defective" populations in the United States led to the eugenics movement in the early twentieth century. Popular in many states, eugenics

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<sup>295</sup> Hattye Saylor, "The Yesteryears and Now," *The Purity Crusader*, April 1916, 1, 7.

Hattye Saylor, "The Yesteryears and Now," *The Purity Crusader*, August 1926, 1, 8.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>297</sup> Steve Blow. "Memories Come to Life in Cemetery," *Dallas Morning News*, May 29, 1991.

meant the forced sterilization of “undesirable” populations.<sup>298</sup> These “undesirable” or “defective” people were often immigrants, the disabled, people of color, and unmarried mothers. Due to the deep-seated belief in genetic pre-natal influence, eugenics provided what some believed was a “fix-all,” that would save America from future defective people, which they believed would lead to less crime, less ignorance, and less pregnancies out of wedlock.<sup>299</sup> By 1935, twenty-nine states had Eugenic Sterilization laws on the books, meaning that coerced sterilization of unfavorable populations were legal in those states. Texas was not one of them.<sup>300</sup>

The Berachah Home provided full support for the eugenics movement, asserting that the most efficient way to combat the social evil of sexual intercourse before marriage was through controlled breeding per eugenics.<sup>301</sup> In a September 1916 article in *The Purity Crusader*, Hattie Saylor claimed that of the tens of thousands of people in the United States who currently resided in insane asylums, rescue homes, and poor farms, over one-third of them had been traced to only thirteen original families. If these thirteen families had been sterilized, those undesirable people would not exist. She also claimed that of the total one-hundred fifty thousand “feebleminded” people in the United States, that only ten percent were confined and over four million dollars had been spent each year to provide care for the results of the crimes and sins of these people.<sup>302</sup> Ultimately,

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<sup>298</sup> Lisa Ko, “Unwanted Sterilization and Eugenics Programs at the United States,” PBS, accessed May 18, 2018, <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/blog/unwanted-sterilization-and-eugenics-programs-in-the-united-states>

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., Texas never passed a eugenics law, however there were many pro-eugenics efforts in the state that attempted to pass eugenics legislation through the state legislature multiple times, however it never passed.

<sup>301</sup> Those E. Mangum, “Eradicating the Social Evil,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1917, 8.

<sup>302</sup> Hattie Saylor, “Our Pedigreed Stock of Criminals, Paupers, and Defectives,” *The Purity Crusader*, September 1917, 3.

Hattye argued that the people of the United States had the responsibility of taking care of this problem. By utilizing eugenics, the U.S. could put a “limit upon multiplication,” and prevent defective traits in future generations.<sup>303</sup>

While the Home published *The Purity Crusader*, they also helped promote a monthly magazine called *Practical Eugenics*, published by Professor T.W. Shannon from Delaware, Ohio, who often wrote guest articles for *The Purity Crusader*. Advertised as providing articles on “better children, better parents, choice of life companions, and heredity,” *Practical Eugenics* could be purchased with a one-year subscription to *The Purity Crusader*, which would save the subscriber over a dollar on both subscriptions.<sup>304</sup>

No direct evidence of any sort of sterilization exists in connection with the Berachah Home. However, the Home’s repeated use and push of eugenics literature revealed a larger pattern that connected with the social structure of the time period, where eugenics provided a popular way to combat societal problems such as unwed motherhood and criminality amongst both women and men. While the Home connected with popular society on this issue, by aligning with the eugenics movement, the Berachah Home went against their own moral standards. Because, according to Home literature, an out-of-wedlock pregnancy constituted a call for controlled breeding and sterilization, all women in the Home were candidates for such a procedure to prevent the spread of tainted genetics through their offspring. Therefore, any sort of practical training the Home claimed to be able to provide to “illegitimate” children to make them useful to the state, was nullified due to the Home’s connection to the eugenics movement. The Home did not necessarily have an interest in providing a positive home life and training for the future of

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Practical Eugenics,” *The Purity Crusader*, April 1917, 8.



the children, but rather had more interest in utilizing these children as a method to gain funding for expansion of the Berachah Home.

The Berachah Home, as seen with the eugenics movement, was not immune to the actions and movements of greater society between 1915-1926, which can also be seen with the reemergence of Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. The Klan reemerged at this time, striking a sensitive cord with many Americans across the United States with their anti-immigrant stance. While the Klan espoused white supremacy, in their hooded white robes, they became more than anti-black southerners as they had been post-reconstruction. In the 1920s, the Klan became anti-Jewish, anti-Asian, and anti-Roman Catholic. They were anti-immigrants whether a recent immigrant or one who had been in the United States for some time.<sup>305</sup> This occurred due to the recent influx of more than one million immigrants each year in the decade before World War I. Many of these immigrants were non-English speakers from southern and eastern Europe, the majority Jewish and Catholic.<sup>306</sup> During the 1920s the Klan grew to over two million members across the United States, and by 1922 included over 150,000 paid memberships in Texas. Members of the KKK came from all walks of society in Texas, with connections in law enforcement, city and state government.<sup>307</sup> Klan rhetoric pressed for “one hundred-percent Americanism,” and took a definitive stance against immodest dress, bobbed hair, and all forms of unconventional sexuality practices.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940*, 166-167.

