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A Study of the Preaching at the Ocean Grove, New Jersey, Camp Meeting, 1870-1900.

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A STUDY OF THE PREACHING AT THE OCEAN GROVE, NEW JERSEY, CAMP MEETING, 1870-1900

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

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A.B., Muhlenberg College, 1950
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION ............................................. 1

### CHAPTER

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ..................................... 9

II. OCEAN GROVE AS A RESORT AND AS A CAMP MEETING ........ 40

   The founding of Ocean Grove
   The development of Ocean Grove as a resort
   The camp meeting at Ocean Grove

III. THE PHYSICAL SETTING FOR SPEAKING AT OCEAN GROVE .... 62

   The old auditorium
   Problems of delivery in the old auditorium
   The new auditorium

IV. THE AUDIENCE ........................................... 85

   Bases for assembling
   Characteristics of the camp meeting audience
   Fixed attitudes and beliefs
   Distinctive features of audience behavior

V. THE PREACHERS ............................................ 121

   Selection of the preachers
   Who the preachers were
   A selected sample of camp meeting preachers
   Methods of delivery
   Contemporary criticisms
   The camp meeting circuit

VI. THE SERMONS ............................................. 160

   Entire sanctification
   Salvation
   Inspiration
VII. GENERAL EVALUATION .................................................. 268

Results of the preaching
The impact of Darwinism upon camp meeting preaching
The camp meeting as a social force
General conclusions

BIBLIOGRAPHY .......................................................... 292

AUTOBIOGRAPHY ...................................................... 299
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Map of southern New Jersey, showing railroad lines as they existed in 1876, and also indicating the location of the vacation camp meetings in the state</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Ocean Grove auditorium as it existed in 1880</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Eastern front of the new auditorium</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Interior of the new auditorium</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe, to report, and to evaluate the trends in the preaching at Ocean Grove Camp Meeting, New Jersey, from its inception in 1870 until 1900. The study traces the origin and development of the camp meeting from the frontier revival to the vacation camp meeting of the post Civil War period. It reconstructs physical setting for public speaking, analyzes audiences, identifies preachers, and discusses overall characteristics of the preaching.

Congregations at Ocean Grove numbered from 2,000 to 14,000 three times daily, for ten consecutive days annually. Although people came from all parts of the United States, and from foreign lands, most lived in urban areas of the Middle Atlantic states. All ages, many denominations, several races, varied economic and social levels, and often a majority of women, attended. An inherited, largely unquestioning belief in religion was common.

Many of the most prominent Methodist bishops, educators, ministers, and evangelists, as well as representatives from other denominations, preached at the main services. Speakers were specially invited, or selected from the hundreds of clergymen already on the grounds. Manuscript delivery was common, but extemporaneous speaking predominated.
Analysis of 137 lengthy sermon synopses revealed twenty-five devoted to entire sanctification or holiness; forty-two to salvation, and seventy to inspiration. Analysis of shorter materials, totalling 576 sermons, indicated that this ratio was representative.

Based upon five major premises, the sermons concerning holiness had similar lines of argument, but utilized the following six common arguments to support the doctrine: first, sanctification cleanses from the effect of Adam's original sin; second, it tends to keep one from further sinning; third, it inspires fearlessness; fourth, the sanctified possess special powers; fifth, scholarly knowledge is not necessary to understand God; and sixth, that the people were lax in seeking sanctification.

Salvation preaching sprang from five assumptions, and followed five argumentative lines: fifteen sermons dealt with procrastination; six with reward; three with judgment and punishment; four with faith; three with exposition of God's plan of salvation; and eleven with miscellaneous lines of development.

Inspirational sermons emanated from one broad and six specific premises, taking six chains of argument: fourteen discussed Christ's dominance; eight, the advance of Christianity; eight, reaffirmation of faith; twenty-four, application of Christian principles and duties; two, the lives of saints; three, regeneration; and eleven could not be classified.

Results of the preaching on entire sanctification and on salvation were probably insignificant, primarily because of the type of audience.
and because of suppressing environmental conditions. Inspirational sermons, however, were probably more successful.

Three broad conclusions are suggested. First, that the preaching was highly popular, but limited largely to the discussion of fundamental religious themes that constituted a conservative defense against liberal theological thought. Second, the season's cultural and theological program at the religious resort actually constituted a summer-long camp meeting, rather than a short evangelistic campaign. Third, the vacation camp meeting was distinctly different from the woodland revival of the early decades of the nineteenth century. Convenient, orderly, comfortable, but generally inspiring services had made it a sophisticated, ritualized form of the original camp meeting.
INTRODUCTION

Camp meeting associations, organized into stock companies, multiplied rapidly after 1865 along the Atlantic seacoast, by riversides, in the mountains, and at inland lakes and groves. These corporations were mainly created to provide permanent facilities for outdoor religious services, but by the last decade of the nineteenth century nearly all of them had become religious summer resorts where at moderate cost middle class Protestants could find rest, recreation, and inspiration.

These resorts were generally built around large wooden, open-air auditoriums which were planned primarily for religious worship, but which eventually also housed cultural programs. The managers invited to these forums most of the well-known preachers and lecturers of the day.\(^1\) Thousands came to hear the speaking and to engage in the activities. These institutions appear to have had a significant place in American public address.

The only extant study of the camp meeting discusses the

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\(^1\)The camp meeting associations did not sponsor every program, but often granted the use of their facilities to organized religious and reform groups which brought their own speakers. Temperance societies were among the most frequent users of these places.
movement along the trans-Allegheny frontier.² No scholarly examination has been made of the camp meeting resort as it existed along the eastern seaboard.

This dissertation attempts to describe, to report, and to evaluate the trends in the preaching at the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting, Monmouth County, New Jersey, from its inception until 1900. It utilizes the methods of historical and of rhetorical research. Historically, it deals with the origin and development of the early camp meeting, and then with the resurgence of interest in the institution after the Civil War, culminating in the religious resort or the vacation camp meeting. The study of the preaching does not purport to be a detailed or full rhetorical criticism of the complete sermons; instead it reconstructs the physical and social setting, analyzes the audiences, identifies many of the preachers, and discusses the over-all characteristics of the preaching. It is limited in its consideration of the sermons to the basic premises and to the lines of argument which appeared in a series of discourses falling under three broad categories of speech goals.

A detailed rhetorical criticism of the sermons has not been undertaken because of the unavailability of complete texts. An exhaustive search for complete sermons was undertaken among the large collections of religious materials in the library of The Methodist Historical Center at Old St. George's Methodist Church,

Philadelphia, which houses the archives of the Philadelphia and of the New Jersey Conferences of the Methodist Church; and also in The Rose Memorial Library, Drew University,\textsuperscript{3} repository for the Newark and for the New York Conferences, but only two complete texts could be found. A further search of The New Jersey Historical Society, Newark; the public libraries in Philadelphia and in New York; and at various county historical societies in New Jersey revealed no complete texts which could be proved to have been delivered at Ocean Grove. Interviews with officials at Ocean Grove, with interested clergymen, and with amateur and professional historians in New Jersey likewise failed to uncover any printed sermons or sermon manuscripts.

Although the verbatim reports are not to be found, the ideas of the sermons delivered at Ocean Grove can be reconstructed from the detailed synopses which range in many cases from one thousand to about three thousand words. The editors of The Ocean Grove Record and of The Philadelphia Methodist, both of whom reported sermons during most of the period studied, were preachers and regular attendants at Ocean Grove. Other newspapers ran long excerpts of the sermons as well as shorter summaries and descriptions. No synopses of fewer than 700 words were used to determine the content or the structure of a discourse.

\textsuperscript{3}Uncatalogued material which is not yet available at this library may eventually lead to the discovery of some complete Ocean Grove sermons.
The chapter organization is as follows:

Chapter I considers briefly the origin and growth of the camp meeting as a national movement, and as it developed in New Jersey.

Chapter II concerns the founding and the development of Ocean Grove as a resort and as a camp meeting.

Chapter III describes the physical setting for public speaking at the Ocean Grove auditorium.

Chapter IV presents a composite analysis of the nature, basis for assembly, characteristics, fixed attitudes and beliefs, and behavior of the audience.

Chapter V identifies the preachers.

Chapter VI analyzes the basic premises and the lines of argument which appeared in a series of 137 camp meeting sermons.

The final chapter is a general summary of the study.

**General Sources**

Primary sources for this investigation are of three types:

(1) the published *Annual Reports* of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association, (2) religious newspapers and periodicals, and (3) secular newspapers.

The *Annual Reports* provide useful information for tracing the origin and growth of Ocean Grove as a resort and as a camp meeting. Many issues give official lists of the preachers who appeared, and provide references for checking the accuracy of newspaper reporting. They also include pictures and local color.
descriptions reprinted from other sources. Complete sets of Annual Reports are found at the office of The Ocean Grove Times, at the general offices of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association, and in the Rose Memorial Library, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.\footnote{The reports for the first five years (1869-1874) are bound together and published as one booklet. Each of the remaining issues was published under its own title, as indicated in the bibliography of this dissertation. A few Annual Reports were bound together in 1879, 1889, and 1899, and each set was issued under the same title: Ten Years by the Sea. Bound editions can be found only at the offices of the Ocean Grove Association, and in the library at Drew University. Annual Reports are cited in this work by number, rather than by title.}

The Ocean Grove Record is the most prolific source of material concerning the Ocean Grove camp meeting. This religious newspaper, established in 1875\footnote{The Ocean Grove Record was printed first in Philadelphia, and later transferred to Ocean Grove. This newspaper appeared as The Philadelphian from 1877 until 1879, but remained dedicated solely to the affairs of Ocean Grove. In 1895, the Reverend H. E. Beegle, who established The Ocean Grove Times, bought the facilities of The Record. Wallace then published The Record for one year at Asbury Park, New Jersey. In 1896, The Record was absorbed by The Times, and the resulting newspaper was published under the title: The Ocean Grove Times-Record. In 1897, 1898, and 1899, both papers were printed independently under their former titles. Under this arrangement, The Record continued to include religious news, and The Times reported the secular news of the resort. From 1900 until the present time, the publication has been known as The Ocean Grove Times.} by the Reverend Adam Wallace, charter member of the Ocean Grove association, printed a detailed synopsis, or at least a short description of every sermon heard at that resort during the entire summer season. In addition, it is valuable for a wealth of contemporary comments about the audiences and the preachers.
Files, complete except for the years 1878 through 1881, are located at the offices of The Ocean Grove Times, Ocean Grove, New Jersey.

Other religious newspapers included sermon synopses, critical comments, and descriptions of the services. Most notable among these was The Philadelphia Methodist, whose editor, the Reverend William Swindells, closely followed many camp meetings in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey. This newspaper gave much attention to Ocean Grove, and is especially interesting because of its criticisms of camp meeting sermons. Copies of The Philadelphia Methodist for the years 1879 through 1899 are available at the Methodist Historical Center at Old St. George's Methodist Church, Philadelphia.

To a lesser degree, The Peninsula Methodist, published in Wilmington, Delaware, also covered activities at Ocean Grove. Synopses and criticisms likewise appeared in this publication, but most attention was devoted to speakers from Delaware and Maryland. This newspaper is available for the years 1885, 1886, 1891, and 1893 at Old St. George's Methodist Church.

The Christian Advocate (New York) gives a running account of the entire vacation camp meeting movement. For a number of years it published dozens of reports, as well as a detailed "Camp Meeting Calendar." Rather than reporting the sermons in detail, it featured local color sketches of many camp meeting resorts, including Ocean Grove. Complete files of this paper are available both at Old St. George's Methodist Church and at Drew University.
The secular newspapers most valuable to the study were the Asbury Park (New Jersey) dailies and weeklies, the most complete of which is The Asbury Park Journal. Unlike the religious periodicals, this newspaper did not print sermon synopses; but included lengthy quotations and information about the preachers and the audiences. Collections of The Asbury Park Journal are found in the Asbury Park Public Library.

Another source was The Asbury Park Press, which gave daily reports of the camp meeting through the 1880's and the 1890's. Nearly complete files are found in the offices of The Asbury Park Press, and a few copies are in the Asbury Park Public Library.

The Daily Spray, printed in Ocean Grove during the summer months only, contained the best reports of the sermons, but unfortunately, only a few numbers are available in the library at Asbury Park.

Only the Monday editions of the New York and the Philadelphia secular newspapers featured reports of the sermons at Ocean Grove, but social news appeared almost daily after 1885. The Monday editions generally alluded to the sermons, and gave short quotations, but they did not report them in detail.

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*The Asbury Park Journal* was published both daily and weekly. *The Daily Journal* reported the services in detail, and *The Asbury Park Journal* reprinted these reports verbatim in its weekly edition. In the 1890's, the Reverend Adam Wallace, publisher of *The Ocean Grove Record*, also reported for *The Asbury Park Journal*, consequently some, but not all, of the articles in both newspapers were identical.
Only two secondary sources provided specific information for the study. Charles A. Johnson's *The Frontier Camp Meeting, Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1955) provides insight into the early days of the camp meeting movement. Its emphasis is upon the West, but it gives some information about the eastern camp meetings before the Civil War. *The Story of Ocean Grove, Related in the Year of its Golden Jubilee*, by Morris S. Daniels (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1919) was written by the son of one of the pioneer members of The Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association. Its eulogistic approach limits its value as a history, but the wealth of early photographs make the work significant. Notable among its illustrations are pictures of the various stages in the development of the auditorium.
CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historians are uncertain about the exact origins of the camp meeting. They ascribe its initial appearance to the late 1790's or to the early 1800's, but they disagree on the founder and the location of the first such gathering. Outdoor religious gatherings were, of course, commonplace throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when congregations met in clearings to worship and to construct church houses. Strictly speaking, however, these were not camp meetings, for they were not characterized by mass attendance and by provisions for camping upon the spot where the services were held.

If any one man could claim to be the originator of the camp meeting, he is James McGready, the fiery Presbyterian minister who almost single-handedly touched off the westward phase of the Second Great Awakening of American revivalism, a resurgence of religious spirit which swept America from 1800 to 1805. In the course of his evangelistic activities among three congregations

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in Logan County, Kentucky, he sponsored what was in all probability the first planned camp meeting anywhere.

As the result of an inspiring sacramental service at his church at Red River, in June, 1800, McGready decided to hold another at Gasper River, one of his other churches, during the last week of the following month. Notices were distributed, and great numbers responded. Some came as far as one hundred miles to attend, bringing their own tents and provisions. When the planned practice of camping out at the continuous religious service appeared, the camp meeting was truly established. ¹

The Gasper River gathering was a sensational success and led instantaneously to the holding of other camp meetings along the frontier. Presbyterian and Methodist ministers alike, impressed with McGready's success, held similar services that spontaneously captured the fancy of the pioneers, who were willing to travel great distances to attend. During the summer of 1800, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists united to hold one revival after another. ²

The idea spread rapidly to other areas, and by 1803 the outdoor religious excitement had caught on in the Western Reserve District of Ohio, in Western Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia as well as northward through Maryland, Delaware,

¹Ibid., pp. 34-36.
²Ibid., pp. 38-40.

The most famous of the early camp meetings was the Cane Ridge Revival, planned and staged by Barton Warren Stone, a Presbyterian, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, in August, 1801. Stone, influenced by McGready, also looked upon the outdoor revival as "an effective way of reaching the rough pioneer . . . ."  

At this gathering, where Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists freely mixed, "bodily exercises" such as "the jerks," "barking," leaping, fainting, and various other outward manifestations of religious hysteria broke out on a wide scale. These antics were probably not characteristic of all early camp meetings, but they were seized upon by critics who then painted lurid pictures of these gatherings in general. The Cane Ridge Revival was, however, probably "the most disorderly, the most hysterical and the largest revival ever held in early-day America."  

Cane Ridge is important in the history of the camp meeting for two reasons: first, it gave a tremendous impetus to the Second Great Awakening in American revivalism; and second, its disorder, its confusion, and its religious excesses divided western Presbyterians into two feuding groups. After the division, the
main body of Presbyterianism abandoned the outdoor revival. 7

By 1805 the Baptists had also generally abandoned the camp meeting, 8 which then became "more and more a Methodist technique of getting at sinners." 9 Smaller religious groups, such as the "Stonites," the "Shakers," and the Cumberland Presbyterians, held camp meetings throughout the nineteenth century, but the activities of these groups "were relatively insignificant when measured against the Methodist utilization of the forest revival." 10

The Methodists saw in the camp meeting a parallel with the great open air preaching services held in England by the Wesleys and George Whitefield in the early days of their church. They felt that the Arminian doctrine of salvation through personal effort, rather than the Calvinistic theory of redemption through election by God, integrated well with the democratic spirit of the outdoor service where all comers met on a basis of spiritual and social equality. To them it seemed as if they had found an excellent means for the spread of their doctrine and for the expansion of their denomination.

7 Ibid., pp. 67-70.

The schism resulted in the withdrawal of Barton Warren Stone and his followers from the Presbyterian Church, and was responsible for his founding of The Church of God, which has since become The Church of Christ. See Ulrey, op. cit., especially Chapters Three and Four.

8 Johnson, op. cit., p. 6.


10 Johnson, op. cit., pp. 72-80.
In the early days, Bishop Francis Asbury was probably the staunchest advocate of the camp meeting. Having attended one as early as October, 1800, in Tennessee, he urged the Methodists to adopt the idea and to carry it into other sections of the country. Heeding Asbury's plea, his followers enthusiastically held more and more gatherings each year. By 1818 more than six hundred of them were held throughout the country, and by 1820 the number had increased to nearly one thousand.

The Methodists actively tried to erase the stigma that had been attached to the camp meeting because of the wild excesses in Kentucky and Tennessee, by bringing order through thorough planning and close supervision. Leaving nothing to chance, they were meticulous in the layout of grounds, in the scheduling of the meetings, in the assignment of duties to the attending preachers, and in the supervision of the conduct of those who attended.

Despite its zealous adoption by the Methodists, the camp meeting was never an official part of that organization. Intended

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11Ibid., p. 83.


13Methodist camp meetings were not especially quiet and subdued gatherings, despite the attempts to preserve order. Religious enthusiasm was consciously stimulated, and the "shouting Methodist" was always present. Rigid policing was not always maintained, but the elders were fairly strict in their attitude toward social conduct. The cliche which was popular was not entirely incorrect: it read "more souls were made than were saved at the camp meeting."
to supplement the regular functions of the church, but never authorised by the official body, it was from start to finish a locally-controlled institution. Annual conferences sanctioned the idea, but they did not actively sponsor outdoor revivals. The ministers who conducted such services were responsible to the church because of their ordination, but they did not act as agents of their annual conferences. The itinerant minister, commonly known as the "circuit-rider," was instrumental in the spread of the popularity of the institution, often single-handedly arranging for local camps and also combining his labors with other itinerants to hold union-circuit meetings.

