TIME, PLACE, AND SPACE:
MAPPING OCEAN GROVE, NEW JERSEY
CA. 1870 TO 1880

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When the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church set out to attract people to their newly established site, they produced a map. By introducing Ocean Grove, located on the New Jersey coast about 60 miles south of Manhattan and 75 miles northeast of Philadelphia, in map form, the Association presented a cartographic vision of a place they hoped would exist. They were, ultimately, enormously successful in their endeavor. The charming beach town familiar today, however, obscures the site’s tentative beginnings as a work-in-progress that embodied contradictions and reconciliations inherent in a project that sought to combine religious revival and recreation. Moreover, successive maps—the first known map, dated to 1870, and subsequent maps distributed in 1872 and 1881—reveal the group’s initial, evolving, and solidifying conceptions of the site as a contemporary, American Methodist ideal. Ocean Grove, in these maps, emerges as an increasingly controlled and urbanized landscape fixed in time, place, and space though strategic and evocative designations: one in which the Association embedded itself in a promising future.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the American culture of leisure was in its infancy. Coastal New Jersey was largely uninhabited, and the land on which Ocean Grove came to exist was a scrappy seaside landscape of shifting sand dunes and dense thickets that was divided into large irregular plots owned, but largely unoccupied, by various individuals. In the Association’s first annual report, dated September 13, 1870, Reverend Elwood Stokes, the group’s president, recounted that the Association, established the previous winter, had engaged a professional to survey the land thus far acquired and

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1 I would like to thank the Executive Board of the Historical Society of Ocean Grove for allowing me access to the Society’s research library and especially to its archives; Ted Bell for our many discussions about Ocean Grove and its history; and Samuel Avery-Quinn for his insightful comments on my text.


divide some of it into lots. Stokes focused on the Association’s challenge “of preparing the grounds, so as to make the most favorable impression on the minds of the Association, many of whom had never yet been present, and also on the minds of visitors, as they should come on the first of June.”

His statement underscores the venture’s tentative nature and the need to impress in order to proceed. It also provides a context for the Association’s 1870 map of Ocean Grove (fig. 1). This large sheet of approximately 23 by 26 inches displays an area bounded to the east, at the bottom, by the Atlantic; to the west by a turnpike; and to the north and south by narrow diagonal lakes, the southern lake only partially shown. In the upper right quadrant, in space beyond Association holdings, the title reads: “Plan of the Ocean Grove Camp Ground.” In the upper two-thirds of the left half, within open land bounded by the southern lake, text describes the site. The central area of the sheet is given over to land organized into small numbered lots and

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5 The report speaks of “a surveyed map . . . with an abstract of titles,” which must be a different map (“First Annual Report,” 13-14). The map pictured here is the earliest I know, and must date to 1870, as Osborn is Superintendent: a post he left in 1871. As well, lots are $50 (“First Annual Report,” 15). The price rose to $75 after the initial offering’s success, by 1871 the price was $100 (Daniels, 29-30).
larger, rectilinear, open spaces. This oddly shaped zone, demarcated by two wide streets, comprises two distinct areas: a broad oceanfront stretch from lake to lake and a roughly triangular section to the west, running east along the northern lakefront.

In the text, the Association addressed its target audience in an opening statement: “[The] object [of Ocean Grove] is two-fold, viz: To hold Camp-meetings of an elevated character—and to furnish to Christian families a sea-side resort, free from the deleterious influences of fashionable watering-places.” It was not unusual to combine religious revival with recreation, and Ocean Grove was one of many such projects at the time. Yet this dual purpose—camp meeting and resort—announced a union of different types of places and spaces. The camp meeting, a short-term religious revival held in a rural locus and centered on an inwardly-focused space, had been popular with a number of Protestant denominations, especially Methodists, in the later eighteenth century; while the popularity of camp meetings had waned before the Civil War, the Holiness Movement—promoted by some Methodists, including Ocean Grove’s founders—had brought a resurgence of interest. The idea of an organized and developed destination for relaxation was current in an industrialized and urbanized post-Civil War America. The notion of a permanent camp meeting that was also a resort proposed something simultaneously sacred, yet secular; traditional, yet novel; humble,
yet ambitious; temporary, yet permanent; rural, yet urban. These contrasts govern the document.9