<sup>306</sup> Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940*, 173.

<sup>307</sup> *Handbook of Texas Online*, Christopher Long, "KU KLUX KLAN," accessed August 07, 2018, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vek02>.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid*, 167.

Many of the Berachah Home's internal standards aligned with the Ku Klux Klan's message. As seen previously, the Home disavowed clothing that revealed anything below the collar, with even the baring of ankles or arms strictly prohibited. Women had to keep their hair in longer styles, pulled back in a tight bun at the base of their head with no allowance made for short new-age hairstyles.<sup>309</sup> The Home also made efforts to keep women of color out. Census records from 1920 and 1930 reveal only white women as inmates of the Berachah Home.<sup>310</sup> Even white women with children of mixed race were denied residence at Berachah.<sup>311</sup> This racism did not exist only for those of African American descent, but also other women of color as well. In August of 1921 a "Spanish girl" applied to Berachah and was not accepted.<sup>312</sup>

J.T. Upchurch discussed an event he attended in Arlington in September 1922, put on by Alonso Monk Jr., the local Methodist preacher whom Upchurch had befriended. The event consisted of three positive sermons on the Ku Klux Klan, with such a large attendance they had to move from the church to the outdoor airdome. Upchurch described that upon the conclusion of the final sermon, four Klansmen came inside the airdome amidst roaring cheers of the crowd, where Monk spoke further about the importance of the Klan in society and how they stood for the American flag and followed the cross of Jesus, as a true Christian organization. At the conclusion of Monk's speech, the lights were extinguished in the dome and "and amid the darkness, out through the Stars and Stripes brightly shined the Fiery, Crimson Cross throwing a soft red light on the full

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<sup>309</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 1993, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 15.

<sup>310</sup> 1920 United States Federal Census, Heritage Quest, accessed October 18, 2017; 1930 United States Federal Census, Heritage Quest, accessed April 30, 2018.

<sup>311</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 66.

<sup>312</sup> Applications Ledger, 1920-1923, 24.

robed Klansmen, while the crowd went wild.”<sup>313</sup> The Klansmen sang a religious hymn in the darkness, and Upchurch described the event as one that “stirred the soul and gripped the heart,” as one of the most moving services he had ever attended.<sup>314</sup> Upchurch would go on in the article to reiterate that while there were many issues before the public at that time, the people of the United States needed to pray and follow God in all things. Essentially, Upchurch intended this to be taken as a choice, where not supporting the Ku Klux Klan would be tantamount to disavowing God.

Beginning in the 1920s, especially after Upchurch expressed his support of the Klan in September 1922, the Home, through *The Purity Crusader*, became more outspoken when it came to anti-black rhetoric, anti-immigrants, and anti other religions, especially Roman Catholicism and Judaism. In a 1923 article titled “America for Americans: Not a Ku Klux Klan Article,” Upchurch discussed “the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic,” the three main elements which he claimed were the biggest threats to American citizens, and threatened to annihilate national life.<sup>315</sup> Upchurch began by discussing the African American population, which he claimed were a “menace to white supremacy,” but they were not totally to blame for this because white people had brought them to the United States, enslaved them, and then turned them loose without proper training and provisions.<sup>316</sup> However, Upchurch claimed the greatest menace to Americans was the “unscrupulous renegade Jew.”<sup>317</sup> He claimed that their financial shrewdness in America led them to be the main operators of the bootlegging businesses that existed

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<sup>313</sup> J.T Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, September 1922, 4-5.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>315</sup> J.T Upchurch, “America for Americans: Not a Ku Klux Klan Article,” August 1923, 1.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

across the country during prohibition, as well as the motion picture industry. He claimed that the Jewish people had united with the Roman Catholics in America under a conspiracy against the country to corrupt and destroy the foundation of America, especially through African American populations, whom he accused them of brainwashing to do their bidding.<sup>318</sup> He also inculcated immigrants across the board, claiming that all nude bathers on public beaches were from the immigrant population.<sup>319</sup> Upchurch ended the article begging for the American population to consider the safety of the nation, and to let “America be for Americans,” the primary slogan of the Ku Klux Klan, even though he claimed to distance himself from the Klan in his article’s title.<sup>320</sup> It can be presumed that the Home chose to not specifically back the Klan in this instance because of backlash from readers for his previous blatant support.