So popular was the idea with the Methodist clergy that often quarterly and even annual conferences were held in conjunction with outdoor revivals. The annual conference camp meeting became a great social event for preachers and for laymen. In addition, the presiding elder of the district attended, accompanied by whatever visiting church officials who were in the area. Johnson maintains that:

The juxtaposition of revival time and conference time was a logical arrangement offering tangible advantages. An army of preachers was on hand, including the very best speaking talent available — famous personalities who could attract hundreds from miles around. Various

\[14\] Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

\[15\] Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

\[16\] But the camp meetings themselves were conducted by individuals, and not as official acts of the conferences.
church leaders could compare notes as to service routines and could pick up new ideas.\textsuperscript{17}

Little is known about the early eastern camp meeting, except that it was probably more orderly and more subdued than that of the West,\textsuperscript{18} but the former differed from the latter:

\ldots in size as well as in the number of tents. The encampments in the East, although similar in design to those on the frontier, were established on a grander scale. While some eastern shelters housed but a single group, a great number were large enough for many families. Perhaps twenty to fifty and even a hundred individuals found shelter under a single canvas. Mammoth tents were typical here. Likewise the eastern camper's furnishings included many of the comforts of home.\textsuperscript{19}

City and rural dwellers seem to have met together on occasion in the East, where whole city congregations moved as a unit into the country. They pitched their tents, prepared a preaching ground, and welcomed the farmers in the area.\textsuperscript{20}

Permanent camp meeting grounds, characterised by large wooden pavilions and by simple frame cottages, began to appear in the 1830's. Rough and rustic at first, the facilities at these places became more elaborate, and even pretentious after the Civil War. The first such

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 87.
  \item \textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 97.
  \item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., pp. 44-45.
  \item \textsuperscript{20}The Methodist (New York), August 17, 1875.
\end{itemize}
establishment was probably at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, which was founded in 1835. 21

A sharp renewal of interest in camp meetings seems to have followed a period of relative dormancy which lasted from the latter 1850's through the Civil War. After the mid-1860's, scores of Camp Meeting Associations, each composed of about a dozen to about twenty-five Methodist ministers and laymen, were incorporated in the East and in the Midwest for the purpose of establishing and developing permanent outdoor meeting grounds. These organizations were incorporated as stock companies, some of which operated admittedly for profit, while others invested their revenues in further development of their facilities, and dedicated surpluses to charity. 22 Chartered by state legislatures, these religious corporations divided their lands into lots which were leased for terms up to ninety-nine years. The authority given to the founders by their charters was comparable, in some instances, to that of corporate municipal bodies. Special laws also entitled the managers to regulate public conduct and commerce, usually within a radius of one mile around their holdings, and they imposed strict regulation upon residents and visitors alike. Property rights could be transferred

21 The Methodist (New York), September 10, 1870.

22 No evidence exists that the Ocean Grove Association was ever able to divert funds to charity, primarily because of the ravages of storms which often washed away the beachfront. On at least one occasion, a public subscription was necessary to raise funds for beach restoration.
only if the members of the association approved of the new lease holder.23

The renaissance of enthusiasm for camp meetings came as part of the tremendous popular interest in summer vacationing which was felt in America during the last third of the nineteenth century, when vacation resorts were established along the entire Atlantic coast, from Maine to Florida.24 Prior to this period, summer vacationing had been largely the privilege of the rich, but the extension of the railroad and the steamship line, combined with the availability of moderately priced facilities, brought great waves of visitors to the newly established gathering places.

Religious resorts, featuring camp meeting services, sprang up, often close by secular grounds,25 at the seashore, in the mountains, by the riverside, at the lakeside, and at woodland groves. At these places, camp meeting associations aimed at providing a Christian substitute for fashionable "watering places" such as Saratoga and Niagara, New York; Newport, Rhode Island; the White Mountains, New Hampshire; and Cape May and Long Branch,

23Property situated upon the leased lots was salable. Lease rights, which entitled the owner to remain on the land, were transferred at the time of the "sale."


25Often the religious resort preceded the establishment of nearby secular facilities.
New Jersey, which had already been established, and for Atlantic City, New Jersey, which was also becoming popular with those who had less money to spend.

Camp Meeting Calendars, regular features of the religious newspapers during most of the 1870's and the 1880's, indicate that vacation camp meetings were spread across the country, and that they were especially numerous in the East and in the Midwest. According to The Christian Advocate (New York), between July 23 and September 10, 1873, sixty meetings were operating from upper New York to Illinois, and south to Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee. From year to year the list grew longer: seventy-three were held in 1877, ninety-three in 1879, and 143 in 1889.

The middle Atlantic states contained an especially heavy concentration of Methodist vacation camps. By 1879, the report


27 Wilson, op. cit., p. 287.

28 July 24, 1873.

This was not a complete list of all the meetings held that summer, but it covered the last six weeks of the season. A few meetings had occurred during the first weeks of July, and appeared on earlier calendars.

29 Compared with the number of early camp meetings reported by William Warren Sweet (Religion on the American Frontier, op. cit., p. 69) these figures do not seem impressive. The fact is, however, that the vacation camp meetings consistently drew larger crowds than did the early revivals. In addition, the former ran from ten days to two weeks, compared with an average of four days for the latter.
from New York was: "During the next three weeks, twenty-nine of these great out-of-doors conventions will be in progress in this state, Pennsylvania, and in New Jersey." From Philadelphia came the word that:

Within the next six weeks six camp meetings will be held within the bounds of our conference, and three so near as to justify a mention of them for our people. . . . These meetings are so located that every part of our conference territory will feel the influence of one or more of them.

In New Jersey alone, nine different associations established permanent grounds between 1868 and 1895. The woodland meeting, however, was not new to that area, for as the outdoor revival spread eastward and northward from Kentucky, it travelled rapidly up the Atlantic seaboard, and appeared in New Jersey as well as in every other eastern state. "In West Jersey generally recognized to be south of Trenton... the camp meeting had become something of a mania" at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Specific reference has been made to one of these gatherings at Parsippany, Morris County, in 1806, but they were probably held even earlier than that. After 1818 the activity was common in all settled

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33 Ibid.
parts of the state. 34

The semi-permanent ground appeared early in New Jersey. Robert Drew Simpson describes one of these which was established in Forkbridge in 1819, and which continued for fifteen years:

The tents were constructed of thin pine boards. . . . The camp proper was laid out in a square, leaving ample place in the center for the preachers' stand or pulpit, and the "fire box" in which pine knots were burned every night to enlighten the whole camp. The tents were arranged beside each other until the front lines were filled; then a space was allowed for a street, a second row of tents was then erected . . . . 35

Semi-permanent and tent meetings were held in the state through the Civil War, and some of them existed after the rise of the vacation camp meeting, 36 but by the mid 1880's these had disappeared, or become minor.

Permanent camp meeting grounds, all of which did not become resorts immediately, were established at Mount Tabor, in the Newark Conference (northern New Jersey) and at Ocean Grove, Seaville, Pitman Grove, West Jersey Grove, Ocean City, Island Heights, Atlantic Highlands, and National-Park-on-the-Delaware in the New Jersey Conference (central and southern New Jersey.)

34 Robert Drew Simpson, ibid., reports several gatherings after this date, while Hazel Simpson, in the introduction to The Diary of John C. Eastlack (Woodbury, New Jersey: The Gloucester County Historical Society, 1955), cites twenty-four references, from 1827 to 1858, to camp meetings in Gloucester County. Similar reports also appear in newspapers published in other counties.


36 Typical among these were the meetings held at Pennsgrove, Salem County, and Barnsboro, Gloucester County.
Map of southern New Jersey showing railroad routes as they existed in 1876. Numbers indicate the location of the vacation camp meeting grounds founded between 1869 and 1895, as follows: (1) Ocean Grove, (2) Pitman Grove, (3) West Jersey Grove, (4) Seaville, (5) Ocean City, (6) Island Heights, (7) Atlantic Highlands, (8) National Park.
The New Jersey legislature granted charters to camp meeting associations under several general laws passed during the 1820's to give protection to religious gatherings.\textsuperscript{37} In addition, two other acts were used to effect incorporation: "An act to incorporate Benevolent and Religious Associations, passed March 10, 1858\textsuperscript{38} and "An act to Authorize and Encourage the Improvement of Property in this State, passed April 9, 1867."\textsuperscript{39} Mount Tabor and Ocean Grove were chartered as special acts of the legislature.\textsuperscript{40} Except for Ocean Grove, all were chartered as joint stock companies. None of these organizations, including Ocean Grove, were ever officially connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, although the names of some of them imply such an affiliation.

The Newark Conference Camp Meeting Association was the first of its kind to be established in New Jersey.\textsuperscript{41} Its founding came as


\textsuperscript{38}Emma Mae Evans and David Charles Evans, eds., \textit{West Jersey Grove Camp Meeting Association, 80th Anniversary, 1869-1949}. Pamphlet on deposit in the Methodist Historical Center, Old St. George's Methodist Church, Philadelphia, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{39}W. E. Perry, \textit{Origin and History of the New Jersey Conference Camp Meeting Association} (Camden, N.J.; Barclay and Cheeseeman, printers, 1874). Pamphlet, on deposit at the Rose Memorial Library, Drew University, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{40}Robert Drew Simpson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65. See also \textit{Second Annual Report} of the Ocean Grove Association, pp. 63-68.

\textsuperscript{41}This was the only camp meeting association formed within the territory of the Newark Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. All the others in the state operated in the New Jersey Conference, which is situated south of a line drawn from New Brunswick to Lambertville, on the Delaware River.
the result of interest in the outdoor gathering on the part of members of the newly-formed conference. Shortly after the founding of the division, in 1857, each presiding elder was instructed to hold an annual camp meeting in his district, and nine years later, "amid the planning for the Centenary of American Methodism . . . a committee [was appointed] to consider the advisability of a conference camp meeting."^42

For three years the conference camp was held at Speedwell Lake, near Morristown. In 1868, the committee obtained approval to purchase a permanent site near Denville, Morris County, and to sell subscriptions for lots. The Newark Conference Camp Meeting Association was given a special charter by the New Jersey legislature in March, 1869, which enabled it to function as a community within the larger township in which it was located.^43

Although the association was formed as the result of conference interest, it was incorporated as a joint stock company, with shares secured by lots, and was never officially related to the church.^44

Mount Tabor did not have the spectacular development of many of the other camp meeting grounds in New Jersey. Although there


^43 Ibid., pp. 85-86. A similar charter of this type was given to Ocean Grove a few months later.

were some aspects of the vacation camp meeting about its operation, its evangelistic seal seems to have ebbed by 1891, and its later course was toward a permanent community of cottages. 45

The second camp meeting association to appear in New Jersey, and the first to be organized within the New Jersey Conference, was the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This corporation was chartered by the state legislature in 1870. A more detailed discussion of the founding and development of this enterprise is reserved for the following chapter.

Acting much as had the founders of Mount Tabor, a group of ministers and laymen formed the New Jersey Conference Camp Meeting Association, and established Pitman Grove, Gloucester County, in June, 1871. 46 Organized as the result of conference interest, but not as the result of official action, this association was also a joint stock company. 47 Ellwood H. Stokes, long-time president, and Aaron E. Ballard, long-time vice president of the Ocean Grove Association, were both among the original stockholders in this enterprise. The Reverend Ballard was for many years president at Pitman Grove and vice president at Ocean Grove. The camp meeting at Pitman Grove became one of the most active and influential in the

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45 Robert Drew Simpson, op. cit., p. 86.

46 Pitman Grove was named in honor of the Reverend Charles Pitman, early camp meeting preacher in New Jersey.

47 Perry, op. cit., p. 1. Because of financial difficulties, the company was reorganized in the winter of 1872.
country, and was second in importance in New Jersey only to Ocean Grove.

Not established as a resort, Pitman Grove did not feature recreational activities, but it existed almost exclusively as a worship ground until the 1890's. In keeping with its strict religious spirit, it was chosen by the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness as the site for National Camp Meetings in the years 1883, 1884, and 1887. Probably the most significant factor in its success was its fortunate location, seventeen miles by rail from Camden, and eighteen miles from Philadelphia. In the late 1880's a nearby (but not adjacent) lake was opened for development, and in 1892 an amusement park, known as Alcyon Park, was established. Although independently operated, the camp meeting and the amusement park subsequently combined to make Pitman Grove the most famous inland vacation resort in New Jersey during the first third of the twentieth century.

The services at Pitman Grove were held during the first two weeks in August, while those at Ocean Grove followed immediately. Both places attracted great crowds from many sections of the country,

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50 Ibid., pp. 86-93.
and both shared many of the same speakers. At the conclusion of the Pitman Services, it was customary for a number of camp meeting followers to travel directly to Ocean Grove for the opening exercises at the seaside resort.

The West Jersey Grove Association, better known as the Malaga Camp Meeting Association, was formed in 1873. Situated near the little town of Malaga, Cumberland County, this organization catered locally to the people of the Bridgeton district. Like all the other camp grounds of its time, however, Malaga drew crowds of ten to fifteen thousand to its grove on Camp Meeting Sunday. Unlike Pitman Grove, West Jersey Grove has never developed into a community.

The South Jersey Camp Meeting Association was incorporated at South Seaville, Cape May County, in August, 1875, but camp meetings had been held on this spot as early as 1869. The physical facilities for public speaking at Ocean Grove were far more extensive than those at Pitman Grove, but audiences of two to three thousand were accommodated at the latter by seats extending beyond the cover of the auditorium roof.

The physical facilities at West Jersey Grove were about equal to those at Pitman Grove.

A printed sermon, in pamphlet form, delivered by the Reverend A. E. Ballard at Seaville Camp Meeting in 1869, is on deposit in the Methodist Historical Center, Old St. George's Methodist Church, Philadelphia.
crowds of people flocked to this then-famous religious resort. Its attraction, however, was short lived, for it never developed into a permanent community, and though services were held through the end of the nineteenth century, they seem to have attracted fewer persons after the turn of the twentieth century.

Of the four remaining religious resorts established in New Jersey during the period of the study, three were on the seacoast or bay front, and one was on the Delaware River. All were formed about the camp meeting idea, and each had distinct commercial aspects. Three of these were established largely through the efforts of the large and influential Lake family.

The first of these four associations was incorporated at Ocean City, Cape May County, in 1876. Established in emulation of Ocean Grove, Ocean City became known as a "resort with a camp meeting" rather than as a "camp meeting resort." Situated favorably to become the summer home for many middle class Philadelphians, its restrictions were less severe, and it experienced a steady development throughout a period of sixty years. Its camp meeting was vigorous, and "eminent ministers of national reputation ... often heard in the auditorium." Today Ocean City is the most popular "respectable" middle class resort on the New Jersey coast.

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55 Orw, op. cit., p. 20.
56 Ibid., pp. 329-330.
Organized in 1878, the Island Heights Camp Meeting Association located its grounds on a high bluff overlooking Barnegat Bay, Toms River, and the ocean, fifty-five miles from Philadelphia and sixty-eight miles from New York City. Although of lesser fame than Ocean Grove, Pitman Grove, or Ocean City, Island Heights, too, seems to have drawn many of the same famous speakers to its preaching stand.

The Atlantic Highlands Camp Meeting Association was chartered in 1881. "Prominent among the directors . . . were some of the persons who . . . contributed to make Ocean City within a single year the marvel of success that it . . . was." Designed as a religious resort, it, also, was within easy reach of the major cities of the East, fronting Sandy Hook Bay, a short boat ride from New York, and about an hour's train trip from Philadelphia. Functioning also as a Chautauqua graduation center, it had a natural amphitheater capable of seating from twenty to thirty thousand persons. Despite the fact that it obtained some of the same preachers, Atlantic Highlands was apparently not considered as

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57 The Christian Advocate (New York), July 11, 1878. Island Heights was not controlled by interests of the Lake family.


59 The Camden Daily Post, August 14, 1895. No newspaper reports were found to indicate that the amphitheater was filled at any time during the period studied.
important for its meetings as were Ocean Grove and Pitman Grove.

Probably the most interesting of all the New Jersey camp
meeting resorts was National Park on-the-Delaware, Gloucester
County, site of the Revolutionary battle at Fort Mercer. Opposite
the Philadelphia Navy Yard, it was "designed to be a moral suburban
town after the pattern of Ocean Grove and Ocean City." National
Park, also the property of a stock company, opened its gates to
the public in 1895. Frankly and openly commercial, it had grandiose
plans for development, involving ownership of an excursion steamer,
hotels, an amusement park, and camp meetings, all to be operated
by the corporation. It, too, had a natural amphitheater capable
of seating twenty-thousand persons. The enterprise, however,
"never got off the ground." Although it was advertised widely,
it nevertheless seemed to get only a minimum of coverage in the
Camden and in the Philadelphia press. Resorting to the "star
system" of preaching, the association attracted fairly large
crowds, but the undertaking itself was unsuccessful, and soon the
grounds were abandoned.

60 *National Park... on the Delaware. Almanac - 1895.
Published by the National Park Association.

61 Ibid.

62 The Review (Camden, N.J.), August 17, 1895.

63 The Reverend Sam P. Jones, of Georgia, was given the
entire camp meeting in 1900.

64 After 1903, no newspaper references to National Park can
be found.
The camp meeting resort was popular with four classes of persons: cottage owners; cottage and tent renters; hotel guests; and excursionists. Many cottage owners, who included large numbers of preachers, lawyers, and businessmen, spent the entire summer on the grounds. Many of them regarded the well-regulated and strongly protected religious resort as an ideal place to leave their families during the summer, while they attended matters elsewhere, spending only weekends at their cottages. Some even commuted to and from the city daily. Other vacationers rented cottages from the camp meeting associations at reasonable rates, thus gaining the same benefits as those who owned cottages.

Shorter term visitors were usually accommodated at hotels and boarding houses which sprang up soon after the establishment of the camp meeting ground. They crowded these places to capacity throughout the summer season. Large numbers of excursionists also were drawn to the grounds, especially during the camp meeting services. Most of them wandered around the grounds, partaking of the religious or recreational activities, but having no specific headquarters.

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65 Ocean Grove was especially noted for its large tent-renting population. More than 500 canvas "cottage type" tents were occupied continually throughout the summer, some of them being taken by the same families for over thirty years. Even today more than a hundred tents can be seen near the auditorium.

66 At those few grounds which did not feature resort activities, capacity was reached only during the services of the camp meeting itself.
To reach most of the seaside resorts seldom took more than three hours by rail from New York or from Philadelphia. Excursion steamers cruised rivers, lakes and bays, frequently touching at religious vacation grounds. Using these modes of transportation, a trip to camp meeting, even on a one-day basis, was a pleasant, and not too difficult sojourn. The railroads encouraged the exodus to the resorts by offering reduced rates and special trains.67

The great popularity of the religious resort, and of the camp meeting, is reflected in the extensive newspaper coverage which they received. In the 1870's, The Christian Advocate (New York) reported that "One can scarcely take up a paper during the summer months without seeing an account of such meetings in progress, and announcements of others to take place."68

During the month of August, 1874, The New York Times featured a daily column entitled: "Open-Air Worship" which described extensively the activities of the various outdoor meetings in New York and in New Jersey. In later years, however, attention of The Times to this subject was sporadic.

The New York Daily Tribune editorialised frequently against the vacation camp meeting, but it carried extensive reports of the services and of the social life found at such places. In 1890, this newspaper admitted the popularity and the importance of the

67Fares and schedules were advertised extensively in both the religious and the secular press.

68July 27, 1876.
institution to its readers, and announced that, in spite of its questioning of the real worth of the theological results to be attained at these places, that it would continue to carry reports from the various camp meetings and religious assemblies scattered throughout its territory, the most significant of which was Ocean Grove. In effect, then, this newspaper acknowledged that these gatherings were of great interest to its readership, and, therefore, newsworthy.69

Newspapers of other cities also carried camp meeting news of local interest. Not as generous to the institution as the religious press, much of which emanated from that city, the Philadelphia papers, for instance, described the meetings and printed local-color stories. Publications in smaller cities, however, devoted a great amount of space to nearby meetings. The Camden (N.J.) Daily Post, for example, contained a long column every day during the large gatherings held at Pitman Grove. These reports continued unabated from about 1878. The Woodbury (N.J.) Constitution, a weekly, also summarized the Pitman Grove services. At Ocean Grove, three newspapers from adjacent Asbury Park; the local weekly, The Ocean Grove Record; and The Daily Spray left little unnoticed during the entire season.

Although the religious motive seems to have been dominant in the formation of most camp meeting associations, commercialism came in varying degrees to their enterprises. Land values,

69August 24, 1890.
especially at the seashore, skyrocketed under the surge of resort
development which was taking place. Camp meeting grounds were no
exception, and investors who originally bought leases on lots for
fifty dollars quickly sold them for many times that amount.

At Ocean Grove, speculation was limited largely to the
individual, since the association developed its lands slowly and
continuously over a period of twenty years. Despite the fact that
a few preachers might have profited to some extent through fortunate
early purchases, the enterprise did not seem to have created personal
fortunes for any of its members. In the camp meeting movement as a
whole, however, it is likely that certain persons made substantial
profits, while others invested, but lost.