The 1870 map remains easily understood as showcasing surveyed lots from which buyers could choose. Yet, like all maps, it is a more complex proposition, encoding, through choices made, multiple and layered meanings.10 As a speculative document, it obscures reality to present a framework for an imagined future. The area given over to land reveals little of the terrain, but, rather, imposes the grid of contemporary urbanism on what was, in reality, a rough landscape. The gridiron was commonly utilized in nineteenth-century American town planning: implemented often in the expanding nation as a means to bring order to the wilderness and ease development and investment.11 It is not known who decided to apply this convention-


al urban template in Ocean Grove. The surveyors, F. H. Kennedy & Son, would have been familiar with it; they soon would survey grids for nearby shore towns. The gridiron would have been familiar as well to the majority-urbanite Association members—to Stokes, without doubt, as he was from the famously gridded city of Philadelphia. Whether a conscious or unconscious choice, the grid provided an expedient and recognizable organization that spoke to the resort aspect of a community envisioned as conservative and traditional—and one that wished to attract purchasers.

The street names chosen for the gridded areas, presumably by Association members, identify Ocean Grove as American, Methodist, and located by the sea. Many of the names—geographical, biblical, and Methodist—are commonly found in contemporary camp meetings. The expanded and programmatic use of familiar name categories in the map to create temporal and spatial meanings, however, diverges from usual practice in its encyclopedic ambitiousness.

Main and Central Avenues—generic American street names—define the two areas of the organized space. Roughly in the center of the map, running east to west from the turnpike to the Atlantic, is broad Main, which provides entry into the site through a gate. Though intersected by Main, the beachfront area between the lakes is visually and spatially separated by equally broad Central. Defined as a typical American town through these prominent avenues, the map, in the side streets, addresses Ocean Grove’s geographic location within the United States as well as its desired role as a Christian, and

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14 Given contemporary interest in picturesque planning, the grid appears to me as a practical and/or conservative choice: one into which any number of meanings could, and no doubt were, read. For Ocean Grove’s grid as intentional and ideological, see Karen Schmelzkopf, “Landscape, Ideology, and Religion: A Geography of Ocean Grove, New Jersey,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 28.4 (2002): 589-608. Schmelzkopf characterized the use of the grid as one of a number of choices made by the Camp Meeting Association in its early years that reveal the centrality of their Methodist ideology and their desire for autonomy and control. Avery-Quinn moved the focus from the grid as a possible ideological choice to Ocean Grove as a complicated landscape that reveals aspects of lived experience and attempts to reconcile the contrasts and conflicts inherent in the project (Avery-Quinn, “Ocean and Grove”).

15 I know of no source for who chose the names; later Association reports discussed the body’s choices as the site grew. Osborn, writing from India in 1880, said he was not responsible for “the Scriptural names of some of the avenues” (“Letter from Rev. W. B. Osborn,” *Ocean Grove Record*, [March 6, 1880], 2). Daniels gave the significance of names, but did not discuss them programatically. He said that names to “noted persons in religious life” were indicative of Ocean Grove’s role as a “religious seaside resort,” while others spoke to their location, like Ocean Pathway and Pilgrim Pathway (Daniels, 279, 111-112).

16 For example, South Seaville is a square plan with avenues named for deceased bishops and perimeter streets for local towns or geographic designations (Sullivan and Young, 61-63). In Mount Tabor, place names and Methodist names dominate (Mount Tabor Historical Society, *Mount Tabor* [Portsmouth, NH: Arcadia, 2007], 14-15).
specifically Methodist, space.