Upchurch’s indirect, yet not so disassociation from the Klan can be further seen in a response article published two months after the original “America for Americans” article in *The Purity Crusader*. The response came from a rabbi who disavowed everything Upchurch mentioned in his original article claiming that Upchurch could not be a fair, honorable Christian if he could present whole groups of people as evil.<sup>321</sup> Upchurch explained in an editor’s note before the published response that the rabbi and others, including other periodicals, had shown a negative response for what had been published in *The Purity Crusader*. Therefore, Upchurch allowed this response article to

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<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> David Lefkowitz, “A Reply to ‘America for Americans,’” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1923, 3.

be published because he wanted to prove he had “no racial or denominational prejudice.”<sup>322</sup>

While Upchurch allowed *The Purity Crusader* to publish the response of the rabbi to prove his own open-mindedness and lack of prejudice, he revealed something deeper about the Home and the principles of which it was based. Upchurch, while a clear supporter of the Ku Klux Klan and an advocate of anti-immigration legislation, found that many supporters, especially donors to the Home, did not necessarily support blatant, open racial prejudice, especially through groups like the Ku Klux Klan who were known for partaking in violent acts against those who did not fall under the umbrella of white supremacy. In result, after the publication of the rabbi’s response to “America for Americans,” in October 1923 the Ku Klux Klan was not mentioned in another *Purity Crusader* for the next three years, nor were any anti-race or anti-religion articles published. However, evidence in the Home ledgers revealed that no African American or Jewish women were ever accepted into Berachah, racial and anti-Semitic principles held strong. Women of the Roman Catholic religion were accepted on occasion, though like their peers, they had to experience religious conversion in the Home and denounce all connection to the Catholic Church.<sup>323</sup>

The Berachah Home purposely excluded non-white, non-Christian populations from the Home, based on racial and religious prejudices, while espousing these ideas through publications in *The Purity Crusader*. By doing this, the Home went against their own moral principles and standards. The Home called itself “The Berachah Industrial

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Won’t You Help Berachah Help These Girls and Their Little Ones,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1922, 8.

Home for the Redemption of Erring Girls,” and later “The Berachah Home for Mother and Child.” These titles in themselves imply inclusion of all women who erred and all children, making no differentiation of race or religion in their title. However, the Berachah Home was not created to help all erring girls, unwed mothers, and their children. Berachah was created to help a specific segment of the American population: white American unwed mothers with white children.

This specific set of women who were accepted into Berachah could be considered the chosen few; however, as revealed in previous chapters, life inside the Home was not picturesque, often complicated by mandatory religious services, redemption, and judgment by Home staff. This judgment can be seen through the way the Home discussed unwed mothers in *The Purity Crusader*, especially when it came to a woman’s agency in her own life. Berachah Home staff members consistently discussed the unwed mother as a non-active agent in the choices and decisions she made, which often led her to Berachah. For example, the cautionary tale “Whiskey Nat,” published in *The Purity Crusader* beginning in October 1916, and continuing in installments over the course of the next nine months, related the story of Nat, whose main goal throughout the tale was to prevent the woman he cared about, Flora, from being ruined by a vile man named Clarence. All three of these main characters grew up together until the age of five before Flora moved away. Yet, as adults, both Nat and Clarence were well versed in the act of sexual intercourse.<sup>324</sup> Flora, however, consistently revealed ignorance of sexual attraction and sexual acts throughout the story. For example, Flora believed she loved Clarence, however, after one conversation with Nat, she decided she “did not love Clarence at all,”

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<sup>324</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat,” *The Purity Crusader*, October 1916, 1.

but rather, loved Nat instead.<sup>325</sup> By framing Flora this way, she was revealed as being uncertain of her emotions and easily swayed by those around her, creating a flighty impression of her as an individual. Essentially, Flora was not making her own choices, but allowing both Clarence and Nat to make decisions for her, from moment to moment.

This idea was further seen when Nat had the opportunity to tell Flora that Clarence intended to “ruin” her by giving her false promises, taking her virginity, and leaving her directly afterward. However, even though presented with a ripe opportunity to warn Flora of what Clarence had planned for her, Nat chose not to.<sup>326</sup> Essentially, he did not trust Flora with the information that would give her the opportunity to take control of the situation on her own. Nat clearly believed that Flora, as a woman, was incapable of making the proper choice to save herself from “ruin.”<sup>327</sup>

Ultimately, Clarence ruined Flora, fully emulating the “old, old story” told by the Home. Flora would become a prostitute in Hell’s Half Acre in Fort Worth, Texas, where she later ran into Nat. Nat was disgusted at the sight of her, and later that same day Flora committed suicide.<sup>328</sup> Nat, and later Nat’s brother, would blame Clarence for Flora’s death, removing Flora’s agency in the act of taking her own life. Even in death, Flora was viewed as having no control over her own actions, rather being controlled completely by the men in her life. In the after note, Upchurch does not discuss Flora or her own choices, but rather Nat’s choice to ultimately turn to drinking and not to emulate God in his life. This persistent belief in lack of agency for the unwed mother and women in general was not uncommon in the early twentieth century. Historian Marian Morton discussed this

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<sup>325</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat,” *The Purity Crusader*, December 1916, 6.