In general, the camp meeting associations themselves did not
operate commercial facilities within their grounds, but they leased
the privilege to others. Restaurants, hotels, and retail outlets
for the necessities of life were independently operated. The
associations, however, regularly battled hucksters and liquor
sellers who tried to invade their grounds.

Camp meeting resorts were widely advertised, although most of
the paid notices appeared in the religious, rather than in the
secular press. By 1896, for instance, the published Annual Minutes
of the New Jersey Conference contained full page layouts illustrating
the attractions of these places. Most of the associations distributed
illustrated pamphlets concerning their summer program, and some,
such as the National Park (New Jersey) Camp Meeting Association,
published annual almanacs which served as year around reminders.
The religious resorts seem to have drawn large crowds, especially during the services of the camp meeting. Even though they seemed to have attracted more people than they could comfortably handle, a friendly business rivalry existed among them. The spirit of competition was described in 1875 in these terms:

This is unavoidable and it has some advantages. A large amount is invested in a grove; expenses are heavy; the season is short; and each place is therefore anxious from a financial standpoint — and religious motives also — to draw a crowd. Hence a tempting bill of fare advertised in the church papers and by wide-spread circulars. One place lures the public with its "fine ocean bathing and fishing" and another touchingly alludes to its "mountain air, charming landscapes and rural quiet." One claims to be the "most central camp-ground in the country" and proves it by a map. One rallies the people to a temperance convention, another to a musical convention, another to a grand Sunday School Institute. Some wisely advertise the preachers who are secured — and invoke the ministerial talent to draw a paying crowd. Before us is a pictorial bulletin which announces that one place will have a chime of bells, a cornet to lead the singing, "an old mummy" and probably a pipe organ and good coffee! It also gives a long list of speakers who "have not all pledged themselves to come," and another list of twelve Bishops and others who "have been invited" but who have as yet given "no assurance which justifies a positive announcement."

The great interest in summer vacationing was not alone responsible for the renewal of interest in camp meetings following the Civil War. A strong influence was also exerted by the National Association for

70The Methodist (New York), August 7, 1875.
The comment about the good bathing and fishing probably referred to Ocean Grove, but no evidence was found that the managers of that resort advertised speakers in advance of their camp meeting, except for the opening sermon and for Camp Meeting Sunday.
the Promotion of Holiness, which was popularly known as the National Camp Meeting Association. This group, largely Methodist, but interdenominational, was organized to conduct revivals exclusively for the "special promotion of entire sanctification or Christian perfection as a definite experience." After holding its first session at Vineland, New Jersey, in July, 1867, the National Association thereafter sponsored camp meetings especially dedicated to holiness in many sections of the country, as well as tabernacle campaigns in the major cities. By 1694 the association had held eighty-four camps and eleven tabernacle crusades.

The National Association never established a meeting ground of its own, but it functioned as an itinerant agency which used the existing facilities of other camp meeting associations. Its members individually, however, were responsible for the founding of several vacation camp meeting resorts. Numbered among the charter members of the Ocean Grove Association, for instance, were William B. Osborne, John S. Inskip, and Alfred Cookman, all of the National Association. Osborne has been credited with being the founder of Ocean Grove, although he moved to Florida in 1871, and was not responsible for much of the development of the New Jersey resort.

71 McDonald, op. cit., p. 5.

72 Ellwood H. Stokes, "Ocean Grove; An Historical Address Delivered at its Sixth Anniversary, July 31st, 1875," printed in The Ocean Grove Record, August 14, 1875.
The camp meeting of the post Civil War period differed little in general form from that of the early days, except for the fact that some of its main services and many of its subsidiary services were dedicated to the doctrine of Christian holiness. Some entire camp meetings, especially those conducted by the National Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness, were dedicated to this purpose.

The meeting itself was a well-defined series of daily religious sessions lasting from ten days to two weeks. During this time, ten to fifteen services of various types occurred throughout the day, beginning at five or five-thirty in the morning, and lasting until ten or ten-thirty at night. Prayer meetings, experience meetings, young people's meetings, mothers' meetings, holiness meetings, love-feasts, communion services all might be held, some consecutively, and some simultaneously. Almost always there were three main preaching services, occurring at ten in the morning, two-thirty in the afternoon, and seven-thirty in the evening. Occasionally, evangelistic services might interfere with the afternoon sermon, but almost nothing -- not even the weather -- interfered with those of the morning or evening. Following nearly every preaching service came an after-meeting, featuring exhortations from other ministers, from prominent laymen, or from a bishop himself, if one were present.

The daily program from the 1887 camp meeting at Ocean Grove is typical of those presented nearly everywhere after the Civil War.
Consecration meeting in Tabernacle . . . 5:45 to 6:45 a.m. daily

Family devotions, Auditorium, 6:45 to 7 a.m. daily

Holiness meeting, Tabernacle . . . 9 a.m. daily

Public services, Auditorium, 10:30 a.m., 3 and 7:30 p.m. daily

Mrs. Lissie Smith's meeting Tabernacle, 1-3 p.m. daily

Mothers' meeting, Temple . . . 2 p.m. daily

Helping Hand Tent . . . 4:30 p.m. daily

Workers' Training Class, Temple . . . 4:30 p.m. daily

Twilight service, Temple . . . 6:30 p.m. daily

Infant Baptism, Wednesday, 31st, at 9 a.m. sharp, followed by closing exercises.73

**Summary**

The origins of the camp meeting are uncertain, but the first gathering at which people camped out while attending continuous revival services was probably held by James McGready, at Gasper River, Logan County, Kentucky, in July, 1800. The idea spread like wild fire, and within the summer it moved all along the southwestern frontier. In two years it was in evidence throughout the West, along the eastern seaboard, and even in Canada.

The most famous of the early camp meetings was the Cane Ridge, Kentucky, revival, staged in 1801 by Barton Warren Stone, also Presbyterian. It was known for its large crowds and for the

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73 The Daily Press, August 27, 1887.
wide-scale appearance of "bodily exercises." Because of its orgiastic excesses, Cane Ridge caused a split among the Presbyterians which eventually resulted in the establishment of The Church of God and in the abandonment of the camp meeting by the Presbyterians. This revival was also largely responsible for the stereotyped, but inaccurate, image of the early camp meeting as a wild, disorderly affair.

The Methodists, upon the insistence of Bishop Asbury, developed the camp meeting as a device for revival and for church expansion. They consciously tried to erase the stigma which had been brought to it by reports of the early wild excesses, relying on thorough planning and close supervision to accomplish this goal. Despite the wide usage of the institution by the Methodists, it never became an official part of their church, but remained locally controlled. The itinerant minister carried the idea to the frontier, while in the more settled regions the camp meeting often became the scene of the annual conference. At the conference camp meeting, the greatest preachers available were brought to the stand.

By the 1830's, permanent cottages and open-air wooden auditoriums began to appear. After the Civil War, a sharp revival of interest in camp meetings was fostered by camp meeting associations, which were stock companies formed for the purpose of establishing and developing permanent grounds. This period was also one of great interest in summer vacationing by the middle classes of the country, and therefore many camp grounds also became religious summer resorts.
By 1889, nearly 150 vacation camp grounds were operating in many sections of the land, but concentrated in the Middle Atlantic states. New Jersey, which had been a "hot bed" of camp meeting enthusiasm since the very early days, contained nine locations, all of which were operated under charters of the state legislature. Right of these were within the territory of the New Jersey Conference, while but one was within the Newark Conference.

Cottage owners and renters, tent dwellers, hotel guests, and excursionists flocked to these places, which were extremely popular and well publicized.

Some commercial aspects, mostly involved with land speculation, crept into the movement, but not all camp meeting associations took profits.

An important factor in the resurgence of interest in the camp meeting was the Christian holiness movement. Most influential of the holiness groups was the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, which carried on extensive activity in behalf of its cause, including the sponsoring of many "National Camp Meetings." Members of this association individually were responsible for the founding of a number of religious resorts, but the association itself never officially established one.

The camp meeting proper was a concentrated series of religious services held for ten days to two weeks during the summer season. Ten to fifteen meetings of various kinds were held throughout the day, from sunrise until late in the evening, including three main preaching services. The latter consistently drew audiences numbering in the thousands.
CHAPTER II

OCEAN GROVE AS A RESORT AND AS A CAMP MEETING

Because of its location by the sea, within easy access of the heavily populated cities, Ocean Grove was able to draw large audiences and excellent speakers to its meetings. Combined with its geographical situation was a devoted and shrewd management that guarded over the religious and the temporal well-being of the resort, and that spared no effort to keep its facilities modern.

The Founding of Ocean Grove

"... Ocean Grove grew out of the National Holiness Camp Meeting movement."¹

The actual founder was William B. Osborne, son of a Methodist minister, who had been reclaimed at a camp meeting and as a result became a life-long supporter of the institution. He was one of the charter members of The National Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness, the organization which eventually carried the camp meeting for the promotion of entire sanctification and holiness

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into many states of the Union. But Osborne alone did not conceive
the idea of a seaside camp meeting resort, nor was he directly
responsible for the growth of Ocean Grove. The task of development
fell to others.  

For some time, during the 1860's, a group of ministers of the
New Jersey and the Troy (New York) Conferences of the Methodist
Episcopal Church, dissatisfied with secular vacation facilities, had
been wishing for a place somewhere along the coast where they might
take their families, pitch tents, and enjoy a retreat for rest,
recreation, and religious exercises. They did not intend to estab­
lish a resort, but they wanted instead to get away for meditation.
Osborne found this group agreeable to his idea of a permanent camp
meeting and recreation ground. The result of his enthusiasm and of
his conscientious hunt for a suitable location, led these ministers,
and a few laymen, to establish Ocean Grove.  

Following the first camp meeting of the National Association for
the Promotion of Holiness, at Vineland, New Jersey, in 1867, Osborne
and the Reverend Joseph R. Andrews sought to purchase a grove near
that town in which to locate a permanent place for these meetings.
Unsuccessful there, they next sought the seaside, where they

2 Although Osborne first held the position of superintendent
of grounds, and remained a member of the Ocean Grove Association
until his death in 1902, he moved to Georgia in 1872. His later
years were spent in New Jersey, but he seems not to have taken a
leading part in the affairs of Ocean Grove during that period.

3 Ellwood H. Stokes, "Ocean Grove; an Historical Address
Delivered at its Sixth Anniversary, July 31st, 1875," printed in
The Ocean Grove Record, August 11, 1875.
determined to establish a camp ground at Seven Mile Beach, Cape May County. Dissuaded from acquiring this site by mosquitoes, they decided to examine the whole of the New Jersey coast to find a suitable spot.

Having been appointed agent for the Methodist seminary at Vineland, Osborne travelled the state, spreading his idea and looking for the best location. After a thorough search, he decided upon a plot of land in Monmouth County, six miles south of the famous and palatial summer resort at Long Branch, where a series of long, thin "finger lakes" ran toward the beach.

The area eventually occupied by Ocean Grove was bounded north and south by lakes, and on the east by a splendid ocean beach suitable for bathing. A turnpike, which became the western boundary, ran south from Long Branch to a point two miles below the grounds, passing them about three quarters of a mile inland. Five hundred yards from the ocean was a grove of young oak and pine. Three advantages thus accrued to those who vacationed at this spot: the ocean and beach; two fresh water lakes for boating and bathing; and a grove to provide shade.

Osborne brought a few families, about twenty persons in all, to the place during the last week of July, 1869. Spreading their tents, they vacationed and worshipped together. Several days after an inspiring impromptu prayer meeting had been held, he pressed the group to hold a camp meeting. The Reverend Ellwood H. Stokes, first president of the Ocean Grove Association, described the result in
these terms:

The place was fixed upon. . . . Two loads of boards were hauled from Long Branch, pine logs cut, and on these the boards were placed for seats. A stand as rude as can be, holding three or four persons, a little straw scattered about, and invitations to the few people in the neighborhood sent out, and we were ready for work.¹

Only thirty to forty persons attended this meeting held in 1869, but eventually more than thirty thousand people were to be on the grounds at one time, about twelve thousand of them assembled in one of the largest auditoriums in the world to hear the great preachers of the day.

"Soon after this [beginning]" continued Stokes:

It was decided to purchase a few acres lying in the grove, immediately along the northern lake and enough beach land to give . . . a passage to the sea, and here in this small compass, a few of us proposed in the simplest and most unostentatious way, to assemble from year to year and enjoy . . . summer rest . . . by the sea. It was no speculation; no scheme for raising money, no device of any kind, but simply and singly social, recreative and religious — mainly excepting the few neighbors who might desire to worship with us, for ourselves alone. The great world we did not seek, but shunned. We wanted simply to rest and recuperate.⁵

Yielding to the requests of others who wished to join them, the group met in Trenton, New Jersey, during the following winter and decided to form an association. Consisting of thirteen ministers and thirteen laymen, it was to have dual purposes: to hold camp meetings; and to develop a Christian seaside resort.

¹Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
An unusual charter, similar to that granted the year before to the Newark Conference Camp Meeting Association, was obtained from the New Jersey legislature, dated March 3, 1870, under the title: "The Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church." A codification of the old camp meeting laws, which gave protection to religious gatherings, this charter was intended "to perpetuate through members of the Methodist Episcopal Church a camp meeting system, which proposed larger opportunities for better hygienic conditions, intellectual and religious exercises." 6

The charter gave broad municipal powers to the Ocean Grove Association, permitting it to function as the sole governing body over its lands, as well as over the leaseholders of its lots. 7 Thus empowered, the officers managed and developed the resort as they saw fit, making and enforcing laws, and appointing their own police force. The municipal power was to become an important force in the maintenance of the place as a religious resort which operated under strict rules of personal conduct.


7 See also Stokes, op. cit.

Copies of this charter, together with the by-laws of the Ocean Grove Association, were printed in the Second Annual Report, pp. 83-88, and in Daniels, op. cit., pp. 272-273.

Charters granted to other Camp Meeting Associations organized after Ocean Grove were similar, but did not have the provision for municipal self-government. Many of these places were eventually assimilated into corporate boroughs, but Ocean Grove remains an autonomous governmental unit within a township.
The Development of Ocean Grove as a Resort

The members of the Ocean Grove Association accepted the task of developing a religious recreation ground as a manifestation of Divine Will, and went energetically to work. Clearing a part of the land, they laid out streets and surveyed lots which were first put up for "sale" June 1, 1870.8 Rather than selling the lots in fee simple, they leased them for ninety-nine years, thus retaining ultimate control over the land, and preserving the right of local governmental autonomy given them by their charter.

Opening new sections of their grounds as the demand for lots increased, the Association eventually controlled about 400 acres, occupying three-quarters of a square mile.9

The growth of Ocean Grove surprised even its founders. From a beginning of two cottages and a few tents in 1870, it expanded to 417 cottages and twenty-three boarding houses or hotels in only six years.10 In twenty-five years it embraced seventy-nine commercial guest houses and nearly twelve hundred cottages.11 In addition, tents were popular. By 1876, 600 tents were occupied throughout the summer, 310 of which were rented out by the Association. Most of

8Stokes, op. cit.
9Ballard, op. cit., p. 3.
these were large family units, accommodating from six to twelve persons each.\textsuperscript{12}

The first summer resort on the northern New Jersey coast, south of Long Branch, Ocean Grove became the nucleus around which other resorts developed. At the end of ten years (by 1879) there were six or seven miles of almost continuous towns along the beach, all of which received their initial inspiration from Ocean Grove.\textsuperscript{13}

In the aggregate, these towns increased in assessed valuation more than one thousand percent during the first ten years, a period of general financial depression, when property in most other areas of the country was decreasing twenty-five to fifty percent in value.\textsuperscript{14}

Ocean Grove continued to attract greater crowds each year. Combined with Asbury Park, it rivalled any resort along the Atlantic coast. In the summer of 1887, for instance, over one million

\textsuperscript{12}Eighth Annual Report, p. 13. Beginning in 1876, many of the tents were attached to portable frame kitchens. Today about a hundred of the "cottage tents" stand near the auditorium.

\textsuperscript{13}The most important town was Asbury Park, founded in 1871 by James A. Bradley, Methodist layman from New York City. Bradley purchased the land, which he developed into a summer resort, after being interested in the area by David H. Brown, treasurer of the Ocean Grove Association. Semi-religious in origin and in operation, and named for Bishop Asbury, this resort was contiguous to the north, to Ocean Grove, and became a sister-city to the camp meeting resort. Regulations at Asbury Park were never as strict as those in Ocean Grove, but that resort had a distinctly religious flavor. Ocean Grove could be reached by a very short trip across a lake, or a walk along the beach, from Asbury Park, and many of those who attended meetings at Ocean Grove came over from there. In 1889, Asbury Park had nearly 200 hotels and boarding houses, in addition to about 800 private dwellings. Harold F. Wilson, The Jersey Shore (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1955), p. 572.

\textsuperscript{14}Tenth Annual Report, p. 35.
passengers arrived at the depot which served the two places jointly; and by 1895, 136 trains discharged 35,000 persons in a single day.

Five basic factors seem to have been responsible for the success of Ocean Grove: (1) a good location, (2) its resort facilities, (3) the religious and cultural programs carried on throughout the summer, (4) an inspired, zealous, and shrewd management, and (5) the rules which regulated personal conduct at the resort.

The nascent Ocean Grove profited by its proximity to the thriving and fashionable Long Branch, one of the country's finest upper class resorts. Because excellent railroad facilities already existed at Long Branch, and because a fine turnpike ran from there past the grounds at Ocean Grove, the traveller could easily extend his trip by stage past the exclusive hotels and mansions of the rich to the cheaper accommodations at the religious resort, or stop at adjacent Asbury Park. An extensive network of railroads was already in operation in southern New Jersey by the 1870's, and by way of interconnecting systems, Philadelphia and New York were within easy, comfortable reach, as were nearly every city and town in New Jersey. Persons from nearly every section of the northeastern part of the country could reach the Monmouth County religious resort by

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16Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, p. 42.
17Wilson, op. cit., p. 528.
18See illustration, Chapter I, which shows New Jersey Southern Railroad connections as they existed in 1874. Several of these lines were later extended.
interchanging at Philadelphia or New York. The trip from Wilmington, Delaware, for instance, took slightly over four hours in 1885. In fact, nearly half the population of the United States was within travelling distance.

"The railroads and real estate promoters ran propaganda campaigns during the 1870's to get the people out of the hot cities." In conjunction with these, the railroads offered reduced rates for trips to resorts and camp meetings, including Ocean Grove. At first they issued special coupons for transfer to stages from trains at Long Branch, but when the track was extended to the Ocean Grove-Asbury Park station in 1875, trains began to run within a half mile of the camp meeting auditorium.

A second factor in the success of Ocean Grove was its vacation facilities. These were described in one newspaper in the following terms:

Ocean Grove has its fine points — attractions possessed by few resorts anywhere on the coast. It surpasses Atlantic City, Long Branch or Coney Island in its beach, and the scene here is always more entertaining. Fine pavilions, extending

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19 Most of the seaside resort which developed along the New Jersey coast were, of course, accessible by rail, and vacationers might, especially during the latter part of the nineteenth century, choose from resorts other than Ocean Grove and Asbury Park. Only the resorts in the immediate vicinity of Long Branch, however, were easily reached from both Philadelphia and New York.

20 The Peninsula Methodist, August 15, 1885.

21 For an appreciation of this fact, see "Map of the Populous States in 1890" in Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), facing p. 76.

22 Wilson, op. cit., p. 528.
into the water and capable of seating hundreds, afford cool resting places not found so well situated at any of the above-named places, excepting Coney Island with its pier. The waters dash beneath these pavilions, and one sits above feeling that he is out upon the ocean enjoying all its freshness.\textsuperscript{23}

The unique combination of fresh and salt water recreation, affording both boating and bathing, was found nowhere else on the New Jersey coast, except at Asbury Park, which shared one of the lakes.