The streets in the oceanfront band move through American and Methodist time and space to arrive at the site’s intended use. The swathe at ocean’s edge, bounded to the west by Central, is bisected lengthwise by narrow Beach Avenue and demarcated to the east by unbounded Ocean Avenue: names appropriate for their proximity to the Atlantic and Ocean Grove’s function as a seaside resort. The lakes that frame these streets to the north and south—Wesley and Fletcher—reference Methodism’s eighteenth-century British founder, John Wesley, and its key theologian, John Fletcher.17 Running east and west in the two beach blocks, and confined to this band, are narrow streets, the names of which, moving from south to north, move temporally and spatially from the distant to the recent past: through Methodism’s history in the urban mid-Atlantic region, within which Ocean Grove is located, to the site’s intended function as a seaside resort. From Fletcher Lake to Main, the names reach back in time to key historical figures of later-eighteenth-century American Methodism. These people, most of whom were born in Methodism’s homeland, the British Isles, were instrumental in the denomination’s establishment in Philadelphia, New York, and, between these major American cities, the state of New Jersey: Pilmour Ave. (Joseph Pilmore, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1769, the first of Wesley’s missionaries to America); Abbott Ave. (Benjamin Abbott, who preached in the Philadelphia area and southern New Jersey); Webb Ave. (Thomas Webb, a prominent New York Methodist in Embury’s circle); Embury Ave. (Philip Embury, a lay founder of American Methodism, active in New York City after his arrival in 1760); and, finally, Heck Ave. (Barbara Heck, the foundress of American Methodism in New York City).18 The three streets north of Main bear the names of prominent mid-Atlantic Methodists of the recent past, arranged chronologically by death date: Olin St. (Stephen Olin, d. 1851, president of Wesleyan University; Pitman Ave. (Charles Pitman, d. 1854, the famed New Jersey-born preacher); and McClintock St. (John McClintock, d. 1870, a Philadelphia-born minister and first president of Drew Theological Seminary).19 To the north, broad park-like Ocean Pathway and narrow Bath,
Surf, Atlantic, and Sea View Avenues announce their seaside location and Ocean Grove’s contemporary recreational aspect.

The street names in the triangular area bounded by Main, Central, and, alongside Wesley Lake, the aptly named Lake Avenue blend the American and Christian, interlocking the actual geographic location and the distant Holy Land, with mid-Atlantic state names intersecting those of prominent Biblical sites.20 Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York Avenues—the states which many Association members called home and from which Ocean Grove would draw most of its inhabitants21—run east to west, with large Evergreen Park filling the space to the turnpike. From north to south, and fittingly on the highest ground, streets, differentiated by the designation “Way,” bear names of famed biblical heights: Mount Hermon; Mount Tabor; Mount Carmel; Mount Zion; and Mount Pisgah.22 To the north, these streets cross long Asbury Avenue (for Francis Asbury, the English-born Methodist preacher and early bishop of the eighteenth-century American Methodist church), which parallels Lake.23 Tiny Kingsley Place parallels the biblical place names in the acute angle next to Asbury at the northeastern foot of the triangle (for Calvin Kingsley, the American Methodist bishop who had died just months before, the street’s placement continuing the recent history of the denomination north of McClintock).24

Kingsley Place creates a northern boundary for the “Tenting Grounds” and “Church Square.” These dominate the triangle’s base and form a camp meeting space as traditional in conception as the gridded urban space. Differentiated spatially and visually—a separation in part necessitated by huge dunes, the most prominent labeled “Sea Drift Heights”—this large, irregularly shaped horizontal band, which stretches from Main to Wesley Lake, is shown as wooded rather than gridded, thus referencing the natural surroundings common to camp meeting spaces: the “forest temple.”25 The Holy Land streets leading directly into this area anticipate its sacred significance. The heart of the space—Church Square surrounded by tenting land—is made visually prominent, in a map largely devoid of structures, through an ordered seating area for worship, this organization echoing the open horseshoe camp

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21 For Association members’ and 1874 lot holders’ home states, see *Ocean Grove: Its Origin and Progress*, 5, 78-83.
22 Daniels said these streets do not continue the beach blocks names because of Sea Drift Heights (Daniels, 112-114). While the dunes surely played a role, this impediment was used as an opportunity to envision a space separate in use and meaning.
25 The “forest temple” is central to camp meetings. See: Hughes. Daniels calls groves “God’s natural temples” (Daniels, 24).
meeting plan type. The area’s focal nature is indicated by open and axial Ocean Pathway, a tree-covered space which meets it perpendicularly and ties it to the Atlantic: uniting camp meeting with beachfront recreation. To the south, perpendicular to Main and west of Central, a trail, appropriately named Pilgrims Path Way, leads from a carriage landing on Main through trees and dunes to the tenting grounds and worship site, compelling ambulatory transition from the civilization of the grid to the experience of walking to a rural camp meeting. Pilgrims Path Way—today, Pilgrim Pathway—then jogs east, past Church Square, to blend with Thomson Park (for Edward Thomson, elected bishop in 1864 alongside Kingsley, and like Kingsley, recently deceased), which then parallels Central and extends to meet the edge of Wesley Lake.