<sup>326</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat,” *The Purity Crusader*, January 1917, 6.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Whiskey Nat,” *The Purity Crusader*, June 1917, 8.

premise in her work, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland 1855-1990*, however she claimed that women, in general, especially unwed mothers, were not allowed any agency, and any time they had any, it was small, often unnoticed or self-destructive.<sup>329</sup>

While Morton's argument somewhat agreed with the arguments made in *The Purity Crusader*, and presents a reasonable answer, that women merely did not have much agency in the early twentieth century due to gender roles of the time, it does not take into account that places like the Berachah Home were contradictory in their own message, especially when it came to the agency of the woman at hand. For example, in the February 1922 *Purity Crusader* article "When a Man Loves a Woman," the Home insinuates that the woman was the heart of a relationship, while the man was the head. Upchurch lists several famous men like Julius Caesar, Samson, and Benedict Arnold claiming that had these men not loved the wrong women, they would not have been led down tragic paths.<sup>330</sup> George Washington was also listed, loving the right woman, which led him down a good path. Upchurch implied that a woman had great power over a man, power that a man was unable to resist once he fell in love. This power made it possible for a woman to decide the ultimate fate of not only her own life, but the man's life as well. This power reveals the ultimate form of agency a woman could have – power over her own life and over someone else's. However, revealing a woman has any sort of agency, whether negative or positive, contradicts the Home's previous statements on women's agency in general.

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<sup>329</sup> Marian J. Morton, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland 1855-1990* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 125.

<sup>330</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "When a Man Loves a Woman," *The Purity Crusader*, February 1922, 1.



Another example of women's agency shown in *The Purity Crusader* can be seen in the story "Loaded: A Short Story of Tangled Lives," about two women who were impregnated by the same man and both ended up at Berachah. The first girl impregnated by the man, was, according to Upchurch, the love of his life, and when she became pregnant during their engagement, he wanted to marry her right away. However, the young woman chose not to marry him, and instead broke off their engagement and ran away to have her baby at Berachah.<sup>331</sup> In this story the unwed mother was given agency, and according to Upchurch, with this agency, made the wrong choice, which not only disgraced her own life, but the life of the unwed father, who would go on to make more poor choices. Therefore, when women were allowed agency, they were revealed to have made poor choices that affected not only their own lives in a negative way, but also the lives of men, family members, and their unborn children.

Once inside a rescue home, women wielded their own power, especially when leaving Berachah. Women who were unhappy inside the home would often run away, taking their children with them, and typically, at least two or more women ran away together. Historian Regina Kunzel called this bond between unwed mothers in rescue homes a "sisterhood."<sup>332</sup> Matrons often frowned upon close friendships between women, especially when it was used to circumvent home rules. Runaways were common at the Berachah Home; however, why these women ran away remains unclear. No primary source evidence exists from the women of Berachah that had not been through the filter of Home staff members. Therefore, specific information on why unwed mothers chose to leave the Home remains a mystery. However, the information available revealed that the

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<sup>331</sup> J.T. Upchurch, "Loaded: A Short Story of Tangled Lives," *The Purity Crusader*, June 1919, 2.

<sup>332</sup> Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 82.

Berachah Home property had no fences; therefore, women were not kept in the Home by any sort of physical barrier.<sup>333</sup>

In the editorial section of the 1926 *Purity Crusader* Upchurch claimed that women who ran away from Berachah were women who sought to return home before a “real door of welcome was open to them,” by their family members.<sup>334</sup> Therefore these unwed mothers attempted to return to a home that did not want them and by doing so, they broke one of the most important rules that had to be followed to become fully “redeemed” based on Home standards: to remain in Berachah for at least one year.<sup>335</sup> Upchurch also asserted, that even if these unwed mothers had made it home, of which, the three women mentioned in this particular article did not, their family members would not have wanted them, as “their folks w[ould] never be the same again,” and neither would the unwed mother’s relationship with them.<sup>336</sup> By writing this, Upchurch insisted that the best place for the unwed mother was a rescue home like Berachah, because even after a woman achieved a fully redeemed status, she would still be shunned, in a sense, by her family.

The Berachah Home ledgers revealed a different story when it came to the relationship between unwed mothers and their families. While the ledgers do not go into great detail about personal relationships, they do include information about where the unwed mother and her child went upon departure from Berachah. More than half the women who left the Home between 1916-1923 went to live with a family member, many

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<sup>333</sup> Dorothy Upchurch Betts, *Berachah: The Life and Work of J.T. and Maggie Upchurch*, 1993, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, 9.