While other resorts encouraged concessions, amusement rides, and exhibits along the inland side of their boardwalks, nothing of the kind was permitted at Ocean Grove.\textsuperscript{24} A short walk however to the north along the boardwalk brought one to Asbury Park, where games and rides were found.\textsuperscript{25} Thus the vacationers could find commercial pleasures easily, while their own living areas remained unspoiled.\textsuperscript{26}

Ocean Grove's summer-long religious and cultural program, which began about July 1 and continued until the middle of September, was a third factor in its success.\textsuperscript{27} During the first five years of operation, the association held only a limited number of activities, but

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{The Camden Post}, August 8, 1881.

\textsuperscript{24}Two large bath houses stood at either end of Ocean Grove. While some of these units were free, others were rented out by concessionaires. No other commercial development was allowed, however, and the protected surf bathing was always free.

\textsuperscript{25}Sunday operation at Asbury Park was prohibited.

\textsuperscript{26}The only resemblance to a commercial exhibit in Ocean Grove was a scale model of Jerusalem presented to the Association in 1881. This exhibit which stood near the auditorium (not on the boardwalk) was open free to the public. In later years it was maintained through the sale of descriptive pamphlets.

\textsuperscript{27}Strictly speaking, the camp meeting, which came during the latter part of August, was a part of the total summer program.
from the early 1880's it sponsored or sanctioned some kind of speaking nearly every day of the season. The programs of 1886 and 1897 are typical.

PROGRAMME
of
Special Services to be Held at Ocean Grove, N. J., — Summer of 1886.

   Sermons 10:30 A.M., 7:30 P.M. Rev. R. M. Stratton, D.D., Rochester, N.Y.


4. National School of Oratory, Tuesday, July 1st until 31st.

5. Woman's Christian Temperance Union, N.J., Wednesday and Thursday, July 7 and 8.


8. A. M. E. Church Jubilee, Thursday, July 22.


13. Ocean Grove Anniversary (16th) Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, July 31st to Aug. 1st.
11. Women's Christian Encouragement Meeting, Tuesday, Aug. 3, to Friday, Aug. 6 inclusive.


18. Annual Camp-Meeting, Tuesday, Aug. 17 to Friday, Aug. 27. Opening sermon Wednesday morning by Bishop Hurst.


PROGRAM
of Summer Services at Ocean Grove, N.J.
Season of 1897.

1. Auditorium Opening, Sabbath, June 27. Holiness meeting in Janes Tabernacle 9 a.m., daily, Rev. J. R. Daniels, leader. Young People's meeting in the Temple, Rev. C. H. Yatman, leader, 9 a.m. every morning through the season. Opening sermon at 10:30 a.m., Rev. C. H. Yatman. Summer Sunday-school and Dr. Hanlon's Bible class, 2:30 p.m., every Sabbath. Rev. C. H. Yatman, 7:30 P.M.

2. Pennsylvania Railroad Department Y.M.C.A., Camden, N.J. Services Tuesday, June 29, 3 and 7:45 p.m., by a crew of Christian trainmen.

The Ocean Grove Record, June 19, 1896.
3. Sabbath, July 4th, sermon by Bishop John P. Newman, 10:30 a.m. Rev. W. T. Smith, D.D. of Iowa, Missionary Secretary to the M.E. Church, 7:45 p.m.


5. W.C.T.U. of New Jersey, Thursday and Friday, July 8 and 9, Mrs. Emma Bourne presiding.


7. Ocean Grove Sunday-School Assembly. Rev. Dr. B. B. Loomis, conductor, Monday, July 13 to Thursday, July 22, inclusive. Stereopticon views, lectures, concerts, etc. Baccalaureate sermon, Sabbath, July 18. There will also be the wonderful photoscope or living pictures, by Walter Wade, two nights. Send for detailed program.

8. A.M.E. Church Jubilee, Friday, July 23, 10:30 a.m. and 3 p.m. Elim Cottage entertainment evening.

9. New Jersey Sunday-School Rally, Saturday, July 24, 10:30 a.m. and 3 p.m.


13. National Temperance Days, National Temperance and Publication Society, Thursday, July 29, to Sabbath, August 1, inclusive. Lectures by Col. George W. Bain and others. Silver Lake Quartette Concert, Rev. C. H. Mead, Leader, Friday, July 30. Sunday, July 31, National Anti-Liquor League, 10:30 a.m., and 3 p.m. Twenty-eighth Anniversary of Ocean Grove's Commencement; open air service Saturday evening, 6:30 p.m., in Thompson Park. Col. Bain, 7:30 p.m., also Sabbath evening, 7:30. The Silver Lake Quartette will sing at each of the meetings.

14. Ocean Grove Memorial Day, Monday, August 2, 3 p.m.

15. King's Daughters Day, Tuesday, August 3, 10:30 a.m. and 3 p.m.

16. Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, Dr. J. E. Price, dean. August 3, Summer School Popular Concert, 7:30 p.m. August 4 to 13, lectures daily, 10 to 12 a.m., 3 and 7:30 p.m. . . .


18. Among the Indians. Lectures by Rev. Edgerton R. Young, Monday afternoon, August 16; Tuesday and Wednesday nights, August 17 and 18.


20. Women's Encouragement Meetings, Wednesday and Thursday, August 18 and 19, morning and afternoon. Mrs. Dr. H. Wheeler and Mrs. Belle N. Chandler, leaders.

21. Annual Camp-Meeting, Friday, August 20 to Tuesday, August 31, inclusive. Opening sermon, Rev. Lucien Clark, D.D., pastor of Foundry M.E. Church, Washington, D.C., Saturday, August 21, 10:30 a.m. Sabbath, August 22, Bishop John F. Hurst, 10:30 a.m. Camp-meeting love-feast, Sabbath, August 29, 8:15 a.m. Sermons by Rev. John Potts, D.D., of Toronto, Canada, and others of national fame . . . .
22. A.M.E. Zion Church will hold services on Thursday, September 2, 10:30 and 2:30.29

Still another factor which contributed to the success of Ocean Grove was its zealous and competent management which enjoyed long tenue.30 The most active of these officers were Ellwood H. Stokes, president, and David H. Brown, treasurer, who guided the resort for a quarter of a century.31 Stokes presided over or opened every public meeting convened in the auditorium until 1897.32

Excellent management extended also to physical matters. The Ocean Grove Association kept the facilities of its resort modern and efficient. Streets were graded and curbed, and sprinkled to keep down dust; a well working sewage system was maintained; and a police force kept a constant vigil. Almost nothing the visitor needed was lacking. Despite contemporary criticism of some camp meeting resorts, there is no evidence that the management of Ocean Grove ever profited by their enterprise.33

29 The Asbury Park Journal, June 22, 1897.

30 During the first 25 years of the enterprise, the association had but one president, one secretary, and one chief of police. After the first five years, there were but one vice president and one secretary until the turn of the century.

31 Stokes continued until his death in 1897; Brown served until 1895.

32 He presided over many of the meetings and conventions held by outside organisations, and always gave at least a short address of welcome. Whether he also attended every minor meeting held on the grounds is not clear.

33 Attacks and insinuations were answered from time to time in the Annual Reports by President Stokes, who received a small salary for his year-round labors. The charter of the association specifically prohibited profits from the enterprise. This point is borne further by the fact that Stokes' entire estate amounted to only $30,000, $2,000 of which was in real estate, according to The Review (Camden, N.J.), August 4, 1897.
When Stokes died in 1897, James N. Fitzgerald, a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, was elected to membership and to the presidency of the Ocean Grove Association. As a condition of his acceptance of the office, Bishop Fitzgerald insisted that he should not become "burdened with care relative to temporal ... affairs of the association." Thus, the change resulted in an entirely new order, and secular matters were delegated to standing committees. A Devotional Committee, consisting of three members of the association, now shared religious responsibility, which had formerly been the sole duty of the president.

The difference was immediately noticeable, for the Devotional Committee "cracked down" sharply upon activities of which it did not approve.

The final factor contributing to the success of Ocean Grove, and one which made it unique among seashore resorts, was the restrictions imposed upon the personal life of the residents and the vacationers.

Rather than resulting in a shunning of the place by the public, as might have been expected, the restrictions seem to have attracted large numbers of people who agreed with the philosophy of the members of the association. Some persons objected to regulation, it is true,

34 Twenty-Ninth Annual Report, p. 9.
35 The spirit of the change was reflected in the reversal of the format of the printed Annual Reports, so that religious, rather than secular reports appeared on the first pages.
36 All of the other camp meeting resorts had restrictions of the same type as those in force at Ocean Grove, but these generally were less stringent, and less rigidly enforced.
but there were many who believed that the rules served to keep out undesirable persons who might have destroyed the religious atmosphere. One could be assured that in Ocean Grove he would find a resort which had natural physical advantages equal to or superior to all the other resorts, but which had a distinctly different atmosphere.\(^{37}\)

The New York Daily Tribune described the general scope of the regulations:

The by-laws absolutely prohibit dancing, card playing or any such diversions as are prohibited by the general rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the buying and selling or drinking of spiritous liquors, excepting in cases of extreme necessity, and the sale of tobacco in any form. The strict observance of the Christian Sabbath is rigidly insisted upon. The gates of the association are closed at midnight Saturdays, and not opened until Monday at an early hour. . . . None of the hotel proprietors are \(^{sic}\) allowed to sell tobacco in any form at any time . . . .\(^{38}\)

Additional rules dictated the mode of beach wear, prohibited the sale of Sunday newspapers, and excluded peddlers.

By 1899, the Devotional Committee had extended its influence over all public entertainment, thus regulating "subject matter, costume, recitation, music, exclusion of scenery, and all other accessories to public presentations."\(^{39}\) To those who criticized the restrictions,

\(^{37}\)Nearby Asbury Park did not have the severe regulation of life found at Ocean Grove. Semi-religious, it also attracted large numbers of "respectable" middle class patrons. Its concessions closed down on Sundays, and preaching services were held along its beaches. Many of the same preachers spoke at Ocean Grove and at Asbury Park, but the former consistently attracted more crowds and better-known preachers. During the week, Asbury Park featured cultural programs, and secular entertainments, such as baby parades, firemen's parades, and training camp boxing matches.

\(^{38}\)August 21, 1890.

\(^{39}\)Thirtieth Annual Report, p. 39.
the Ocean Grove Association always had the same answer:

If persons do not like our regulations, and can not be happy under them, we say it respectfully, it will be best for them and us that they should not come, for our regulations must be maintained even at the sacrifice of the coming of many who now throng this place. On all these points the Association is not only positive, but a unit. We do not take this position to be arbitrary, but simply to be consistent with our professions as Christian men.

Despite the fact that the restrictions were strengthened toward the turn of the twentieth century, the people still continued to come.

The Camp Meeting at Ocean Grove

From a modest beginning, the size and the fame of these services increased rapidly, until in the 1880's, Ocean Grove became widely known as "the unrivalled queen of camp meetings." Despite the rise and development of scores of other places, all of which featured similar religious campaigns, this reputation seems to have lasted at least until World War I. The following description, admittedly eulogistic, was typical of those which appeared in the religious press concerning the importance of the services at the Monmouth County resort:

The giant, head and shoulders above its fellows, the metropolis of the camp meetings of the world, stands Ocean

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10 Tenth Annual Report, p. 27.

11 The management conscientiously tried to adhere to their pronouncements about restrictions, but, as will be seen in a later chapter, enforcement was not always possible when the resort was jammed with humanity.

12 George Lansing Taylor in The Christian Advocate (New York), September 8, 1888.
Grove. Too big, too big for anything. . . . She looms up in her vast proportions, in talents, in numbers, in space, in ability, a sun, around which the lesser planets revolve, and to which they are all attracted. . . . Great management . . . is there. The very best talent of every kind is brought from all parts of the union, put in place and artistically arranged. Preaching, teaching, singing are there. The people are there, crowds upon crowds, thronging in every direction, every place too small, although of immense proportions, yet not adequate to support the multitude. 

The secular press was not as laudatory, but the New York newspapers made continual reference to the Ocean Grove services as being among the most important in the country.

The members of the Ocean Grove Association regarded the camp meeting as a divine responsibility, reaffirmed by their charter, and as the primary and driving reason for the existence of their resort. Consequently, they looked upon it as the greatest event of the year. So important was this campaign to them that they made efforts annually to eliminate all of the activities at the resort which might interfere with its success. Every year they distributed handbills and printed notices in the local newspapers, containing an appeal to the residents and to the vacationers to cease all secular activities and to attend the meetings. The following notice was typical:


\[\text{The closest rivals, in fame for camp meeting services, appear to have been those held at Round Lake, and Sing Sing, New York. The mother Chautauqua, at Fair Point, New York, was not strictly speaking, a camp meeting, but it was, rather, a center for religious and semi-religious culture.}\]

\[\text{The president expressed these sentiments in nearly every Annual Report.}\]
URGENT REQUEST. — Please do not bathe during the hours of public worship. Avoid boating during the same time. Please do not arrange for pleasure excursions by sea or land during meeting hours. Please do not play croquet or anything of the kind, either in the parks or on private grounds during the meetings. Boarding houses and hotels, please avoid all entertainments and exhibitions during the ten days of camp meeting. As far as your strength will allow, attend all the services. Pray . . . publicly and privately for the Divine blessing upon every sermon and service.

The ten day series of services was usually preceded by an all day "preparation meeting," attended by the hard core of the faithful who would be looked upon to carry the brunt of the evangelistic battle. These gatherings, highly emotional, featured fervent prayers for an actual, physical visitation of The Holy Spirit upon the camp meeting.

The campaign itself actually began at sunrise on the following day. Meetings were held, thereafter, throughout the day, culminating in the three "public worship services" where the main preaching efforts were made.

Sunday was the "big day" drawing the largest crowds, and featuring well-known preachers. In form, the Sabbath was the same throughout the summer, whether the camp meeting was in progress or not, crowds and enthusiasm running high. The difference was that

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16Seventeenth Annual Report, p. 61. The hours of public worship mentioned here meant the main preaching services. A formal public bathing time was held daily, except Sunday, during the camp meeting at 1:00 p.m. Apparently the requests were not heeded by all, but arrests for violations do not seem to have been made. Persons who wished to bathe during the services could easily go up or down the beach to do so.

17Although the grounds were closed to vehicular traffic on Sunday, the public might enter on foot. Prior to the 1880's, a ticket system was used to admit only those from the immediate surrounding area, but later this system was abandoned. More persons were in the grove over the weekends, when heads of households returned from the cities.
Camp Meeting Sunday was looked upon as the greatest day of the year, and consequently drew slightly larger crowds.

On any Sabbath, and especially during the campaign itself, crowds greater than the accommodations were commonplace. From about 1875, several overflow meetings had to be extemporized at various places about the grounds in order to satisfy all who wished to worship. These gatherings always featured first-class speakers, of which there was never a shortage at Ocean Grove.

In the early years, it was thought that the camp meeting should not run through more than one Sunday. In order to adhere to this idea, the opening day was shifted among the days of Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday. In 1896, however, the series was extended to thirteen days, extending over two Sundays, and in 1900 over three Sundays, well into September.

Summary

Ocean Grove was founded in 1869 through the efforts of William B. Osborne, and a group of Methodist ministers and laymen. Given a special charter by the New Jersey legislature, these men formed the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the intention of founding a vacation camp meeting resort.

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49 In the early days of camp meetings it had been customary to avoid Sunday because persons who would be disposed toward rowdiness were free from work on that day, and they often tried to break up the services. President Stokes stated in 1896 that since Ocean Grove had never experienced difficulty in preserving order that it was now expedient to extend the series over two Sabbaths. Thirtieth Annual Report, p. 37.
Lots were leased by the association to persons who then built their own cottages. Hotels and boarding houses also sprang up.

Ocean Grove grew rapidly, and, together with adjacent Asbury Park, which was founded in 1871, became a resort area rivalling any other on the Atlantic coast.

Five factors seem to have been responsible for the success of Ocean Grove: (1) a good location, (2) fine physical resort facilities, (3) religious and cultural programs offered through the summer, (4) an inspired, zealous, and shrewd management, and (5) the rules, regulations and modes of personal conduct which made it an unusual resort.

Ocean Grove was generally recognized to be the largest of the vacation camp meetings. To its management, the annual religious campaign was the main reason for its existence, and no effort was spared to make the drive successful.

The ten day series of meetings was preceded by an all day preparation meeting of the hard core of the faithful who would do most of the work in bringing sinners into the fold.

The camp meeting itself actually began at sunrise, and meetings ran throughout the day.

Sunday was the most important day of the week all during the season, but enthusiasm and crowds were at their peak on Camp Meeting Sunday. On any given Sunday, after 1875, extra meetings were necessary to accommodate those who could not find room at the auditorium services.
CHAPTER III

THE PHYSICAL SETTING FOR SPEAKING AT OCEAN GROVE

Until the erection of the huge indoor auditorium in 1894, facilities for public speaking at Ocean Grove differed little from those found at most vacation camp meeting grounds.¹ Two distinct types of meeting places, however, were the settings for the sermons at the New Jersey resort. Each of these presented problems of delivery to the speakers.

The Old Auditorium

The original or "Old Auditorium" at Ocean Grove developed during three stages: 1870-1874; 1875-1879; and 1880-1893.

The first phase in the development of the original setting was the construction of an elevated stand, twenty-four feet by twenty-four feet, octagon in shape, and capable of seating seventy-five preachers. This wooden structure, built in 1870, was roofed over with a cupola, in which hung a small bell. Two coats of paint, inside and out, removed any sense of rusticity. Although more substantial and better-finished, it was modelled after the traditional camp meeting platform,

¹Except for the natural amphitheaters used in a few places, such as Atlantic Highlands and National Park, New Jersey.
and resembled that at most other preaching grounds of the time. In front of the pavilion, rows of "the best white plank, one and a half inches thick, planed on both sides and edges, without backs and sufficient to seat 1009 people . . . ." were placed in the open air.  

The stand was on the eastern end of the clearing, so that the speakers faced away from, and the congregation toward, the sea. The entire meeting area, however, was in the grove, separated from the beach by a sand dune. Dwelling tents surrounded the preaching area on three sides, and the space behind the speakers' platform was open toward the ocean. A large canvas tent, or tabernacle, nearby was used in rainy weather. The grounds were lighted by kerosene lanterns.  

In 1873 the pavilion was enlarged, and in 1874, the pine plank seats were replaced throughout with park settees, which afforded much more comfort to the audience. During these improvements, an altar

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The First Annual Report gave the number of seats as 10,000. This was obviously a printer's error, and was subsequently corrected by Stokes. Morris S. Daniels, The Story of Ocean Grove (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1919), repeats the error, p. 56. Daniels printed a photograph of this ground as it appeared, probably in 1874, and from this picture it is obvious that there were less than 10,000 seats.

3 Stokes, op. cit. Gas was used from 1882 until 1887, and electricity replaced gas in 1888. With both gas and electricity, the auditorium was brilliantly lighted.

4 Stokes, op. cit.

5 Fifth Annual Report, p. 11.
was constructed around the platform, without which no Methodist Church or camp-meeting ground . . . [was] considered perfect."^6

Ocean Grove was not a thick, verdant grove, but consisted of young oak and pine, " . . . the aroma of which latter, mingled with the sea breezes . . . [made] a healthful atmosphere, it . . . [was] said."^7 Although rustic this site was poorly shaded, the area directly in front of the preaching stand being "worse than anywhere else." Dr. Stokes reported that " . . . various efforts were made to improve it. Tent flies were spread, bowers constructed, and to still further improve it, the planting of vines was urged. But all in vain."^8 Thus the original area contained shade and shelter for the preachers, but poor shade and no covering for the congregation.

The second stage in the development of the old auditorium spanned the years 1875-1879. This period of improvement provided better, but still insufficient, cover for the congregation.