The rich associations and meanings suggested by the choice and placement of names underscore the thought that went into envisioning a camp meeting *cum* Christian resort on the New Jersey coast. Yet the map’s visual effect is of a lopsided and incomplete town grid into which a camp meeting has been arbitrarily inserted. The area of text on the left begs to be divided into lots, especially given the subtly indicated continuation of the north/south streets, and the worship space, which one might expect to be more centered, lies to the right. As it does not show all of the Association lands between the lakes, the map underscores the undertaking’s provisional nature as well as the desire to delineate Ocean Grove’s dual nature from the outset. The areas of initial development, moreover, encode Ocean Grove’s modest beginnings, the core founders’ original experience and intentions explaining choices made in the map that underscore the enterprise’s inherent and awkward duality.

In Stokes’ 1872 account of the site’s origins, he recounted that he and a group of church friends discussed the need for annual respite from work at a place where “social and religious exercises intermingled.” Simultaneously, Reverend W. B. Osborn, a champion of Holiness camp meetings, was travelling throughout New Jersey in search of a perfect location, and “associated with this thought of a summer resort for Ministers, a long cherished idea of a camp-meeting by the sea.” Osborn found the site where Ocean Grove came to exist, and six acres were purchased “lying in the grove immediately along the Northern lake.” Ten families met there in the summer of 1869, resting and holding services. Word spread, and others clamored to join. In response, in the winter of 1869, the Association, composed of 13 ministers and 13 laymen—including members of the original group—was founded, its charter set up with the New Jersey legislature, and its by-laws established. Stokes noted that, “From this brief sketch it will be seen that our plans are vastly beyond original intentions. This enlargement has been pressed upon

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26 Johnson identified three patterns for traditional camp meeting spaces, all focused on the preacher’s stand: rectangular, horseshoe and circular. Tents formed “an outer shell which enclosed the core . . . open air auditorium” (Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion’s Harvest Time* [Dallas: Southern Methodist UP, 1955], 42-43).

While the correlation between the land purchase and the 1869 summer gathering site explains the camp meeting grove’s location on the map, the founders’ experience, which came to be elaborated through retelling, set this space apart as a place of origin. George Hughes—a minister and prolific writer in support of Methodism and Holiness camp meetings, as well as a founding Association member—described the event, in which he participated, as a sacred and symbolic group experience. The friends had gathered in the Thornley’s tent for a prayer meeting when Stokes, “struggling under extraordinary emotion,” said that he sensed “the nearness of the spirit world and the undoubted presence of the pure ones.” Hughes reported: “. . . our brother said he felt, in view of the undertaking before us, like quoting the first verse of the inspired Word, stopping in the middle: ‘In the beginning, God!’ and said he ‘Lo, God is here!’ here in the beginning, and he trusted would be in the continuance to the end.” Stokes’s utterance, in which Ocean Grove became an act of Christian re-creation sanctioned by God; a genesis where heaven and earth comingled, gave enormous significance to the event as well as the patch of land by the lake.

In Stokes’ lengthy speech—its triumphant tone evidence of the site’s success—he elaborated on Ocean Grove’s bifurcated roots. Situating Ocean Grove within the history of man’s labor, Stokes—citing Jesus’ admonition to the disciples “to turn aside into a desert place and rest awhile”—cited summer resorts as a means to find relief from the exhaustion of modern life; he lamented, however, their unsuitability for Christians. In an abrupt transition, he stated, “Meanwhile, the Vineland camp meeting for the promotion of Holiness was held. It was a success, but the shade was not good.” Stokes thus introduced Vineland, the hugely successful event that gave the Holiness Movement visibility and power. He related Osborn’s subsequent scouring of the New Jersey coast for the perfect camp meeting location for the movement.