<sup>334</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, December 1926, 2.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

of them leaving “dishonorably” due to not staying in the Home a full year. Even women who did leave “honorably” most often went home to live with a family member. For example, an unwed mother named Maureen Armstrong “returned to her home with her father. She had been with the Home one year and two months.”<sup>337</sup> Some families picked up their daughters early, deciding they preferred her to be at home with them. For example, in December 1918, “Mr. and Mrs. Parkham came after their daughter Velma Parkham and she returned home with them,” even though Velma had only been at Berachah for a little over a month.<sup>338</sup> These women and many others were accepted back into the homes of family members after their “fall from grace,” nullifying Upchurch’s argument, that most families would not accept an unwed mother back into their lives.

The act of claiming an unwed mother would not be accepted by her family upon leaving Berachah, whether as a runaway or otherwise, revealed that the Berachah Home believed that while the unwed mother had agency in some situations, it was destructive and she could not be trusted with bigger decisions. Berachah claimed homesickness prevailed as the primary reason unwed mothers wanted to leave the Home, and implied that it was primarily women who had barely made any progress toward redemption.<sup>339</sup> This, however, did not seem to be the case consistently. Retha Burgin, a redeemed unwed mother at Berachah who had related her own tale of “ruin” in *The Purity Crusader* in August 1925 titled “A Soul Rescued From a Life of Tragedies,” ran away in September 1926, after being in the Home for more than a year. She, along with two other unwed mothers who ran away with her, were brought back to Berachah several days later. Retha

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<sup>337</sup> Admittance Ledger 1918-1920, 53.

<sup>338</sup> Admittance ledger 1918-1920, 27.

<sup>339</sup> J.T. Upchurch, “Editorials,” *The Purity Crusader*, September 1926.

had made progress, based on the Home's moral standards for redemption, as she had been allowed to publish in *The Purity Crusader*, yet more than a year later, Retha would attempt to run away, taking her son with her. Since Retha had reached a "redeemed" status in the Home, running away should not have been an option, as she should have been able to leave the Home honorably, yet she did not. This same situation can be seen several other times throughout the ledgers during the duration of this study.

Between 1917-1926 forty different women ran away from the Berachah Home in spite of the Home consistently claiming that women, especially unwed mothers had no agency, or if they did have agency, it proved ill for the unwed mother in the long run.<sup>340</sup> However, the fate of each of the forty women who ran away from the Home over the course of nine years was not fully mapped out by the Home, and whether or not an unwed mother's active agency in her own life boded well for her future was largely a matter of opinion. The unwed mother did have agency; however, the people of the early twentieth century were loathe to acknowledge a woman's power for anything more than demise and devastation of her own life, and the lives of those around her.

"Illegitimate" children, unlike unwed mothers at Berachah, had no moral stipulations placed upon them. These children born at Berachah were considered to have no chance at redemption, unlike their mothers who could follow a rigorous process to being fully redeemed. These children, who had no control over the circumstances of their birth, were considered by the Berachah Home to be permanently stained, and would pass on their genetic taint of illegitimacy to their own children later in life. Home articles contradicted one another on whether or not the child was to blame for its illegitimacy.

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<sup>340</sup> Applications ledgers 1917-1926.

The Home catered to larger society's beliefs about "illegitimate" children by utilizing the idea of stained genetics as a scare tactic to garner funding for the Home and treated the children like commodities that could be trained to better society. Yet, simultaneously, the Home pushed eugenics literature, clearly influenced by the larger eugenics movement, calling for coerced sterilization and better breeding to help prevent unwed motherhood and criminality in the future. This further contradicted their message, by complicating it with the belief that all children born to unwed mothers would pass on defective genetic traits that would pass to each incoming generation, further destroying American society.

The Home also advocated for the Ku Klux Klan, who were highly popular in the United States during the 1920s, as strong supporters of the message of "America for Americans" in a time of great immigration to the United States. Yet by supporting the Klan, the Home revealed perhaps its most devastating flaw – that not all unwed mothers deserved a chance at redemption. Rather, only white American women qualified for Berachah's redemption program for the hope of a better future life, after becoming an unwed mother. Even those women who were accepted into Berachah found themselves in situations where they were considered to have no agency or power over their own lives, and if they did have any, it was deemed destructive to those around them, including men and children. By using eugenics literature, the practice of exclusion, and the denial of positive agency of unwed mothers, the Home catered to the ideas of greater society in which illegitimate children had no promising future, that some people were irredeemable, and true redemption could only be reached by a very select few.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