In his Annual Report of 1874, President Stokes wrote:

The question of shade directly in front of the stand is not yet satisfactorily solved. My recommendation is that a substantial and tasteful frame of from 100 feet wide to 150 feet long, with rafters running to a peak (connected to the stand) be so constructed as to endure for years and not injure the trees; and that we cover this frame each year with bowers until the trees get large enough (if ever) to afford the needed shade. This will be more popular and pleasant than a shingle roof, and, with the addition of another tent, we can protect ourselves in time of storm.9

^6Stokes, op. cit.
^7The Methodist (New York), September 14, 1872.
^8Stokes, op. cit.
Essentially, this was done, for in 1875 "a substantial frame 75 x 100 feet (the stand and wings additional) with 16 feet [sic] posts, was erected . . . which was covered with boughs during the whole season . . . ."\(^{10}\)

A photograph of the scene, which appears in Morris S. Daniels' The Story of Ocean Grove\(^{11}\) shows no railing around the platform. A solid wall, with two windows, appears at the rear. Between the roofs of the frame and of the stand, a patch of sky can be seen, indicating that the two structures were not connected, but that the platform was set partially under the frame. There is no pulpit, but a table, with a chalice, is shown to the left rear, facing the audience. Thus, the preacher stands in full view of the listeners. Seats face the platform in rows under the boughs, and many are placed beyond the shelter, in the open air. Additionally, rows of benches appear on the ground, on each side of the rostrum, at right angles to the main body, also facing the speaker.

This arrangement had the effect of bringing the speaker somewhat into the midst of his audience, rather than facing it directly as he might do in a church pulpit or in the lecture hall. Since other preachers, and a choir, sat on the platform behind him, he was really surrounded by his hearers. Most of the congregation, however, was directly in front of him.

\(^{10}\) Sixth Annual Report, p. 12. A similar structure was used also in the early days at West Jersey Grove, near Malaga -- West Jersey Camp Meeting Association, 80th Anniversary, pamphlet, 1949, deposited at Old St. George's Methodist Church.

\(^{11}\) p. 57.
The bower seemed to be satisfactory to everyone -- until the rains came! On the opening day of the camp meeting in which it was first used, water broke through the covering in the midst of the service, forcing the people to go to the nearby canvas tabernacle. Open air meetings could not be held again until the afternoon of the third day. 12

President Stokes' reaction was quick. In his annual report in the fall of that year, he discussed the matter:

I have already called your attention to the frame in front of the stand. It is, as you have seen, a substantial structure. But it needs a roof as a thorough protection from the rain. For want of this we were constantly annoyed last summer. True, we have the tabernacle, but the tabernacle itself was leaky, and, had it been perfectly dry, would not have accommodated half of the people. We need the tabernacle and a roof on the frame as well. Without this we are never safe. Some object that it will destroy the rural appearance to roof it; but a simple roof, without sides, will make so little change in the appearance as to be scarcely noticed from the outside . . . .13

After the summer of the following year, Stokes' plea was heeded, and the roof was installed. During this improvement, the preachers' stand was again enlarged, and a reception room was added to the rear.14 This rebuilding joined the roof of the frame and the preachers' pavilion, making one complete structure.

The third and last modification of the old auditorium was made in 1880. Under pressure from ever increasing crowds, the association then nearly doubled the seating capacity. Stokes described the enlargement:

12 The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.
13 Sixth Annual Report, p. 27.
The size is 136 feet long by 146 feet broad. The centre posts having 11 feet spliced to them, are now 14 feet high, and the side wings 18 feet high. It covers nearly half an acre. The seating capacity, on the ground settees, by actual count, for adults is 3,400. Platform and camp chairs, adults, 800. Total, 4,200. But when all spaces are full . . . 6,000 or more are in hearing distance.

An article appearing in *The Christian Advocate* (New York), described additional features:

The old roof, slightly inclined from the comb to throw off rain, was elevated . . . and wings added on both sides, the same height as the old roof by which the auditorium is better lighted and ventilated, with windows of stained glass. By this arrangement the whole platform is better lighted. The whole structure is nicely painted with appropriate texts to arrest the eye of the congregation, and open at the rear and both sides. The seats are comfortable and admirably arranged for the audience to hear and see the speaker.

A reporter's dock now appeared on the north side of the platform, to the left of the congregation, "fitted up with two tables and surrounded by railings." In 1882, a two storied building was erected adjoining, and to the rear, of the preachers' stand, which was now officially called the "platform." This addition enlarged the room in which the ministers gathered before the sermon, and also included two sleeping rooms on the second floor for preachers.

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16 July 22, 1880.

17 *The Ocean Grove Record*, August 4, 1880.
PLATE II

View of the auditorium at Ocean Grove as it existed in 1880.
In 1884 "60 new seats, some of them 20 feet long, having sittings for 700 additional people were added. So that . . . [there were] now, including the platform and camp chairs, accommodations for about 5,000 persons." 18

The enlargement accomplished in 1884 was almost immediately inadequate, for crowds continued to press into the meeting area, and standing room was often at a premium. For the next dozen years, however, no further modifications were made, until a drive was undertaken in 1893 to finance the construction of a new auditorium.

At the "farewell service" in the old auditorium, President Stokes revealed the amazing number of meetings which it had held. In total, Ocean Grove had been the scene of 1,167 sermons and 4,342 addresses of various kinds during the nineteen years from 1874 until 1893. While some of these gatherings had been held at other places around the grounds, the overwhelming majority of them had been conducted in the main meeting place. 19

Problems of Delivery in the Old Auditorium

The various alterations of the auditorium area simply added more cover and more seats, and the only real change thus developed was a pushing out of the outer edges of the audience, which still included a large number of standees at many of the camp meeting services.

Two basic problems of delivery faced the speaker on the open-air platform: audience rapport, and making one's self heard. Changes in

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18 Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 23.
19 Stokes, op. cit. Figures for the first three years were not kept.
the setting, before 1894, did not change their nature, but made them somewhat more difficult.

In an outdoor area which covered half an acre, the preachers had difficulty in maintaining contact with those persons on the outer edges of the congregation. With as many as two thousand standees, and many others constantly coming to and leaving the perimeter of the gathering, they could not expect to reach effectively all those who were present. In addition, the nature of the setting, which placed the speakers in front of the several hundred listeners who occupied the platform behind them, compelled the preachers to turn around often, or to run the risk of losing contact with a highly critical segment of their audience. To complicate their problems of rapport further, those who spoke had to contend with the fact that some people might occupy places partially behind the stand, completely out of sight, but not out of hearing.

Those accustomed only to the indoor pulpit, or to the lecture hall, often had difficulty in achieving sufficient projection of voice to reach the entire seated audience under the auditorium roof. To reach those beyond the roof was even more of a task. Throughout the 1880's and the early 1890's, many comments concerning the failure of one speaker or another to make himself heard at Ocean Grove appeared in the religious press. Typical of these reports was this: "The sermon was scholastic and able, but the preacher evidently had

20 Criticism of sermons by other preachers present is discussed in Chapter IV.
not measured the compass of voice necessary to such an immense audience, most of whom, with all their interest in such a blessed theme, failed to hear his utterance."21 Also, the editor of The Philadelphia Methodist maintained that: "No man should attempt to preach to a crowd of six or eight thousand people unless he has voice enough to speak with ease and comfort to his hearers."22 A sounding board, patterned after the one in the Trinity Episcopal Church, New York City, was installed in 1886,23 but this device was not efficient enough to overcome the acoustic difficulties.

One effect that insufficient vocal power had upon the audiences was revealed in this comment: "... only the strong voiced preacher can be heard by all the congregation, and on all sides, we are told, 'I don't go to preaching because I can't get a seat where I can hear, unless I go an hour before the time for the service.'"24 In addition, preachers who were felt to have marred their sermons by defective delivery were openly accused of slowing down the progress of the camp meeting.25

Some speakers seem to have been able to reach the whole audience, but because of a lack of experience in outdoor preaching, they faced a period of adjustment at the beginning before they gained enough power

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21The Ocean Grove Record, September 6, 1884.
22August 30, 1890.
23Seventeenth Annual Report, p. 34.
24The Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Delaware), September 5, 1885.
25The Ocean Grove Record, September 9, 1893.
to project their words to the outer edges of the gathering. Many reports told that the first few sentences of a discourse were lost to most of the audience, but that as the preacher continued, he was able to be heard by nearly everyone.

Experienced camp meeting speakers appear to have used certain techniques to help them "warm up" enough to reach the entire congregation. One such man wrote:

It is well to place a friend at a remote point who shall give a silent signal when the words become distinct at his position. That gives the volume absolutely demanded. At the outset look people in the eye, eschew all stooping of the head or chest and at once assume a style of controlled animation. Talk to your friend on the outskirts until your lungs are flexible, and your voice fully at your command, and then abandon yourself to the theme and the congregation.

Others used different techniques. For instance: "When Rev. Dr. Vernon began to speak in the Auditorium he addressed first those who were trying to hear on the outskirts of the crowd. He said he hoped to make them hear, but in case he failed he should not be annoyed by their moving about."27

The nature of the outdoor camp meeting situation made other demands on the ministers. If they turned away from their audience, as many of them apparently did, to address the preachers or the choir on the platform behind them, they caused exasperation to some of their listeners. In writing about the sermon of the Reverend Dr. Leech, of the Baltimore Conference, the editor of The Philadelphia Methodist illustrated some of the necessary "rules" for successful camp meeting

26 The Christian Advocate (New York), August 20, 1874.

27 The Asbury Park Journal, August 29, 1885.
speaking:

The sermon as a literary production, was one of rare merit, but to a large portion of the audience it was lost, owing to his unfortunate style of delivery — allowing his voice to fall on some part of almost every sentence, and a large portion of the time speaking to preachers on the stand, and turning his back to the audience. What a pity that great men often manifest so little judgment when they stand up to preach to a large [outdoor] audience.28

The weather presented additional problems to the speakers. Since the auditorium at Ocean Grove was but five hundred yards from the water's edge, a strong sea breeze often carried words away before they reached the listeners, a problem not as acutely present at the lakeside or at the inland grove. The following article summarizes the situation, which lasted until the meetings moved indoors at the end of twenty four years:

It has been blowing now for the full term of a traditional August spell of three days, without serious inconvenience to anybody, and without unfavorable effects on any interest of the work, except perhaps what sailors call an "ebb-tide" in Tuesdays sermons, which, good as they were, lacked propulsion of vocal power to make all the people hear.29

Rain, too, "... often in fierce, sudden showers... on the Auditorium roof and in the dripping trees... made it difficult to hear the voices around the platform."30

Except for the few natural amphitheatres which were used as camp meeting sites, the physical layout at most of these places was greatly

28 August 25, 1881.
29 The Asbury Park Journal, August 31, 1899.
30 The Asbury Park Journal, September 3, 1892.
similar, and the problems facing the speakers did not vary, except in the fact that some places, such as Ocean Grove, were larger than others, and drew larger crowds. Thus the challenges of maintaining rapport and vocal force were somewhat greater at the more commodius places. Difficulties presented by the weather, of course, haunted most camp meetings, at one time or another.

**The New Auditorium**

Long needed, two years in planning, and financed during the depression of 1893, the new auditorium was considered one of the wonders of the age. Built on the site of the old auditorium, the structure occupied six-sevenths of an acre, and it was the "largest open-air place of worship in the world." Its proud owners called it "the largest evangelical audience room in the known world." Totally unlike anything ever seen in the camp meeting movement, the size and the impressive layout of this great building are difficult to realize without a photograph.

The auditorium was designed to meet three major objectives:

1. Greater capacity; 10,000 or more. (2) Perfect acoustics.
2. Open sides, and free circulation of air." The first of these goals was achieved; the second was not achieved; and the third was

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31 *The New York Times*, July 2, 1894. Only the wooden Mormon Tabernacle, built in 1872 at Salt Lake City, to seat 15,000, was larger.

32 *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. 84.

33 *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, p. 36.
achieved only partially.

The mammoth edifice consisted of seven main, and eighteen angled iron trusses, overlaid with wood. From the outside it was a huge, three-storied rectangular box, surmounted by a vast, peaked corrugated iron roof. A simple, but exceedingly strong structure, it resembled a huge barn, 225 feet by 161 feet, containing 36,225 square feet. In the center of the East end, an addition to house the platform was attached, so that half of the stand stood within, and half stood without the main room. Adjoining, also on the East, were choir rooms, a preachers' room, and a janitor's office. Three towers rose above the eastern, or front, end, and one above the western end. These existed primarily for ventilation, although two smaller ones on the East doubled as bell towers.

The new auditorium completely dominated the area in which it was placed. Rows of tents had been removed from the southern side of the square, and just a few yards remained between the new building and the Janes Tabernacle which had been erected nearby, in 1877, to replace the original tabernacle tent. Canvas dwellings now remained only on the western and northern sides, and these also were very close by. Hemmed in in this manner, the meeting house presented a good panoramic view only to those who viewed it from the wide pathway leading toward the beach.

34 The boards of the old platform had been kept intact.
PLATE III

Dedication:
Aug. 9-12, 1894.

EASTERN FRONT OF THE NEW AUDITORIUM.

INTERIOR OF THE NEW AUDITORIUM.
A contemporary description of the inside ran as follows:

The central floor is depressed, and contains a square block of seats. There are wings on either side, at right angles to it, with a gently graded floor extending to the outer walls. The rear divisions of seats follow lines of radiation from the centre, each block being wedge-shaped, and, together, resemble a vast fan. The gallery, with fourteen rows of seats rising above each other, extends around the building... On three sides, The walls are supported by plain, square columns, eight feet apart, pierced at frequent intervals by double-leaved doors... The roof, sheathed with yellow pine, is a massive and graceful span, sustained by a series of girders, without a column or projection of any kind to fret the eye from wall to wall.35

Looking at the vast hall, the speaker could easily see his audience, and be seen readily by them. The room before him was basically rectangular, but the far end resembled a small amphitheater, with galleries forty feet deep on two sides, joined at the rear by a shallower balcony. A high parabolic ceiling, through which seven rows of unshaded incandescent electric lamps protruded, rose before him to a maximum height of fifty-five feet. Around the upper level he could see twenty-six great windows, and on the ground floor there appeared twenty-five double sliding doors, all of which could be opened. In addition, a number of small windows, most of which could also be opened, were seen throughout. Behind the rostrum, there were, as in the past, rows of seats for fellow ministers, and for a large choir. In effect, the preacher was still surrounded, but, as before, the majority of his audience was facing him.

35The Philadelphia Methodist, September 1, 1894.

There was a single row of narrow columns, or posts, around three sides of the room, to support the edges of the balconies, but these were the only obstructions.
An altar extended across the main floor, six feet from the edge of the platform, for a distance of 114 feet, and the entire interior of the auditorium was finished in natural pine color, no attempt having been made at ornamentation.

The seating capacity of the building was 9,600, including 5,245 chairs on the main floor, 355 chairs on the platform, and all of the park settees from the old auditorium, which had been placed in the balconies to seat 4,000.  

A second goal for the Ocean Grove Association was that its new hall should have acoustical properties which would enable the speakers to reach ten thousand people with ease. They hoped that this objective could be achieved by constructing a high, parabolic ceiling which would function as a huge sounding board for the entire room.

Prior to the opening of the building, the owners apparently were convinced that their acoustical engineering had been successful. "A . . . friend . . . wrote to President Stokes, 'Where will you find a man with a voice loud enough to fill it?' The reply was, 'Even a whisper can be distinctly heard in the remotest part of the room.'" Another person reported that "A tack, dropped on the platform can be heard in the remotest part of the building, and a pin dropped on the

36 Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, p. 50 ff. See also The Auditorium, Ocean Grove, New Jersey, 1894, pamphlet on deposit at The Rose Memorial Library, Drew University; also The Philadelphia Methodist, June 20, and September 1, 1894.

37 Twenty-Third Annual Report, p. 36.

38 The Ocean Grove Record, July 16, 1894.
floor of the platform was heard by a lady in the gallery.  

Subsequent events proved the association incorrect in its estimate. During the first camp meeting services held in the new meeting place, one of the preachers turned around, during his sermon, to address the preachers behind him. This behavior, though annoying, was no departure from the custom at open-air meeting grounds, but it caused especial consternation in the new Ocean Grove auditorium:

"Can't hear on this side at all," called a brother from in front, who was missing the richest treats of the discourse. At last Rev. J. R. Daniels, a member of the association, arose and requested that the speaker keep turned around so as to be heard and Mr. Daniels held up his hand to show him the mark to shoot at.

During the Summer School of Theology, in 1895, lectures were held in the presence of less than three hundred persons. Though these people crowded to the front, they seem to have been unable to hear many of the lecturers distinctly. In fact, it was reported that persons in the far corners could hear more distinctly than those who sat directly in front of the speaker. This difficulty seemed to be increased when the lecturer left the podium and stood close to his hearers.

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39 The Philadelphia Methodist, August 4, 1894. This article was challenged in an editorial note appearing immediately below it.

40 For some years, the preachers were compelled to turn around at grounds such as that at Pitman Grove, which were arranged about a circle.

41 The Asbury Park Journal, August 8, 1895.

42 The Asbury Park Journal, August 18, 1895.
By the second year, the new building was facetiously being dubbed: "Dr. Stokes' grand memorial of inaudibleness."\(^4\) The high, curving ceiling seems to have created an elusive acoustical oddity, which defied many experienced speakers, and made the task of preaching much more difficult than had been expected. These men, for the most part, were accomplished, and many of them were the best of the age, having appeared on platforms throughout the world. Still they faced a problem of delivery in the new Ocean Grove meeting place which they encountered nowhere else. The only other hall which remotely resembled it architecturally was the Mormon Tabernacle, in Salt Lake City, which apparently did not have an acoustical anomaly.

A few speakers, such as Dr. James M. Buckley, editor of *The Christian Advocate* (New York), and later the author of a textbook on extemporaneous speaking,\(^4\) could be heard easily "... in all parts of the great auditorium, not so much by the volume of ... voice, but by ... deliberate and distinct utterance."\(^5\)

Other men, unfamiliar at first with the technique required to reach the audience, failed, but returned later to master the "Ocean Grove echo." The Reverend William A. Quayle, for instance, found that

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\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)James M. Buckley, *Extemporaneous Oratory for Professional and Amateur Speakers* (New York: Eaton and Main, 1898).

\(^6\)The Reverend Dr. Thomas Hanlon, reporting in *The Christian Advocate* (New York), August 21, 1891. Dr. Hanlon was a veteran of the Ocean Grove platform, who spoke there more often than any other man, and should be considered as an expert observer.
during his first appearance in the new room both the low keys and the high keys of his voice reverberated to such an extent that they were destructive of one another. As a result, a large portion of his address was lost to many in the congregation. Having studied the situation, however, he returned to the rostrum the following week and was reported to have been heard perfectly. 46

Critical comment about Ocean Grove sermons was rife, after 1894, with reports that preachers could not make themselves heard. Apparently all did not learn the lesson, for the association thought it necessary to include in the Annual Report for 1899, which reached the hands of the general public, the following admonishment:

Public speakers are increasing their effectiveness with us by learning the proper harmony of voice with the large space of the Auditorium. Men who keep their head and voice facing the centre of their audience and who speak deliberately in an even voice, have no difficulty in being heard, while those who violate these rules are scarcely heard at all. 47

The old camp meeting preaching habits appear to have been too strong for many to break, for the cry continued in the local newspapers:

Every preacher called to speak from the platform is, or ought to be advised to look straight ahead and steadily before him. Turning his head to either side or to the rear, as some have an irrepresible habit of doing, leaves the audience in utter perplexity as to what he said while they could not see his face. 48

46 The Philadelphia Methodist, August 31, 1897.

47 Thirtieth Annual Report, p. 29.

48 The Ocean Grove Record, September 1, 1900. See also The Asbury Park Press, August 20, 1900.
In 1900, also, the problem persisted, and the instructions given in The Annual Report for that year, under the title, "Hints to Preachers," were:

The vast Auditorium is so constructed that in order for a preacher to be distinctly heard, he must take his position in the centre of the platform directly facing its far end on the natural level of an upright poise, with his voice slightly raised in deliberate enunciation. If he moves about on the platform, if he turns his face to one side or the other, if he raises or lowers his voice suddenly, if he talks very loudly or rapidly, he is heard by a very few of the people and in many cases not at all. Some of the best sermons preached during the past summer were practically lost to the people; others were heard and understood by but a few people, and the rest with a feeling of unrest, arising from a compulsory politeness, which prevented them from leaving the place, and in indulging in criticisms the reverse of complimentary, leaving with a weary feeling, which disinclined them to risk a repetition of a sermon whose delivery to them was in an unknown tongue. A clear attention to the two or three facts given above would prevent all this and make the sermons what they were intended to be . . . .