The confluence of Stokes’ desire for a Christian resort and Osborn’s enthusiasm for a permanent Holiness camp meeting underscores the different

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29 Daniels told the story, adding anecdotes (Daniels, 23-24).
32 Stokes, “Ocean Grove: An Historical Address.” It is difficult to sort out visits and purchases, as sources are contradictory; here Stokes says that after the meeting it was decided to buy “a few acres, lying in the Grove, immediately along the northern lake, and enough beach land to give us a passage to the sea.”
interests and personalities of the men responsible for Ocean Grove. While Osborn is known as the “Founder of Ocean Grove,” Stokes is seen as its developer.\(^3^3\) Stokes, a Philadelphia Quaker converted at the age of nineteen to Methodism through Pitman’s preaching, was a bookish minister whose steady character and focus over 22 years as Association President ensured the site’s success and survival; he died peacefully at 81 in Ocean Grove, having lived there full time since 1875.\(^3^4\) The son of a Methodist minister, Osborn, characterized as “a rough diamond” and the “John the Baptist of the Holiness Movement in the Eastern States,” was an intense visionary; an ardent revivalist and camp meeting founder drawn restlessly from project to project until his untimely death at 70 from injuries sustained during a bizarre encounter with a moving train.\(^3^5\) Osborn resigned as Ocean Grove’s Superintendent in spring of 1871, eventually going as far as India and Australia to establish new sites.\(^3^6\)

The different interests of these men, combined in Ocean Grove, points to current transformations within the Holiness Movement. Stokes’s mention of Vineland references a watershed event in which the rural and revivalist strains of camp meetings and the urban propriety of Phoebe Palmer’s influential “parlor holiness” were brought together in the unlikely duo of Osborn and John Inskip. Inskip, a British-born Methodist minister led to the Movement through his wife, Martha, who frequented Palmer’s meetings in New York, was a key leader who teamed with Osborn at Vineland and was also a charter member of Ocean Grove’s Association.\(^3^7\)

Ocean Grove’s dual purpose screens this process of elision occurring in a broader sphere, and the 1870 map works to normalize, or at least institutionalize, this integration of opposites. The abrupt pairing of grid and grove—resort and camp meeting—embraces transformations in the Holiness Movement as it embraces Stokes’ and Osborn’s interests, but also underscores


the problems of combining the two. Differing visions are seen in Osborn’s
desire for open space; his wife, Lucy, who penned a book of his remem-
brances of Ocean Grove after his death, said, “It was with great difficulty
that Mr. Osborn secured the consent of the Association to devote so much
land to Ocean Pathway.”38 One may conclude that others wanted to extend
the grid. Indeed, a pronounced urbanism would prevail under Stokes’s con-
tinuing leadership.

For Stokes, this urban project was American and Christian. In 1875, he
related that the site, which he and Osborn visited on a dark rainy day in May,
1869, “was wilderness, desert, desolation”: the modern disciples had found
their desert. Recalling Old Testament imagery, he evoked a silent dense
forest that, “dismal and destitute though it was . . . possessed capabilities of
being made to bloom and blossom.”39 Ocean Grove’s perceived remoteness
underscores the coast as undeveloped while highlighting the new arrivals’
penchant for the evocative language of pioneering and discovery overlaid
with Christian ideals. In 1882, Mary Porter Beegle, wife of the new super-
intendent and self-described “first pioneer woman who made [Ocean Grove]
a permanent home,” recalled the difficulty in entering the site in 1871, as
it was “almost as impenetrable as the jungles of the distant Eastern coun-
tries;” recounting her loneliness, she quoted Daniel Boone’s words about the
Kentucky wilderness.40 In 1875, Frank Cookman—son of Alfred Cookman,
who was a lion of the Holiness Movement, a founding Association member,
and one of the original group—imagined the founding, saying, “I can picture
[the group] . . . pushing their way through the pathless woods . . . with one
accord, like the Pilgrim Fathers.”41