The young Tempie Reeves and her sister Iny Hudson, aged fourteen and eleven when they entered the Berachah Home at the end of 1919, were only two of many young girls and women who spent time inside a rescue home in the early twentieth century.<sup>341</sup> Both of these young girls entered the Home at time of great change in the United States. Traditional calling practices by young men had changed to dating, with an increased lack of parental supervision. Automobiles were common in many households across the nation, used in many dating practices like attending movie theaters and dance halls. Women had begun to trade in their floor-length dresses for more practical clothing that bared their arms and legs, while also using make-up to cover blemishes, and fashioning their hair in short, bobbed styles. While American life evolved and changed in this era, young girls like Tempie and Iny were placed in the Berachah Home, because they were each “betrayed by their brother-in-law.”<sup>342</sup> While neither of them had reached the formal age of consent in Texas, no mention of prosecution, or the fate of their abuser was ever indicated in either *The Purity Crusader* or the Home ledgers.

Tempie would leave the Home without her sister in December 1920, taking her small child Junior with her to live with a family member.<sup>343</sup> However, Tempie and Junior

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<sup>341</sup> Admittance Ledger, 1918-1920, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, Folder 7, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections

<sup>342</sup> Admittance Ledger, 1918-1920.

<sup>343</sup> Admittance Ledger, 1918-1920, 81. The 1918-1920 ledger is unclear when it comes to Tempie’s marital status. Her and Iny are listed as betrayed by their brother in law, however, when Tempie leaves this first time, she is listed as leaving with her father-in-law. If she had already been married when

returned during 1921 and on March 27, 1922, she ran away from the Home leaving her son behind.<sup>344</sup> Tempie would return again in June 1922, but with no further notes on why, or where she had been. Ultimately, Tempie and Junior would leave the Home for the final time in November 1922, to make their home in Oklahoma.<sup>345</sup> Iny Hudson rarely made an appearance in the Berachah Home ledgers or *The Purity Crusader*, save for the ledger list of women in the Home at the beginning of each calendar year. Based on the ledger data available, Iny remained in the Home from 1920 through the beginning of 1926. Why Iny chose to remain at Berachah for at least five years, and why her sister came and went so frequently remains a mystery, as no primary documents from these women and the others of the Berachah Home were available for this research.

Women like Tempie and Iny lived under the strict rules of the Berachah Home, where they participated in mandatory church services, and had to experience conversion and redemption in order to be considered “useful” moving forward. No distinction was made for women who had been raped or sexually assaulted by their male counterparts, some of whom doubled as close family members. This lack of recognition of problems such as rape and incest stems from a larger pattern in society, where these issues were not recognized either, with very few, if any, legal protections in place to prosecute men who raped women. The Home instead, catered to the problem of sexual abuse against women, by claiming that all women, regardless of how they became sexually active – willingly or not – were in need of redemption.

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she entered the Home, this would reveal why she and her sister had different last names. The circumstances as to why the girls came, especially if Tempie was married, remains unclear.

<sup>344</sup> No admittance ledger exists for 1921, so exactly when and why Tempie returned is not known; Admittance Ledger, 1922-1923, Berachah Home Collection, AR280, Box 1, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries Special Collections, unnumbered page; 1922-1923 Admittance ledger, k.

<sup>345</sup> 1922-1923 Admittance ledger, 11.

The Berachah Home presented itself as an environment where women could escape the double standard against them in a world where men received no persecution for participating in pre-marital sex, yet women were considered tarnished for the rest of their lives, having to permanently bear the sin of raising their “illegitimate child.” The Berachah Home claimed unwed mothers did have an opportunity at full redemption, though only if they were to prescribe to the Home’s rigorous redemption process, which made a woman fully redeemed by ultimately marrying a respectable man. However, while the Home claimed to advocate for young unmarried girls and women, they repeatedly contradicted their own message and often reinforced the double-standard, reiterating the stigma of unwed motherhood as expressed by American society.

Unwed mothers at Berachah, especially those considered “redeemed” through the Home redemption process were given special privileges through the Home, which consisted of being able to perform at camp revivals, have their written work published in *The Purity Crusader*, and given the responsibility of punishment for Home residents who broke rules. The Home considered a woman fully redeemed when she left the Home after completing the rigorous redemption process and married an honorable man, yet less than 11% of women were married upon departure from the Home. Berachah failed when it came to meeting their own moral goals through the redemption of the unwed mothers.

The “redeemed” women in Berachah were often exploited at Home revivals, creating a spectacle to draw locals and others to the Home, in hopes of garnering donations. The Home operated solely on donations, with no specific church backing, so consistent donations were important to the well-being of Berachah. Over the course of this study, the Home had multiple fund-raising campaigns starting at one hundred thirty



thousand dollars and within four years grew to one million dollars of requested funds. Berachah claimed that the need for these funds were due to the increased amount of women who applied to Berachah each year. However, the private ledgers of the Home reveal only a 3% increase in applications to the Home, while funding requests increased by 669%. The Home exaggerated their need exponentially and did not meet their funding goals, especially for these campaigns.