Instead of enabling the preachers to reach larger audiences with greater ease, the new auditorium actually handicapped them. Since most of the speakers also appeared at other camp meetings, they had to lay aside methods of delivery accumulated during the summer, or during long speaking careers, when they came to Ocean Grove. Being tied to the center of the platform, they could not achieve a high degree of interaction with their audiences, nor could they engage in the relatively lively degree of bodily activity that an enthusiastic evangelistic sermon might engender. Forced to become meticulous in articulation, and prohibited from using the fullest range of voice, they had to turn more attention to delivery than

\[\text{Thirty-First Annual Report, p. 31.}\]
heretofore. The result of these restrictions was likely to have been a poorer over-all sermon than the congregation expected.

A third objective, that of "open sides and free circulation of air," was achieved only partly. By a stretch of the imagination, one might have said that the new structure was open air, but in reality, the services moved indoors when it was used. The building did not have true open sides; it did not look out upon any scenery; it needed many electric lamps to light it during the daytime; and one had to enter it in order to see and to hear the preaching. One advantage obtained, however, was that it could be closed tightly against stormy weather.

Ventilation, however, was excellent. Beside the 232 windows and doors which could be opened, four large grills in the ceiling, having outlet to the great towers above, provided air. In addition, a system of ducts, operated by steam-driven fans, was installed under the floor. Thus, a cross ventilation, plus either induced or forced ventilation, added to the comfort of the audience, leading at least one reporter to remark that the auditorium "... was found to be the coolest place on the shore."

Summary

Basically, there were two auditoriums at Ocean Grove. The first developed through three phases before it was razed to make room for the gigantic indoor audience room which replaced it.

\[50\] Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, p. 55.

\[51\] The Asbury Park Journal, August 14, 1896.
From 1670-1874, an outdoor area, consisting of a roofed speakers' stand and unsheltered rows of plank seats was used. The second phase brought the construction of a wooden frame, over which pine boughs were laid to keep off the sun. Erected in 1875, this skeleton was roofed in the fall of 1876. The third stage was a doubling of the capacity of the wooden pavilion in 1880. By 1884, the auditorium seated about 5,000 persons, and in 1886, a sounding board was installed.

Outdoor preaching presented speakers with the dual problems of maintaining rapport with their audiences, and making themselves heard. The wind and the noise of the rain also added to the difficulty of delivery. Some preachers failed to reach their audiences, while others developed certain techniques for judging the level of force needed to reach the outdoor audience.

The second, or new, auditorium was constructed in 1894, to seat nearly 10,000 persons. Except for a line of thin columns which supported the edges of the balconies, nearly six-sevenths of an acre was unobstructed under its parabolic ceiling. Large, well ventilated, and well lighted, it was, however, cursed with imperfect acoustics which presented unique problems to speakers, who had to remain relatively immobile in the center of the platform, speaking straight forward, without turning to the sides or to the rear. Slow, distinct articulation was necessary in the room, and no rapid variations of pitch, rate, or volume could be undertaken. Some preachers were able to adapt to the unique conditions, but many failed to reach their hearers, causing complaint from many sides. The problem remained unsolved by 1900.
CHAPTER IV

THE AUDIENCE

Bases for Assembling

Religion was the primary force which brought people to Ocean Grove. Although the recreational features were strong attractions, pious conduct and at least an outward appearance of Christian belief, were expected from everyone who came. The religious services were welcomed and attended enthusiastically, even though all who stayed at the resort might not have been present at the same time.

The camp meeting offered a unique opportunity to see and to hear some of the greatest preachers of the land. During a span of ten days, approximately thirty main sermons were heard. Such a variety of religious speakers could not be had under any other institution then existing. Even in the cities, one could not find such a concentration of ministerial talent.

Audiences met on a common ground of general Protestantism. The singing of familiar hymns, which preceded the preaching, united them into an enthusiastic group, and reminded them of their home.
Novelty also brought the people to the auditorium. There, religion was presented to them in an attractive form, to be enjoyed simultaneously with their vacationing, and large numbers of them swept to the meeting place to take a part of their entertainment. While conforming to the mores of the religious resort, they could also see and be seen, satisfying both curiosity and social needs. In the huge gatherings they found ample inspiration for telling friends back home what they had seen and heard.

Ocean Grove's location, too, brought crowds to its services. Beside those already in the grove, vacationers and residents from a string of resorts reaching for ten miles along the coast assembled in the auditorium. On occasion, proximity to the elite Long Branch attracted famous persons to the meetings. For instance, Ulysses S. Grant, who owned a summer cottage just south of Long Branch, frequently visited Ocean Grove, and attended camp meeting, from time to time, during the latter part of his presidency, and then during the remainder of his life. Other notables, such as the stalwart Roscoe Conkling, New York political leader, also attended now and then. General

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1 Grant's last public appearance was upon the Ocean Grove platform on the occasion of the reunion of Army Chaplains of the Civil War, in 1884. At this gathering, he attempted to answer a tribute, but broke off his remarks in tears. Morris S. Daniels, The Story of Ocean Grove (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1919), pp. 202-207.

2 The Camden County Courier, September 9, 1884.
Clinton B. Fisk, Prohibition Party candidate for President in 1884, and head of the Indian Bureau under the Hayes administration, was a frequent participant, and a well-known Ocean Grove speaker.

The congregation assembled for the camp meeting services may be classified as a selected audience in that it possessed a high degree of unity, organization, and homogeneity of outlook. The group objectives were basically religious, and secondarily social. Under the bond of religion, the speaker and his hearers were united upon a common ground, and thus there was no antagonism over choice of subject, or theme.

**Characteristics of the Camp Meeting Audience**

1. **Size**

Ocean Grove's services almost immediately drew large crowds. In 1871, the second year of operation, the management was extremely hard-pressed to find living accommodations for all those who appeared at its gates. Not every gathering, however, filled the auditorium area. In 1872, for instance, the congregations "reached two to three thousand in the evenings, . . . [but] at other times they . . . [numbered] in the hundreds." By 1875, weekday mornings attracted about 3,000 while Sunday morning brought 10,000 people, plus hundreds of others who were

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1*The Christian Advocate* (New York), August 31, 1871.

5*The Methodist* (New York), September 11, 1872.
diverted to "overflow meetings" held at various places around the grounds. 6

When the railroad was extended to Ocean Grove in 1876 7 the number of visitors during the summer season reached 100,000 doubling the figure for the preceding year. On Camp Meeting Sunday of 1876, it was reported that more than 1,000 persons were unable to get near enough to hear the preacher's voice. 8

In 1877 The New York Daily Tribune reported that the congregations "are increasing daily. Every available seat is filled, the aisles crowded, and many hundreds stand patiently during the entire service." 9

In the tenth year, 300,000 persons came by rail, swelling the numbers who reached the grounds by private conveyance. Seventy-two excursions arrived during that summer, and on one day, special trains brought 8,000 visitors. 10

Throngs continued throughout the second decade, and the auditorium, enlarged to a capacity of 5,000 seats, was almost immediately inadequate. In 1881, a secular newspaper reported that "by 9 o'clock [on Sunday morning] the crowd became so great as to make it impossible

6 The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.
7 The actual extension was made at the end of the season of 1875.
8 The Ocean Grove Record, September 2, 1876.
9 August 18, 1877.
10 Tenth Annual Report, p. 30.
All of these persons did not arrive during the camp meeting, and many of them stayed at Asbury Park, but most of them probably came to the auditorium at one time or another.
The camp meeting of 1882 "exceeded all preceding ones . . . [when] fully twenty thousand persons . . . ." were reported to be on the grounds, and every hotel and boarding house was full. During the week, "the population had been increasing with every incoming train, so that with the Sabbath the morning sun rose on a company estimated at 30,000 souls." By 1884, 40,000, and by 1890, 50,000 had gathered at the resort on Sunday morning.

Attendance at all meetings through the second decade seems to have been in the thousands, but capacity audiences were not drawn to every service. No set pattern seems to have developed, but congregations were smallest on Monday morning, and largest at all three Sunday sermons. A random sample taken from The Daily Spray in 1886 gives an indication of the size of the congregation from day to day:

- Saturday morning .......... 3,000
- Sunday morning ............ 7,000
- Sunday night ............... 6,000
- Wednesday afternoon ....... 6,000
- Wednesday night ........... 5,000

From these figures it can be seen that some afternoon services drew larger crowds than the evening services.

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13 The Ocean Grove Record, August 26, 1882.
14 The Ocean Grove Record, August 26, 1884.
15 The Ocean Grove Record, August 26, 1890.
A different pattern emerged during the third decade. In 1890, only the Sunday services seem to have drawn large numbers. During this camp meeting, a definite decline occurred from Monday until the end of the session, when only 2,500 persons attended the morning service of the ninth day. Wide variations continued throughout the rest of the period studied. In 1896, for instance, the Reverend James M. Buckley, editor of The Christian Advocate (New York), and public speaker of wide reputation, drew only 3,000 persons to the large indoor auditorium on opening day, even though his appearance had been announced weeks in advance. On Sunday of the same series, however, the great new building was entirely inadequate, for neither Russell H. Conwell, who preached in the afternoon, nor T. DeWitt Talmage, who spoke at night, could scarcely find a place on the platform to put his feet. The least number of people was attracted on weekday afternoons, and to the Monday morning services. Afternoons were a constant problem, during the 1890's, and because of the limited attendance, formal preaching was eventually discontinued at these gatherings. Thus, by 1900, there were only two sermons a day, even on Sunday. To compensate, the camp meeting was stretched over a second, and then a

16. The Asbury Park Journal, August 28, 1890.
17. The Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Delaware), August 29, 1896.
18. The Ocean Grove Times-Record, September 5, 1896.
19. Afternoon meetings continued to be held, but preaching was discontinued in favor of evangelistic meetings.
third Sunday, an arrangement which actually increased total attendance for the campaign.

For nearly twenty years, the story was much the same. On Sundays, whether the camp meeting was in session or not, throngs gathered at the auditorium, while great numbers of others wandered around the grounds, or loitered along the boardwalk. Only a portion of those present could possibly have attended any main service at one time, a fact which the Ocean Grove Association freely admitted, and for which they attempted to compensate by providing several overflow meetings, each featuring first rate speakers.

2. Places of Residence

Extensive data are available concerning the places of residence of many of the people who comprised the camp meeting audience. In addition to prolific reports of social activity at Ocean Grove which appeared in the press, reports of the annual love feasts give insight into the composition of the congregation. The love feast was primarily a testimony meeting, at which hundreds of worshippers spoke in very rapid succession, most of whom proudly indicated the location of their homes. Reporters listened carefully to these ejaculations in an effort to get news stories, and recorded much of what they heard. As early as 1872, they found that "the states of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and most of

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20 The increase was probably one of definition only, for Sundays throughout the summer brought large numbers to Ocean Grove, and those who came might not have been brought solely by the camp meeting.
the New England cities were represented. In 1874: "there were persons present from nearly every city along the eastern shores of the Atlantic," and during the following year the territory from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific was represented.

The majority of the audience, however, came from the cities of the Middle Atlantic states. This fact was pointed out on occasions such as the following:

At the conclusion of the sermon, Dr. Stokes asked the audience to remain a half hour. Then all residents of Ocean Grove who spend the entire year here were asked to rise, and about 100 rose. Philadelphia people to the number of over 500 then rose. . . . In like manner, New York and Brooklyn people numbering over 500, Trenton, Camden and Newark with a representation of 1,500; Maryland 100, Delaware 50, responded . . . .

Important segments of the congregations were also reported to have been from the smaller cities and towns of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Ocean Grove audiences represented many areas, and the strong pull that the resort and its camp meeting had upon those city, town, and country dwellers who lived within travelling distance is inestimable.

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21 The Methodist Home Journal, August 31, 1872.
23 The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.
24 The Asbury Park Press, August 31, 1887.
3. Ages

All ages were represented in the Ocean Grove audience, largely because of the fact that the place was a family resort. The managers sponsored a summer-long program of religious activities for youth, from children through the young adult level, so that most of these groups also became interested in the main preaching services. Smaller children, however, were sent to special meetings in a children's chapel during the daytime meetings.

The thirty years of this study covered a complete generation. Evidence indicates that a hard core of the faithful who attended the camp meeting in the early days, later developed into a generation of "old timers," which, by 1886, formed a noticeable segment of the audience, for: "around the outer rail, inside and out, were seen faces of men and women, familiar for many years to the officers of the Association. They are mostly old people, a little deaf, and their seats selected in order that they might hear better." By the early 1890's, attrition was apparent among the older people and by the latter part of that decade, the report was that: "All the old campaigners who appear every season at Ocean Grove ... have not yet arrived ... but there were enough of them on hand when the first bell sounded to make the sunrise service a pronounced success."

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25 The Asbury Park Journal, August 21, 1886.
26 The Asbury Park Journal, September 3, 1892.
27 The Daily Journal, August 24, 1897.
Youth, middle, and old age seem to have attended the preaching, side by side throughout the period considered here.

4. Sex

Although the congregations were mixed, more women than men attended the weekday sessions. Because Ocean Grove was the summer home for many families, the heads of households were absent during the week, or at least during the day. When a family spent only a few days or a week at the seashore, the men often chose the pleasures of the sea or of the beach, rather than the daytime services. In spite of the restrictions upon recreation during the camp meeting, nearby places were available without constraint. The men could retire to these resorts unmolested and unfrowned upon. Evening and weekend congregations, however, seemed to strike a better balance, for the men had then returned.

The predominance of females in the audience, at times, was reflected further in comments which described the visit of William McKinley as the following: "There were probably not more than 2,000 men in the multitude [14,000] which welcomed the President to Ocean Grove, for the women and children greatly outnumber the males in attendance at the camp meeting."28

28 The Brooklyn Eagle, August 27, 1899. More men might have attended this particular meeting, except for the fact that the announcement of the President's coming was not announced until about noon of the day of his arrival. Thus, fishing and boating parties had already left the scene and were probably not aware of the unusual event.
5. **International Aspects**

The fame of Ocean Grove reached far, and by 1882, a cosmopolitan audience was in attendance. President Stokes noted in his closing address of that year that "people have mingled in these scenes of worship from all over this broad land, and from the four corners of the globe." The *Philadelphia Methodist* was more specific:

The fact was noticeable . . . that the Church, embracing all the evangelical denominations in almost all parts of the globe were [sic] represented, either in the ministry or laity -- China, Japan, India, Syria, Egypt, France, England, Germany, as well as Canada and all parts of the United States. Such a communion service was probably never held before outside of Ocean Grove.

Reports such as these were common throughout the rest of the century, indicating that the presence of foreigners at the meetings was a familiar occurrence.

6. **Interracial Aspects**

There seems to have been no color line at the Ocean Grove auditorium, to which the American Negro had free access and to which he came in significant numbers. Negroes did not occupy cottages

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29 The *Ocean Grove Record*, September 2, 1882.

30 September 1, 1883.

31 During the regular season, a jubilee of the African M.E. Church was held annually. There were many reports, also, throughout the vacation camp meeting movement, that colored ministers addressed mixed audiences. Occasionally, African Negroes, such as the wife of the President of Liberia, or certain Negroes brought to America by missionaries, attended the camp meeting and were singled out for public attention. This is the reason for the differentiation of "American Negro" in this description.
or tents on the same basis as the Whites, or mingle with them on a social basis, but were mostly servants from the many hotels and boarding houses in Ocean Grove and from surrounding resorts. At communion services, however, they often drank from a common cup with the whites.

7. **Interdenominational Aspects**

Although the managers of all of the vacation camp meetings were Methodists, both the preachers and the congregations came from many denominations, and occasionally from other faiths. At Ocean Grove,

"... there ... [were] representatives of all the different Christian denominations in attendance, as well as a considerable number of Jews."^{33}

Interdenominationalism existed from the very beginning, for in 1870, the report was that: "A very interesting feature ... was the free and frank way in which the brethren from other denominations participated."^{34} In the services of 1877, "no less than eight denominations of Christians ... ."^{35} took part, these being mostly

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^{32}Asbury Park newspapers refer many times during the 1880's and the 1890's to racial tensions which existed in that resort over uses of the boardwalk and of the beach. James A. Bradley, founder, continually tried to control the activities of the Negro population.

^{33}The Philadelphia Methodist, September 1, 1879.

^{34}The Christian Advocate (New York), August 18, 1870.

^{35}The Philadelphian and Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1877.
Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians and Reformed, but a surprising number of Catholics were also reported. Thus the camp meeting drew even more of a cosmopolitan audience than might have been expected.

8. Large Numbers of Preachers

From the beginning, preachers were invited to take seats upon the Ocean Grove platform. This custom was accepted as a matter of course by the audience, and apparently won universal approval. The Daily Park Journal reported that:

No feature of the great camp-meeting is more interesting to the masses of Methodism than the host of distinguished preachers now on the grounds. They have been gathering in all the week until there is now hardly room for half of them ot one time on the stand.

The large number of clergymen on the stand on one Camp Meeting Sunday prompted a correspondent to The Philadelphia Record to write that:

"Probably nowhere else, except at a presbytery or convention, could so

36 The Methodist (New York), August 29, 1874.

37 The Methodist (New York), August 29, 1874; The Asbury Park Press, September 1, 1887; The New York Times, August 26, 1895.

38 This seems to have been a common practice throughout the camp meeting movement, and was particularly popular after the Civil War.

many preachers be seen under one roof. \textsuperscript{10} From a total of fifty in 1871, \textsuperscript{11} the count increased until approximately two hundred preachers attended in 1875\textsuperscript{12} and from then on, at least that number attended every year.

All the ministers on the grounds did not attend every service, but when a prominent man, or a stranger of whom they had heard, was scheduled to speak, they turned out in full force. \textsuperscript{13}

9. \textbf{Economic and Social Levels of the Audience}

The last of the characteristics of the audiences to be considered are the economic and the social. Here, too, is found not one mold, but several, for all classes, from rich to poor, attended the camp meeting.

In the Gilded Age of American history, it was popular to report the activities of the well-known and the rich, and Ocean Grove population did not escape such descriptions. An article in \textit{The New York Daily Tribune} was representative of this trend:

\begin{quote}
As an example of the variety of characters we have here, I may say that one morning in strolling along the beach I met a Methodist bishop and a Methodist editor; just behind them came two learned Presbyterian professors from Princeton College, with their wives and families; a little later on I met the distinguished
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10}August 25, 1888.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{The Christian Advocate} (New York), August 24, 1871.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{The Christian Advocate} (New York), September 12, 1875.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{The Asbury Park Daily Journal}, August 25, 1888. See also \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, August 29, 1891.
Baptist divine, Dr. Fuller of Baltimore; an hour afterward I chanced upon two college presidents from central and western Pennsylvania, and still another from Illinois. The next day I saw General Garfield who had fled for a few hours from Washington, to establish his family here for the summer. On all sides one meets weary attorneys, and careworn merchants, and well-to-do farmers and mechanics and their growing families . . . .

Descriptions were common, also, of the wealthy cottage owners and of their ornate, baroque dwellings. In addition, an apparent anomaly existed among certain:

people of great wealth and social position . . . [who] with their families . . . [spent] the entire summer in the cozy and airy cottage tents.

. . . [One would] be astonished to find a leading educator in the Bethesda block; a wealthy Philadelphia merchant under the canvas near Fletcher Lake; a Chicago grain prince with his fashionable wife in a tent near the auditorium; and a bank president and a retired millionaire on Ocean Pathway.