To this American picture of self-imposed religious exile in a mini-New
World, Cookman added a potent image of an anthropomorphized landscape
animated with Methodist significance and strength through the Association’s
imposed organization, with Ocean Grove “defended on the north by the
nerveless hand of Wesley; on the south by the gentle, and yet equally de-
cisive arm of Fletcher, which seem almost to unite hands around the sacred
place, protecting it from the evils which seem to glide so easily into a sea side
resort . . . .”42 Hughes’s description of the 1868 camp meeting at Manheim
underscores that historic names was intended to reach into the present: “We
walked through the avenues; and it seemed as if we were in communion with
the sainted worthies whose names were in bold capitals.”43 Such symbolic
meaning and reenactment at Ocean Grove is seen in Stokes’ memory of Os-
born’s “clumsy superannuated fishing boat,” the “Barbara Heck,” which he

38 L. Osborn, 26. They met and married after Osborn left Ocean Grove, so her account was
“heard from the lips of [her] now sainted husband” (3). In 1880, Osborn cryptically stated: “a
good many things connected with Ocean Grove have been different from what I desired and
40 Mary Porter Beegle, Ocean Grove: As It Was; and As It Is (Ocean Grove: n.p., 1882), 9.
41 Frank S. Cookman, “At the Anniversary of the Founding of Ocean Grove,” Ocean Grove Record
42 Cookman, 2.
43 Hughes, 67.
bought from locals and used to carry the participants across the lake to their wilderness encampment in a continual recreation of Methodism’s crossing the Atlantic. 

The intentionality of Ocean Grove’s spatial and temporal organization and the founders’ self-conscious ambition are clinched in the 1870 map by the correspondence of the location of the July, 1869, events and auspicious place names. The site was organized so that the original group experience took place at the intersection of Methodism’s British beginnings and its American present (now, recent past): in the area around Wesley Lake and Thomson Park. These events were thus presented as enacted as part of a sanctified history and landscape, in a present that, in retrospect, symbolically continued that history. As Stokes recalled July, 1869, from a distance of six years, a mythic sanctified aura clung to these events and places. He recreated the geography of the first excursion, locating the group’s tents (“poor, dingy and old”) within the sanctified landscape: clustered in the area around Wesley Lake, Thomson Park, Pilgrim’s Pathway and Lake Avenue. Moreover, the genesis of Ocean Grove that was the result of July, 1869, created a future: one envisioned in the map.

In 1875, Albert Mann, Jr. stated wistfully that “those of us who were here four or five years ago, know how the natural virtues of the place have been augmented by improvement; although there comes a feeling of sadness over us as we see its primitive simplicity giving way to broader and grander plans and purposes.” Ocean Grove was expanding and rapidly transforming—and becoming more urban. By 1872, Association holdings had mushroomed to 230 acres, much of this property cleared and “improved”: 1,500 lots had been surveyed and two-thirds of these were already sold; over 300 cottages had been built, and more were planned. The Association was scrambling to purchase all of the land between the lakes and beyond in order to isolate and buffer their community from the outside world. Their anxious efforts indicate their desire for control as well as the unanticipated runaway success of their project.

The Association had promoted growth after their initial encouraging season. In his 1872 report, Stokes said that the group had published “two numbers of a paper called ‘The Ocean Grove’. . . . These have been very widely

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46 Albert Mann, Jr., “Address,” Ocean Grove Record (August 7, 1875), 2.
48 They bought land inside the gates at high cost so it would not fall “into other hands” (Stokes, “Second Annual Report,” 23). The 1872 report discussed title problems and purchases as a monetary drain (Stokes, “Third Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association,” in Ocean Grove: Its History and Progress, 29). On August 24, 1874, they resolved to buy land on both sides to get “control” of Fletcher Lake; “on December 23, 1874 they discussed purchases (Minutes of the Executive Committee, HSOG archives, 650.5, 40-41, 47-48). In 1875, more land was bought (Stokes, Summer by the Sea: Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association [Philadelphia: John A. Haddock, 1875]: 13-14). For their desire for autonomy and control, see Schmelzkopf.
circulated, and, as we believe, have done more in calling attention to and awakening interest in our grounds, than any other form of advertising . . . ."49 Ten thousand copies of each, the first in 1871 and the second in 1872, were printed.50 The latter, dated June, 1872, is a double-sided broadsheet: a protracted 4-page encomium, complete with a map entitled, again, “Plan of the Ocean Grove Camp Ground” (fig. 2). The map, on the lower half of the broadsheet’s back page, provided a reference for those whose interest in purchasing a lot was piqued by the words and images extolling the virtues of the actual and inhabited Ocean Grove. The text describes the site’s amenities and programs, and lauds the emerging built environment as urban. On the front page, images of the cottages of Stokes, Cookman, Thornley, and Inskip, provide models of appropriate building behavior in actualizing a place imagined in map form just two years previously.