The child of the unwed mother played a minor role in *The Purity Crusader*, unlike their mothers who would remain the main focus of the Home for the duration of this study. Children, when mentioned, were used as a commodity and scare tactic by the Home to garner donations from readers and revival attendees. The Home claimed that with their training, this permanently-stained child could have some future potential; otherwise, they would further contaminate the United States with the dark stain bestowed upon them when born to an unwed mother.

The Berachah Home would further contradict their own message by the clear influence of the eugenics movement and the Ku Klux Klan on their morality goals and rules. Both the eugenics movement and the KKK had become increasingly popular in the United States in the early twentieth century. Berachah's support of the eugenics movement revealed that they did not believe in a promising future for "illegitimate" children, as an out-of-wedlock pregnancy was grounds for sterilization and controlled breeding to prevent the spread of tainted genetics. Permanently tainted genetics could not be repaired or fixed, but rather was formed prenatally. Therefore, based on their support of this movement, Berachah did not believe they could make the children a useful

commodity. Essentially, the Home claimed these children had no hope for redemption like their mothers, and were exploited by Berachah in order to garner funding.

The Home's support of the Ku Klux Klan revealed its own dissatisfaction with immigration, which was common in the early twentieth century. It also revealed that the Home had exclusive tendencies and did not allow just any woman into Berachah. Women and unwed mothers had to be white Americans with white children. They could not be of foreign descent, be African American, or be Jewish. By excluding whole groups of women, the Home revealed that they did not believe all unwed mothers were worthy of redemption and that the beliefs of larger society, especially locally, due to the immense popularity of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas, impacted the way they ran every aspect of the Home.

The Berachah Home was heavily influenced by societal innovations and movements between 1915-1926, while creating their own morality goals for the women and children in their care, the Home consistently catered to the stigma of unwed motherhood in larger society, rarely met their moral goals, and often contradicted their own message. The Home, while claiming to be innovative for unwed mothers at the time, actually catered to the ideas of larger society further by not recognizing rape and incest, and reinforcing the double-standard against women. The Home forced the redemption process on all unwed mothers regardless of age or consent in sexual acts and often exploited the unwed mother and her children in order to garner funding to meet high moral goals, of which they rarely met, both financially and through the redemption process. The Home further revealed their connection and alignment with larger society through their support of both the eugenics movement and the Ku Klux Klan.

While many similar homes remained open for years, some into the 1970s, the Berachah Home only remained open only nine years beyond this study, ultimately closing January 1, 1935.<sup>346</sup> Different sources claim varying reasons for Berachah's closing, from issues with J.T. Upchurch's health to financial problems. The Home hit hard times along with the rest of the United States during the Great Depression. Since the primary source of income came directly from donations given by independent entities and people, the Home could not afford to remain open.<sup>347</sup> J.T. Upchurch coupled this problem with the fact that many of the Home's financial friends had died by 1935, and new donors were not coming forward due to economic hardships.<sup>348</sup> Similar rescue homes were able to stay open through the Great Depression to due to their backing by either religious or governmental groups, of which the Berachah Home had neither. The children in the Home were found new places to live, in many cases without their mothers in the rush of closing down – an interesting twist for a place founded on the idea of keeping mother and child together at all costs. Eventually, the Home and its land would be retained by the State of Texas and is currently the location of the University of Texas at Arlington. The cemetery, where many women and children who resided at Berachah were buried, is the only remaining remnant of the Berachah Home.

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<sup>346</sup> This study does not extend to the close of Berachah, as at the end of 1926 Upchurch changes the main focus of *The Purity Crusader*, to champion the Young People's Christian Movement, of which he became familiar with on a trip to California. This was described by Upchurch as young people coming together without denomination barriers and connecting with one another to spread Christianity. By championing the movement, *The Purity Crusader* would cater all but one page to their cause each month moving forward, meaning the paper was primarily filled with articles from and about that movement and not about Berachah.

<sup>347</sup> "Reorganizing of Berachah Home Aim," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, November, 29, 1934.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