Besides the wealthy and the well-to-do, there were several other kinds of persons at Ocean Grove, some, or all of whom, it must be assumed, attended the camp meeting services. The preachers who owned cottages, the short-term vacationer who stayed in hotels and boarding houses, the excursionist, the residents of the towns and of the farms in surrounding areas who came to the meetings in brougham, buggy, and flat wagon, and the negro servants from the many surrounding resorts all were in the audience.

August 21, 1876. Mrs. Garfield was long a summer resident at Ocean Grove, but Garfield apparently never attended the camp meeting there.

The Asbury Park Press, August 26, 1899.
Fixed Attitudes and Beliefs

An additional factor in audience analysis is that which considers the fixed attitudes and beliefs of the hearers toward the subject of the speaker.\textsuperscript{46} Even in a broad description of a cosmopolitan congregation such as that presented here, an analysis of these elements is important to the understanding of the speaking.

The predominant attitudes at Ocean Grove were, of course, religious and social.

Like the earlier half, the latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of inherited religion. The typical American was likely to have been brought up with some doctrinal training, and with a general knowledge of the Bible.\textsuperscript{47} In general, Americans accepted theology as a part of their lives, and accepted without serious question the tenets that had guided their fathers. Consequently, "these were halcyon days for the churches."\textsuperscript{48} In fact:

Never had the urban churches, enriched by the captains of industry, been so crowded. . . . Church attendance figures soared during the period between the Civil War and World War I in geometrical ratio, despite the secular world of Charles Darwin, Robert Ingersoll and Jacques Leob.\textsuperscript{49}

In one of the few social commentaries contemporary with the period, Hugo Münsterberg, the German philosopher and psychologist,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{46}Gray and Braden, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 126.
\item \textsuperscript{48}Geius Glenn Atkins, \textit{Religion in Our Times} (New York: Round Table Press, 1932), p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{49}Harvey Wish, \textit{Society and Thought in America} (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1952), p. 148.
\end{itemize}
observed that: "The church is popular, religious worship is observed in the home, the minister is esteemed, divine worship is well attended, the work of the church is generously supported, and the cause of religion is favored by the social community." 50

All this led to a general outward uniformity of attitude on the part of the masses in America. The majority of people continued to find time to go to church on Sunday, and many also attended the midweek prayer services. The Sabbath was observed generally by the entire American-born population, a quiet day of rest and meditation on that day being a national institution.

Predominantly Protestant, religious belief permeated the social structure during the period. Whether from a personal conviction or from a deference to conformity, few persons openly flouted the churches, and a current of lip-service, at least, to the Deity ran from the wealthy benefactors of religious institutions, who championed the gospel of wealth, through the middle class adherents of "the cult of respectability," to the lowly working people.

Differences between Protestant beliefs were not insurmountable, for:

denominations multiplied but rather as organizations, than as dogmas, and the average American was no more capable of distinguishing between Methodist and Presbyterian

50 Minsterberg, op. cit., p. 501.

philosophies than between Republican and Democratic principles — an incapacity which neither embarrassed him nor qualified his seal.  

Thus, the dissimilarities between Protestant denominations were no longer fiercely contested.  

As a result of these conditions, the speaker at the camp meeting could safely assume that his interdenominational audience was not antagonistic to the basic Biblical themes which he chose for sermon topics, but if he should think that the acceptance of tenets implied a devout adherence, he was liable to be mistaken, for though Americans professed a religious faith with great uniformity, they were very likely to be indifferent toward devoted and constant practice of it. Henry Steel Commager commented upon this tendency in the American of the period:

His religion . . . notwithstanding its Calvinistic antecedents, was practical. He was religious, rather than devout. . . . Saintliness was not the most conspicuous quality in his religious leaders, and to the doctrine of salvation by grace, he stubbornly opposed an instinctive faith in salvation by works. Sundays he was troubled by a suspicion of sin -- but he had no racking sense of evil.

The people in general, according to Schlesinger, tended to endorse religion, but also to:

. . . distinguish sharply between the sacred and the secular [and to] divorce religion from everyday conduct . . . but after the feverish labors of the

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54 Commager, op. cit., p. 9.
week, Americans displayed a "docile acquiescence" in any teachings which freed them from mental disturbance and satisfied their emotional need of belief. 55

These views, Schlesinger maintains, made possible the survival of fundamental ideas of theology far into the period of critical and scientific inquiry, for the American, generally, refused to look inquiringly at his beliefs. 56

The American middle class, of which the camp meeting audience was representative, accepted the teachings of Christianity as the foundation for social conduct, but often found it convenient to lay aside these attitudes in the business world. The businessman, however, was quite willing to return to the reassuring beliefs of religion on Sundays, and while at the religious resort, especially if the distance between the places of recreation and of worship was short.

Often, the distinction between religion and recreation was not easily discernible, for attendance at the many services was fashionable, and, if one resided at the camp meeting resort, expected. To those who considered themselves to be "saved" the meetings were also social gatherings, where one might visit with friends, and make new acquaintances.

Because of the mixture of the religious and the social influences, a range of attitudes existed among the audiences, from the

55 Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 321.
56 Ibid.,

These comments seem to have particular validity when applied to Ocean Grove, which was a stronghold of fundamentalism well beyond the period covered by this study.
extremely devout followers of holiness, through the moderately enthusiastic vacationers, to the curious onlookers drawn by the fame of Ocean Grove.

An additional attitude permeated American thought after the Civil War, and was manifested especially in large public gatherings, including camp meetings. This frame of mind which fostered an outlook of social and spiritual equality was described by Henry Steele Commager:

It was social, it was cultural, it was psychological. It was, even with the extremes of wealth and poverty, in a curious sense economic; though economic inequality was, more and more, the fact, economic equality was the assumption, and the poor took for granted their right to luxuries and privileges elsewhere the prerogative of the rich. It was chiefly the absence of class distinctions rather than a triumph over them. Wherever men and women met in typical gatherings, camp meetings, militia drill, Orange picnics, political leadership, Chautauqua assemblies -- they met on a basis of equality. Leadership fluctuated and was dictated by the situation itself rather than the antecedent social position. Education mirrored society, and the public school was the great leveller.

Under the auspices of evangelical Protestantism, the spirit of equality was heightened. This fact was plainly observable at the camp meeting, and especially at the annual love feast, where everyone was equal in the sight of God, and "Old and young, white and black, all were friendly . . . ." The attitude could also be noted at the communion services which closed the session, as the following bit of Victorian prose suggests:

Kneeling side by side in sublime equality were those between whom society, vox populi and caste had opened

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57 Commager, op. cit., p. 1h.
58 The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1884.
chasms. The rich and the poor, the learned and the untutored had met at last on common ground. Aristocracy had lost its airiness. The rustling silk touched the printed cambric. A distinguished editor touched elbows with an old colored woman and both drank from the same cup... Artificial barriers had crumbled...59

Reflecting the broad democratic outlook of the time, there was no special privilege given at the auditorium to any class of persons, except the clergy, and it was always "first come, first served" for seats. Although the aged usually found places toward the front, they were able to do so only by very early arrival. Some people took liberties by placing their personal camp chairs in the aisles, or within the altar space before the services, but even these "rights" were not always respected. Seats were provided for all visiting ministers, who were requested to sit on the platform, and for members of the Ocean Grove Association and their families. Often, however, privilege-seekers literally stormed the stand, making it necessary to station a police officer at the entrance to see that only authorized persons were given admittance.

Distinctive Features of Audience Behavior

The behavior of the camp meeting audience can be studied by considering seven general categories of conduct, which are discussed in this section individually.

1. Orderly Conduct

Order prevailed at Ocean Grove despite the huge crowds which thronged that resort and which attended the services. Discounting the

59 The Ocean Grove Record, September 4, 1886.
outbursts of religious zeal and joy, no instance of wilful disorder was reported during the entire period studied. Though a police force kept constant watch, trouble was seldom encountered on the grounds, stray drunks, peddlers, pickpockets, and pitch-men being hastily ejected whenever discovered. An officer was always on duty near the auditorium, but no report was found to indicate that he ejected anyone from the audience. In 1875, President Stokes proudly observed that: "The sixth summer of meetings upon these grounds, with all the hundreds of thousands who have engaged in them, has passed away, and yet the word 'order' has never been called for or uttered from the stand."60

Many feared that the extension of the railroad in 1876 to Ocean Grove and Asbury Park would bring in disorderly and undesirable persons, but this did not seem to happen. By 1880, Stokes reported:

Surprise is often expressed that we are enabled to maintain such perfect order among such multitudes as throng this place. There are several causes for this result. As a rule, the people coming here are the law abiding class. There is nothing here to draw the others. The openly profane and wicked do not care to be surrounded with the scenes and circumstances of religious worship, or to come in constant contact with religious people. Then, too, the stimulants to misrule and violence are not at hand, and outnumbered by better people they hide away . . . or depart to more congenial climes.

Sunday was a quiet day at Ocean Grove, except for the constant stir of promenading along the boardwalk. Although the Sabbath was

60Sixth Annual Report, p. 28.
61Eleventh Annual Report, p. 26. Stokes also admitted that a strong police force was responsible for conditions of order.
traditionally tranquil in most places throughout the country, the subdued atmosphere at Ocean Grove on that day exceeded that which many visitors expected to find at a vacation resort.\textsuperscript{62}

The auditorium was not considered a sanctuary, which would induce a subdued reverence on the part of the people gathered there. The only resemblance it had to a church was to be found in the railing-like altar and in the baptismal font which stood before the platform. Since the structure was often used for gatherings of a semi-religious nature, it resounded with laughter on occasion, but with the coming of the camp meeting, a more reverent atmosphere prevailed. The quiet which preceded the services in church buildings was not present at the camp meeting, where the hum of conversation was heard until the service was begun. Wilful, disorderly conduct, however, was tolerated at no time.

2. Struggle for Seats

A correspondent to The Philadelphia Methodist described Ocean Grove's Sunday as "a day of crush and eloquence."\textsuperscript{63} This interpretation was apt, for, notwithstanding the quiet of the Sabbath, there was always a rush to secure advantageous seats for the services. Good positions were at a premium on "big days" because many more persons were upon the grounds than could possibly have been accommodated in the auditorium. Since more people jammed into Ocean Grove as the years

\textsuperscript{62}The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.

\textsuperscript{63}September 10, 1887.
passed, competition continued, even though the capacity of the auditorium was twice doubled.\textsuperscript{64}

Nearly everyone wanted to attend the annual love feast, which was held on Sunday morning. Year after year, the story was the same: hundreds rose early, bolted breakfast, and hurried to the meeting area. "Time and waiting appeared to be of no account if perchance a seat could be preempted . . . ."\textsuperscript{65} The account of Sunday morning, 1890, which appeared in The Asbury Park Journal, was typical of those which appeared year after year: "As early as seven A.M. ladies began to settle themselves for a patient waiting, intending to remain until noon, and by eight o'clock the Auditorium was nearly full, with the camp chair reserves filling up all the aisles and available space near the main stand."\textsuperscript{66}

Sunday afternoon seemed to offer no respite from the crush, at least until the late 1890's. A large Sunday School was held in the Auditorium, beginning at one o'clock, followed by the preaching service. Often persons who did not attend the Sunday School became impatient, and returned from their lunches to try for seats before the class meetings had ended. In 1887, for instance:

before the part of the great Sunday-School in the Auditorium was dismissed the crowd began pouring down the aisles creating great disturbance and completely barring the exits. With great difficulty were the people

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{64}The situation was greatly improved when the new auditorium was built, but good seats at the front were always sought after.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{65}The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{66}August 30, 1890.
\end{flushright}
restrained in the struggle for standing room. Finally the confusion and dust subsided and the afternoon service begun {sic}.

Good positions were so prized that on days when an especially prominent preacher was scheduled to speak at the afternoon service, many people actually spent all day in their places.

3. Drifting and Movement in the Audience

Any large outdoor gathering is loosely-defined at its outer edges. The meetings at Ocean Grove were no exception, for when there was an overflow audience, with the resultant standing crowd beyond the seated area, there was an almost constant coming-and-going on the periphery of the gathering. Many persons, finding that they could not see or hear comfortably, left the outer edges of the crowd, but others, part of the throngs milling about the grounds, came to take their places.

When the services were moved into the new auditorium, coming-and-going became more noticeable, causing some mention of the fact to be made annually in the local newspapers, at least until 1900. The Reverend B. Fay Mills, who preached at all three main meetings on a weekday in 1894:

Set himself to put an effectual stop to the foolish and aggravating custom of getting up and going out whenever people pleased. He harped on the same string afternoon

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67 *The Daily Press*, August 29, 1887. Reports such as this indicate that some disorder existed, even on Sunday, but once the services had started, excellent order and attention prevailed.

and night, and with such results as exceedingly pleased Dr. Stokes, whose annoyance from this disturbance ... had been unspeakable.69

But the remonstrances were in vain, for the practice continued in subsequent years. One correspondent wrote in 1896:

... the greatest difficulty has been felt in holding large congregations from the beginning to the close of any service. People have been in the habit of dropping in to enjoy the song service which precedes the sermons, and then as the preacher rises ... out they go by the dozens to the great annoyance of Dr. Stokes and the confusion of all who wish to hear the text and sermon. Excursionists are very thoughtless in this particular. They are merely looking about, and whole parties wriggle out of the seats they occupy near the front and disappear hastily, although they may have an hour or two of tiresome suspense at the depot.

But when a preacher rouses up his audience by stirring appeal, and the "amens" begin to resound through the building, it is astonishing how they will rush in again and, forgetting all else, become absorbed in the services.70

Similar movement on the part of newspaper reporters, who occupied seats on the platform, was also disturbing to many preachers.71

4. Audience Participation

The camp meeting audience was often given the opportunity to take an active part in the proceedings. Participation during the sermons usually included a show of hands, or a rising to the feet in answer to a command. This device was used mostly at the end of a sermon, and usually came as the result of a challenge to stand up, and be counted.

69 The Ocean Grove Record, September 8, 1894.

70 The Asbury Park Journal, August 28, 1896.

71 The Ocean Grove Record, August 4, 1888.
Bishop Carman of the Canadian Methodist Church was typical of those who used the audience participation technique. In 1676, he closed his sermon with the command: "Every one who will say today 'by the grace of God I will become a citizen of the kingdom' stand up!" To this statement, "The great throng rose, as if by one impulse and the service closed with a song of praise." Another such gauntlet was thrown down by the evangelist David W. Potter, who thundered: "How many of you in this audience have received the scriptural blessing, and your wife knows you've got it? -- rise up! Don't you dare to stand up unless you have! . . . In spite of the rather rough 'wife' proviso, a majority of the audience got on their feet in answer . . . ."\(^72\)

While a show of hands or a rising up in answer to a challenge were probably not effective methods of achieving lasting persuasion, their frequent use indicates that the preachers regarded them as important parts of their sermons.

5. **Excitement**

The vacation camp meeting, although not as wild as some of the early frontier gatherings were reputed to have been, did have occasional outbursts of religious zeal. Some of these came during sermons, but most of them were confined to the annual love feast.

Taking 1889 as an example, an idea of the nature of the love feast can be gained by a comparison of the reports of the two Asbury

\(^72\) *The Ocean Grove Record*, August 26, 1876.

\(^73\) *The Asbury Park Journal*, August 30, 1895.
The annual love feast was something thousands anticipated for weeks and months before. Its services were announced to commence sharp at 8:15 A.M., and this meant an hour's hurrying and elbowing to secure ... seats anywhere within a good hearing and seeing distance from a platform more densely packed with distinguished preachers, grand singers and representatives from the four quarters of the globe than it has ever been before.

After the opening devotions and the scripture reading, ... the people were asked to rise and shake hands. Here ensued one of the indescribable scenes of the love-feast. Six thousand joyful people shaking each other's hands, happy tears filling their eyes and exclamations of praise on every tongue.

A hymn was started, the excitement rose higher. Out came the handkerchiefs, and everybody seemed to have one ready, strangers looked on a moment and then were overwhelmed by emotion for the rapturous moment.

When silence and order had been secured, Dr. Stokes related his experience, and held out his hand in fellowship with all present. Then every hand was reached toward where he stood and the speaking began.

A nice old lady preacher ... was the first. She sang ... [an] old hymn ... .

A score of other aged pilgrims talked ... .

A Parsee from India was followed by a native of Japan. The children of Africa, tourists from London, and people from thirty states of the union were heard from. Twelve at times were up and speaking at once ... It was hard to keep tally, but a few tried it, and comparing notes, it was ascertained that 330 people each had a word to say ... .

The description by the Journal gave a general picture of the scene, but The Asbury Park Press was more specific, and probably

August 31, 1889.
caught the spirit of excitement more accurately:

... The aisles and all available spaces were packed with humanity. Men and women sat on the railings and on the platform steps and the picturesque little tents bordering the Auditorium were filled with people who could see but were unable to hear aught save the shouting and singing. Mankind from India, Switzerland, China, Japan, Mexico, Italy and Africa were mingled with the audience in appreciable number ...

While a good brother would be telling his story some one would interrupt him by starting one of the Ocean Grove hymns. ... At the conclusion of the hymns, sometimes over a dozen persons would rise and begin relating their experience and on account of the crowd, each would be unaware that any one else was claiming the floor. ... Only the loud-voiced people could gain the attention of the multitude.

The colored people were out in force and felt very happy ... and had no difficulty in making themselves heard, and in one instance felt. An old colored woman ... took great delight in beating the air with her arms, twirling herself about on her heels. This was during the singing, and in one of her gyratic movements, she struck and demolished the beautiful bonnet of a lady sitting near. People about requested her to subside, but she responded proudly, "I will do it," but just then was pulled down on the bench. Still.

Parliamentary rules were unobserved and more and more people were seen speaking at the same time. They could not be heard, and did not see the other speakers. Just when the confusion became very great a song would be given and the good speakers would be sang [sic] down ... At this time an elderly lady near the outskirts of the audience became greatly agitated. Three persons were speaking on one side of the auditorium, and the old lady was screaming on the other. "The Old Time Religion" was ... sung. Still the woman continued shaking and screaming. Several hundred people stood on the seats, and for a time half of the enormous crowd were [sic] looking at the woman, as with head thrown back and clapping her hands her agitation became more and more intensified. Dr. Stokes commanded the people to get off the seats, and they did so.

... One man frequently applied a lemon to his lips. This so cleared his voice that his shouts were heard blocks away. Just after the time for relating experience was over, the old lady referred to above, arose and said she had just
seen the heavens opened. She had seen Jesus. Dr. Stokes interrupted her with "Sister, we've closed now. Please be seated." 

The religious excitement displayed at the love feast was whipped up once annually, and allowed to run its course, practically unmolested by the management, for about an hour. After this, relative calm descended upon the meetings, but an afterglow of enthusiasm seems to have been felt during the sermon which followed.

Bodily exercises and ecstatic demonstrations were frowned upon, even though a few such actions occurred at most love feasts. Only one occasion of wholesale physical agitation ever occurred at Ocean Grove, and this came not as a part of the annual camp meeting, but as part of a "Union Convention for the Promotion of Holiness" held by an outside organization in 1874. Since the incident was widely reported in the newspapers, President Stokes printed a lengthy repudiation of the practice, plus a proclamation that these occurrences would never again be permitted.

Until 1889, spiritual agitation other than that displayed at the love feast, was infrequent, but from that time until the end of the 1890's occasional reports were found relating to highly emotional stirrings among the congregations. In 1896, The Ocean Grove Times-Record commented somewhat ironically:

"The Lord's work and his ways of working not infrequently take even good people by surprise. For instance, should the "pentecostal power" for which many persuade themselves they are "waiting" come "as a rushing mighty wind," they would

July 27, 1888.

Fifth Annual Report, pp. 16-17.
take to their heels at the first blast, and run for their lives. There was something of this nature in the meetings of Friday.

In each of the early meetings, there was observed and felt a marked increase in the impalpable but obvious existence of supernatural power. To name any one of several noted speakers on the grounds was about to address any meeting in progress, or about to be held, was enough to crowd the place, and prepare for happy shouts.