While this map again encompasses the area between the lakes, the upper left quadrant is now gridded, and the small-scale, rustic, intimate quality of the 1870 map, with its narrow streets, open spaces, and northern pull, gives way to the broad streets and rectilinear regularity of a town bisected by Main. Main had been widened in 1871 and land south of it and east of Central gridded.51 The extensions of the north-south streets, suggested in the 1870 map, continue their names—Central, Pilgrim’s Pathway, New York, Pennsylvania,

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50 Daniels, 261. I have never seen the 1871 publication.
New Jersey, and Delaware. Pilmour Ave. is gone, its location extending west with the citified name of Broadway in a nod to this second thoroughfare to the turnpike. The grid’s regularity is disturbed only by intractable terrain. A small body of water, christened Carvosso Lake (for William Carvosso, in keeping with naming lakes after key figures of early British Methodism\(^{52}\)) sits uncomfortably at the intersection of Broadway and Central, the latter’s path serpentine due to large dunes. Central Park, surrounded by irregular redrawn lots, bows to the curved avenue while visually extending the belt of land established by the camp meeting space to the north. In contrast to the 1870 map, the street names in the beach blocks—Abbott, Webb, Embury, and Heck—continue west to Delaware, but the streets become wider. South of Broadway, two new streets, Cookman and Clark, extend the grid and continue American Methodism’s recent history—its movement north stopped by Wesley Lake—in the south extension. Clark (for Davis Wasgatt Clark, elected bishop in 1864 with Kingsley and Thomson, who had died in 1871) continued the commemoration of recently deceased bishops.\(^{53}\) Cookman (for Alfred Cookman, who died unexpectedly in 1871) memorializes an Association charter member, the group thus inserting itself within the sanctified historical landscape of Methodism as its most recent past—and implied future.

The Association’s optimistic view of Ocean Grove was corroborated by the outside world. The *New York Times*, in August, 1872, noted the rapidly transforming landscape—an odd marriage of camp and town—developing under the Association’s watchful eye.\(^{54}\) The following summer, the *Times* published a vivid description of a place poised between country and city: a brief moment that would quickly pass in favor of the latter.\(^{55}\) By the summer of 1874, the paper would report, as the promise of the maps became ever more a reality, that “Ocean Grove has become something more than a mere camping ground. It is a well-built and closely-settled town, having over 340 neat and ornate cottages standing in blocks and squares, as houses usually do in well-regulated modern American cities.\(^{56}\)

The Association reports of the first decade enumerate the continuing and dramatic “improvements” that established Ocean Grove as an urban space: the leveling of “poetical” Sea Drift Heights and straightening of Pilgrim’s Pathway in 1874;\(^{57}\) the establishment of three north-south streets to the west in 1875;\(^{58}\) the first season with railroad access—that hallmark of civilization

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\(^{53}\) Leete, *Methodist Bishops*, 43. Daniels said it was named for Adam Clark, an early British Methodist (Daniels, 279). However, Adam Clark does not fit the established pattern.  
\(^{57}\) Stokes, *City By the Sea: Fifth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association* (Philadelphia: Haddock & Son, 1874), 8. Sea Drift Heights is described as “poetical,” and also as “disappearing at the rate of a hundred loads a day,” in the first edition of the Association paper: *Ocean Grove Record* (June 5, 1875), 3.  
\(^{58}\) Stokes, *Summer by the Sea*, 9.
and “harbinger of a new era”—in 1876; the erection of Bishop Janes Tabernacle in 1877; the removal of the last “sand hills” from Main and Central, the gridding of Central Park and the establishment of two streets to the south in 1878; and the dedication of the Young People’s Temple in 1879. By the second half of the decade, Ocean Grove was known primarily as a resort, albeit a strictly Christian one. In 1879, Stokes noted “the transformation of this wild and unsightly waste from a barren sand desert to a comely little city by the sea.” In 1880, he spoke of Ocean Grove’s continuing ascent, and reported the auditorium’s enlargement, which occasioned a history of the wooded worship area’s transformation from a rustic site fixed by Osborn and Stokes in 1870 to a permanent roofed structure that seated 3,400.