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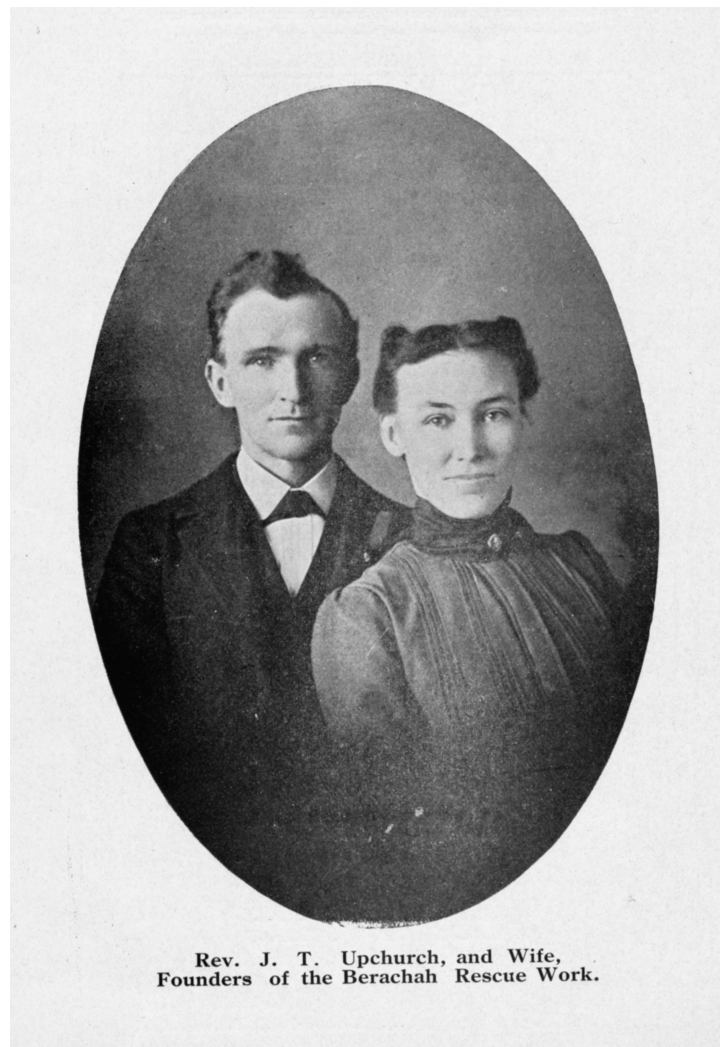
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## APPENDIX A

### Photographs of the Berachah Home



Rev. J. T. Upchurch, and Wife,  
Founders of the Berachah Rescue Work.

*Figure 1. J.T and Maggie Upchurch, 1912.*

*Source:* University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, Special Collections.



*Figure 2. Unwed mothers at the Berachah Home, February 1917.  
Source: The Purity Crusader, February, 1917, 1.*



*Figure 3. Photograph of three Berachah babies used for advertising purposes in The Purity Crusader, December 1917.  
Source: The Purity Crusader, December 1917, 5.*

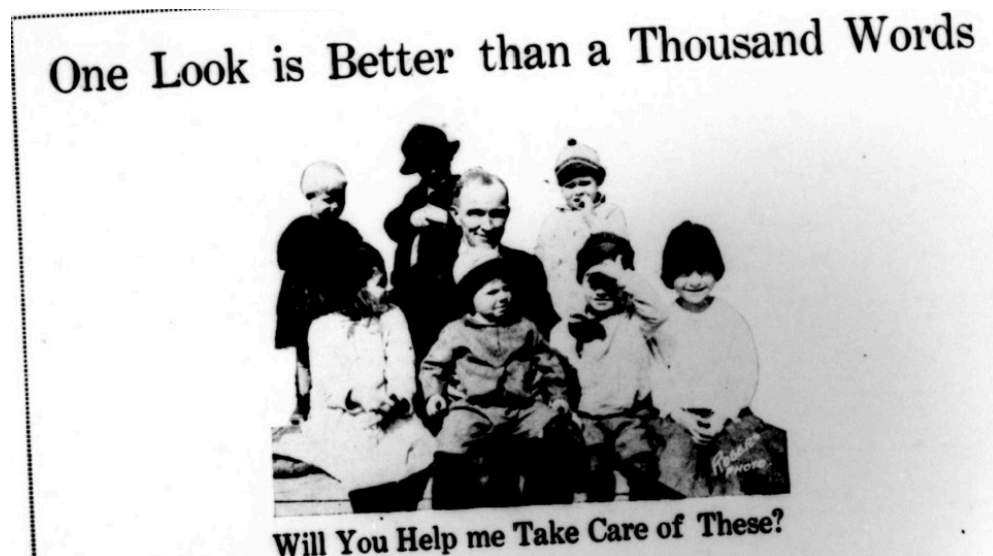


Figure 4. J.T. Upchurch pictured with seven children of the Berachah Home for an advertisement in *The Purity Crusader* in September 1923.  
Source: *The Purity Crusader*, September 1923, 8.



Figure 5. A group of people gathered in front of the Whitehill Tabernacle on Berachah Home property, presumably for an all-day religious meeting. (This photo is listed by the Special Collection of UTA libraries as taken in 1925, however, his picture is featured in the March-April 1918 edition of *The Purity Crusader*, suggesting it was taken much earlier.)

Source: *The Purity Crusader*, March-April 1918, 6-7.