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59 Stokes, Centennial By the Sea: Seventh Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association (Philadelphia: John A. Haddock, 1876), 11; Ocean Grove Record (September 4, 1875), 5.
60 Stokes, Eighth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association, 10-11, 33. Of the Tabernacle’s name: “It seemed fitting . . . because we have been giving to avenues, parks, &., the names of leading ministers after their death” (33). For Janes, see Leete, Methodist Bishops, 100.
61 Daniels, 70.
62 Stokes, Service By the Sea: Ninth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association (Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rogers, 1878), 12, 13, 10.
64 Stokes, Ten Years By the Sea, 8, 15, 17.
65 Stokes, Conquests by the Sea: Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association (Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rogers, 1880), 7, 15-17.
A wholly tamed landscape is seen in the map appended to the Association’s 1881 annual report (fig. 3). The title in the upper right hand corner reads simply “Plan of Ocean Grove,” reference to the camp now gone. Having procured all the land between the lakes, both are fully depicted, and the space between, from plank boardwalk to turnpike, is gridded. Irregularities have been eradicated in favor of urban space: Seadrift Heights is gone, the area gridded; Pilgrim Pathway north of Main is not a wooded trail, but an angular street leading to a delimited Thomson Park; Church Square and the Tenting Grounds are now a rectilinear space dominated by the Auditorium and Tabernacle; in the northernmost beach blocks, gridded Spray Avenue, continuing the area’s recreational names, has been added; the grid, with stables, extends west of Delaware to the turnpike in Whitefield, Benson, Lawrence (for George Whitefield, Charles Wesley’s associate who visited North America; Joseph Benson, a British preacher; and the Association’s recently deceased charter Vice President, Ruliff Lawrence) and Fletcher Lake Avenues; to the south, the grid extends in Franklin and Stockton Avenues, continuing the graveyard of Association founders, George Franklin and J. H. Stockton having recently died; Carvosso Lake and Central Park are gone, replaced by rectilinear lots.

In 1881, W. W. Wythe presented Ocean Grove with a model of Jerusalem, which was placed across Pilgrim Pathway from the Auditorium and soon covered with a pavilion. This model had particular resonance for a community that saw itself on one level as a New Jerusalem. As an addition to Ocean Grove, the model underscores the site’s continuing and controlled modification. The introduction of this city within what had become a city also highlights Ocean Grove’s dramatic transformation in just over a decade: a transformation alluded to by Lucy Osborn in her retelling of the first visit of Stokes and her husband. She repeated verbatim Stokes’s 1875 description of how, after the difficulties of getting the carriage through tangled tree limbs and dense brush, the men “alighted . . . and went forth to explore,” but added that they stepped down “near a cedar tree, which stood where the model of Jerusalem now stands.” While Mrs. Osborn’s minor elaboration—her location of the event in terms of current geography—hinted that the men’s first steps together at the site were now a sanctified location, it pointed as well to the extraordinary realization of the Association’s evolving and ambitious vision of Ocean Grove documented in their early maps.

67 Douglas M. Strong, “Whitefield, George,” in Historical Dictionary of Methodism, 330-332; Jones, The Wesleyan Holiness Movement, 21.  The wish to name streets for deceased Association members was stated in 1878 (Service by the Sea, 10).
68 Stokes, Achievements by the Sea, 22; Stokes, Encouragements by the Sea: Fifteenth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association (Philadelphia: Rogers, 1884) 23; Stokes, Multitudes by the Sea: Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association (Philadelphia: Rogers, 1885), 13.  For Wythe, see Long, 4-41.
69 For the model’s use, see Daniels, 91-92.  Messenger explored the many associations with Jerusalem (Messenger, esp. 99-105).