The article in The Times-Record referred to the faithful, including the members of the Ocean Grove Association, who firmly believed that they could "pray down" upon the camp meeting an actual, physical visitation of the Holy Ghost. To this end, they held long preparation prayer meetings each year, where they sought supernatural visitation upon the sessions to come. There is little evidence, however, that any lasting and overpowering religious excitement ever swept the campaign.

Zealous agitation was evident at times, but the preacher could be relatively safe in assuming that his sermon would not be broken up in wild spiritual demonstration. For the most part, the actual stimulation toward great enthusiasm came in the evangelistic after-meetings which followed each preaching service.

6. Shouting

Long a feature of Methodism, the shout of religious approval was nearly always present at the Ocean Grove camp meeting. Sometimes these ejaculations came only from a group of zealots gathered near the front, but at other times they were heard generally

The Ocean Grove Times-Record, September 5, 1896.
throughout the congregation. On many occasions, the outburst was strong enough to overcome the speaker's voice entirely, as was indicated in the following report:

When the Reverend John Langley closed his grand discourse, and the Rev. John Thompson stepped forward to "improve the subject" the whole congregation burst into a conflagration of excitement, praising God. The voice of the speaker was drowned. The choir tried a favorite piece. While the waving of hands could be seen, not a note could be heard above the rejoicing of the preachers and the people.

On another occasion, a colored preacher occupied the stand and "waxed so eloquent that the shouting became general. A number of enthusiastic colored people were in the audience, and their hallelujahs startled the more sedate another shout drowned out the speaker's voice." The newspapers which covered the camp meeting sermons openly opposed shouting, and kept up a running fire against the practice. An article appearing in The Asbury Park Press was typical of this reaction:

During the summer months the meetings in Ocean Grove have been free from the explosive shouts of Hallelujah, disconcerting alike to speakers and hearers, and certainly not spiritually edifying to any rational intelligent human being. The sermons yesterday were interrupted so often and without cause that a decided expression of disapproval was manifest among the audience. There is a class of people here who still maintain that no good can be done unless the people shout their approval of the fine sentiments expressed by the speakers. This class is growing smaller, and the great majority of church attendants here are much opposed to these unseemly demonstrations, and claim that such demonstrations are not in conformity with the civilization of

78 The Ocean Grove Record, August 29, 1891.
this century. An eminent divine from the east said that a certain shouter has very strong likes and dislikes. The ministers he favors are shouted at continually; while a man he does not like is speaking the shouter is mute, even though the entire audience be swayed. This fact is corroborated by others. 80

Despite the fact that many hoped the habit would die out, the "shouters" were still going strong at the turn of the twentieth century. Even in 1900, a preacher's voice was likely to be overpowered by loud cries. 81

7. Applause

A persistent problem to the managers at Ocean Grove was the fact that members of the congregation often applauded the preachers. Hand clapping was permitted at lectures and at concerts heard during the season, but it was severely frowned upon on Sundays and during the camp meeting. Apparently, some persons were unable to bridge the gap between entertainment and serious religious occasions, for their well-meaning demonstrations interfered with the piety of the setting time after time. Remarks upon patriotic, political, and moral themes seem to have been most likely to evoke this kind of audible reaction, which occurred especially in the 1880's and the 1890's.

When clapping did break out, President Stokes, who always presided, took immediate steps to silence it. In a typical instance, a "preacher launched broadsides at the tobacco question. . . . This met with hearty response all through the audience, and all began to

80 August 22, 1888.
81 The Asbury Park Press, August 21, 1900.
applaud. Dr. Stokes interrupted and said, 'That will not do; this is a camp meeting; no, no!'

Handkerchief waving was encouraged in place of hand clapping. Called both the "Ocean Grove salute" and the "Chautauqua salute," this form of audience response was carried on enthusiastically, and was looked upon as the highest of honors. The "sea of cambric" was used at the beginning, or at the conclusion of an address, rather than in response to a particular point made during a sermon. Thus, it had a slightly different function than immediate reaction, but it did, nevertheless, use up some of the latent energies of the congregation.

Summary

Religious and social motives caused the audience to assemble at the Ocean Grove camp meeting. The broad Protestant nature of the services, the novel surroundings of the religious resort, and the location of Ocean Grove amidst several secular resorts also drew them to the gatherings.

The type of congregation which gathered for the sermons may be called the selected audience, for it possessed a high degree of unity and homogeneity of outlook.

Ocean Grove drew assemblies of from about three thousand to more than twelve thousand, Sunday being the biggest day of the series. Attendance varied, and during the last years of the 1890's, afternoon preaching was discontinued in favor of a lengthening of the camp meeting over two, and then over three Sundays. At nearly all

82 The Asbury Park Journal, August 24, 1891.
times, there were many more people on the grounds than could possibly have been accommodated in the auditorium.

People came from all parts of the United States, as well as from many foreign lands, but the majority of the audience lived in the cities and towns of the Middle Atlantic states.

All ages were represented at the camp meeting, from youth to extreme old age.

On weekdays, the majority of the congregation was composed of women, but on evenings, and on weekends, a greater balance existed.

American and African Negroes attended the services freely, and met with the Whites on a basis of spiritual, if not social, equality.

Meetings were interdenominational and drew representatives from about eight Protestant denominations, but significant numbers of Catholics and Jews were known to have attended.

Another feature of the campaign was the large number of ministers who took seats upon the platform. Their number eventually reached two hundred.

Persons of all economic and social levels met at the services on a basis of equality which was typical of American life in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Members of the congregation held certain fixed attitudes and beliefs, primary among which was an inherited belief in religion, to which they adhered unquestioningly, if not extremely devoutly. In general, the American was capable of putting on, or taking off, his outward manifestations of belief, but he was willing to come back to solid beliefs on Sundays and at camp meetings.
Seven distinctive features of audience behavior were evident at Ocean Grove: good order prevailed at all times, except during the annual love feast; an actual rush and physical struggle for good seats took place at all Sunday services, and at other times when a capacity crowd was expected; there was a constant drifting movement at the outer edges of the standing audience, and occasionally persons left their seats just prior to, and during the sermon; audience participation, in the form of a show of hands or a rising to the feet in answer to a rhetorical question was a common device used by the preachers; religious excitement was consciously stirred up at times, but bodily exercises such as those which appeared in the very early days of the camp meeting, were seldom seen at Ocean Grove, except occasionally during the love feast; shouting was heard very often during the preaching; applause was forbidden, but broke out nearly every year at at least one meeting.
CHAPTER V

THE PREACHERS

In order to sustain the large audiences which attended the services, the management at Ocean Grove attempted to select capable preachers from the New Jersey Conference, from the large metropolitan pulpits of the eastern seaboard, from distant points in the United States, and from foreign countries. During the period from 1870 to 1900, 410 persons delivered a total of 763 main sermons.¹

Selection of the Preachers

From the beginning, the benefits of nature worked on the side of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association. Consequently, "... on

¹These figures represent the number of specific sermons which were reported in the sources available for this study. The Ocean Grove Association kept no record of the preachers at the early camp meetings, and information about these years must be gleaned from newspaper accounts. Later Annual Reports list the speakers chronologically. The number of sermons included here does not correspond with the actual number of services, partly because of fragmentary early reports, and partly because of the fact that certain meetings did not have a formal sermon as a result of religious enthusiasm which prevented preaching. In 1899 and 1900, the afternoon sermons were cancelled in favor of evangelistic meetings featuring a quartette of singers. Sermons delivered at the Sunday overflow services were not included in the study.
account of the salubrity of the place, the best preaching talent . . . easily obtainable." Simply by utilizing men available from among more than two hundred ministers who were almost constantly in attendance, in addition to a few judicious invitations sent out beforehand, a great variety of speakers was obtained.

Until his death, in 1897, President Ellwood H. Stokes, who had sole charge of the camp meeting, selected the preachers and arranged the services. No other person knew exactly what the program was to be until he released the information on the day prior to an appearance. The Reverend Adam Wallace, editor of The Ocean Grove Record, and also a member of the Association, wrote: "Who are expected to preach? The full list, if one could see it, is in a memorandum book in Dr. Stokes' side pocket, and will appear day after day on the Auditorium bulletin board." Information regarding the opening service of the camp meeting and for the Sunday sermons was however released about a month prior to the opening in the religious press and in pamphlets distributed by the Association.

Despite the president's reluctance to reveal his program in advance, The Ocean Grove Record and The Philadelphia Methodist often predicted fairly accurately who would appear.

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2The Asbury Park Journal, August 31, 1889.

3August 20, 1892.

The Asbury Park daily newspapers, and The Daily Spray (Ocean Grove) carried announcements every day, after Stokes had revealed the names of the preachers.
Stokes' system had both advantages and disadvantages. Probably the greatest advantage was that he could change his schedule easily, without arousing indignation, when a popular preacher was unable to speak. Secondly, this policy created the impression that there were always good preachers and good sermons no matter what service one chose to attend. A third advantage was that this method enabled him to use unknown ministers, as is indicated by the following report: "Few of those present had ever heard the speaker's name before, yet were quite content to trust the rare judgment of Dr. Stokes in selecting the right man."

There were disadvantages, also, and Stokes himself felt the brunt of the inconvenience, being continually asked the question: "Who is to preach?" His annoyance was indicated in an article appearing in The Asbury Park Press:

Dr. Stokes, in making the usual announcement, asked the people to read the newspaper and leave off questioning him constantly about who is to preach at such and such a time, etc., etc.

It is hoped that they'll take the hint. The preachers and all services are given out in advance three times each day in the Auditorium, on the bulletin board at the Association office, and also in the daily papers. To people who read and keep their eyes open there is certainly no excuse for ignorance.

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4Other camp meetings in New Jersey did not seek to create this impression, but revealed the names and the exact hours of appearance of the preachers they selected well in advance.

5The Philadelphian, and Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1877. The preacher was the Reverend A. P. Jack, of The First Presbyterian Church, Haselton, Pennsylvania, who subsequently became a popular speaker at the New Jersey resort.

6August 22, 1891.
A second disadvantage of this arrangement was that it often created the impression that the programs were put together hastily, a judgment which was probably not valid, except in the case of illness, or unavoidable delay on the part of a scheduled speaker.

After Stokes' death, the Devotional Committee, which then selected the talent, put more emphasis upon finding suitable speakers after the camp meeting had begun. This policy seemed to be less effective than that followed by Stokes, and drew comments such as this: "Were the selections made less haphazard and efforts made months in advance the results would be superior." 7

George Lansing Taylor, veteran camp meeting preacher, noted two general motives on the part of camp meeting managers in securing speakers:

Territorial distribution is one motive. Various conferences must be represented in the great meetings and various districts or cities in the local meetings. In the few meetings of national reputation (including Ocean Grove) it is considered necessary to draw preachers from various states and distant parts of the Union. This makes prearrangement necessary.

... There is a great tendency to make the modern camp meeting a sort of brokerage house in the "calling" of preachers and obtaining "calls." Church committees attend camp meetings and say to those in charge: "We want to hear Brother Smith, or Doctor Jones, with a view to inviting him to become pastor of our church. Please put him up to

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7 The Asbury Park Press, August 20, 1899.
Arrangements of this sort are reported to be made sometimes months before the meetings occur. From the tenor of the Reverend Taylor's article, it seems likely that Stokes too acceded at least occasionally to these demands. Taylor made no direct accusations, but he qualified indisputably as an expert observer, and in addition his article was written from Ocean Grove.

In scheduling his program, Dr. Stokes often invited speakers who had been particularly successful during the regular summer season to return to address the camp meeting congregation. The temperance camp meeting in particular, held annually about two weeks before the main campaign, seems to have stimulated him to invite a significant number of men.

Despite the president's efforts to maintain a balanced program, his schedule occasionally came in for criticism. The *Philadelphia Methodist*, for instance, lamented:

> The Philadelphia churches are largely represented at Ocean Grove — more largely we think, this year than ever before. But this far, with a single exception, and that a new man among us, its ministers have not been represented on the platform. This may be all right, but we confess it looks a little one sided. It may be that New York has so monopolised the Ministerial talent of the M. E. Church of the country that nothing outside the great city can be found competent to preach at the great Ocean Grove Camp Meeting. [But] ... we shall not be jealous of her, even if she has more star preachers than ourselves.

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8 *The Christian Advocate* (New York), September 26, 1889.

9 September 1, 1883.
Preachers were not paid for their services. When the rumor arose just after his first visit that T. DeWitt Talmage had received a large sum to deliver his sermon, Dr. Stokes was highly distressed. Making a special announcement, and taking extreme care to be heard by everyone, he refuted this impression, saying in part: "There was no stipulation whatever as regards pay. This is the case with every clergyman who preaches from this platform. Of course we always pay travelling expenses and give entertainment here." Thus, many ministers were willing to travel to the seaside resort to preach in return for the tremendous prestige gained and for a few days of free vacation.

Featuring all of the ministers who gathered at the camp meeting was impossible, but for those who desired, there were additional opportunities in evangelistic exhortations, special prayers, side meetings, and Sunday overflow sessions. All factors considered, Stokes seems to have done his best to spread the honors and duties among a large number of men.

A Devotional Committee, consisting of three members of the Association plus the new president, Bishop James N. Fitzgerald, assumed the responsibility for the programs after Stokes' death. From this time on, reliance was put upon finding preachers who would hew more closely to the lines of Christian holiness and

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11 Stokes died just prior to the camp meeting of 1897, but the program he had arranged was carried out without change.
fundamental interpretations of the scriptures. No evidence exists, on the contrary, that Stokes had attempted to limit the approach or the subject matter of anyone whom he had selected.

Who The Preachers Were

Individual consideration of the more than 400 speakers who delivered camp meeting sermons is impractical in a study of this nature, but some generalizations about them as a class can be made, with reference to numbers of individual appearances, denominational status, geographical origin, and other information.

The overwhelming majority of the speakers were ordained ministers, but a few, such as Stephen Merritt, prominent New York City undertaker; Evangelist David W. Potter, Chicago businessman; Amanda Smith, self-styled evangelistic Negress; and Mrs. Margaret Bottoms, President of the Society of the King's Daughters (Methodist) were laymen.

The trend in individual appearances, as seen in the following compilation, indicates that more than half of the speakers were heard only one time, and that only a very few were called upon repeatedly.

These figures represent camp meeting speaking only. Other activities often featured many of the same people. In fact, a number of persons spoke often throughout the season, but appeared very rarely during the camp meeting.
The Methodist managers of the camp meeting called freely upon their own clergy to occupy the pulpit, but each year from 1875 through 1900 they admitted at least one person from another denomination. In 1887 and in 1896, six of the series of thirty principal sermons were delivered by representatives from other religious groups, while in 1885 five non-Methodists appeared, but in the other years, the average was one or two. A survey of all those known to have spoken during the period of this study revealed the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E. Church, South</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.E. Church, Canada</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African M.E. Church</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed Episcopal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13See footnote 1.
Episcopal.............. 1
Protestant Episcopal..... 1
Primitive Methodist....... \(\frac{1}{762}\)

The conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church represented most often were the following: New Jersey; New York East (including New York City, Brooklyn, and Connecticut); Philadelphia; Newark; Wilmington (Delaware); and Troy (New York).

Most of the camp meeting preachers came from the cities of New York; Brooklyn; Philadelphia; Baltimore; Washington; Troy, New York; Camden, Newark, and Jersey City, New Jersey.¹⁵

Speakers occasionally came also from England and Canada. Six English clergymen preached a total of thirteen times, while five Canadians delivered one sermon each. One man, the Reverend R. H. Bleby, appeared in 1875 and in 1877 while stationed in Nassau, British West Indies, and in 1881 he came from London. Except for the Reverend Mr. Bleby and the Reverend J. Jackson Wray, of

¹⁴ These figures represent the total number of appearances for each denomination. In some cases, the same person preached more than once, but each appearance was counted separately.

All the speakers from foreign lands were Methodist.

¹⁵ The extreme mobility of the Methodist clergy should be taken into account in interpreting this tabulation. Nearly all Methodist ministers were shifted from year to year about the territory of their annual conference, or from conference to conference. Some of the speakers who made several appearances actually represented different cities at various times. Considering the large number of preachers who delivered only one or two sermons, however, this information seems to be fairly reliable.
London, all the foreign clergymen spoke after 1892.\footnote{16}

Ocean Grove, being the largest and probably the best known camp meeting resort, attracted the lion's share of Methodist bishops. Of the thirty of these dignitaries elected between 1872 and 1904, the following sixteen preached at least one camp meeting sermon:\footnote{17}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Simpson</td>
<td>1872, 1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William L. Harris</td>
<td>1878, 1879, 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph S. Foster</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward G. Andrews</td>
<td>1882, 1885, 1887, 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse T. Peck</td>
<td>1877, 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John F. Hurst</td>
<td>1886, 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James N. Fitzgerald</td>
<td>1888, 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John P. Newman</td>
<td>1889, 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus D. Foss</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel A. Goodsell</td>
<td>1890, 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac W. Joyce</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John M. Walden</td>
<td>1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William F. Mahlalieu</td>
<td>1895, 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bowman</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles H. Fowler</td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John W. Hamilton</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After 1879, it became customary to invite the bishop who had presided over the meeting of the New Jersey conference during the preceding year to preach the opening sermon of the camp.\footnote{18} The

\footnote{16}{These men probably did not come to America just to preach at Ocean Grove. In view of the many camp meetings in the land, it is likely that they worked their way around a circuit.}

\footnote{17}{Bishops also spoke frequently at the Sunday services throughout the summer. William Taylor, who was elected Bishop of Africa in 1884, spoke during the camp meeting of that year.}

\footnote{18}{The Ocean Grove Record, August 24, 1895.
custom seems to have been carried out, except for the years 1894 and 1896. In the former year, no bishop was able to attend the meetings, while in the latter year, the Reverend James M. Buckley, editor of *The Christian Advocate* (New York) opened the series, and a bishop preached on each of two Sundays of the camp meeting, which had just been extended over two weekends. From this time on, the bishops were reserved for Sundays.19

Officials from other religious groups also preached:

- Bishop Campbell, African M.E. 1874
- Bishop Grant, African M.E. 1899
- Bishop Alpheus Wilson, M.E. South 1891, 1896 (twice)
- Bishop Carman, M.E. Canada 1892
- Bishop Dubbs, United Evangelical 1899
- Bishop Breyfogel, Evangelical 1900

Prominent Methodist educators also were among those who delivered camp meeting sermons. A partial list of these is given below:

- Cyrus D. Foss, President,
  Wesleyan University,
  Middletown, Connecticut 1878

- Charles H. Payne, President,
  Ohio Wesleyan University 1880, 1882

- Charles M. Sims, Chancellor,
  Syracuse University 1882, 1893

- S. L. Bowman, President,
  DePauw University 1898

- George E. Reed, President,
  Dickinson College 1892, 1895, 1898

19Some of these bishops were from other denominations.
Evangelism was always a strong force at Ocean Grove. Many revivalists came there to rest up from the labors of the winter and to plan their campaigns for the coming year. While not all of them were invited to preach, many of the better-known were given the opportunity. One writer, speaking about revivalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century, made this comment:

Alfred Cookman and John S. Inskip were chief among a score of young Methodist evangelists devoted to the theme of entire sanctification. The group included the colorful William Taylor, fresh from seven years of pioneer street preaching in California (ca. 1860). Such men made America revival conscious, preparing the way for the evangelistic giants of a later day, Dwight L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey and J. Wilbur Chapman.20

Of these, all but Moody and Torrey preached at the camp meeting, and Cookman and Inskip were charter members of the Ocean Grove Association. While Cookman preached only in 1871, before his early death, Inskip was heard at seven sessions between 1871 and 1883. William Taylor preached twice in 1877, and once each in 1882 and 1884. J. Wilbur Chapman, of Philadelphia, preached at all three services on the second Monday of the campaign of 1897.

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Two other well-known evangelists of the time also preached. These were the famous Gypsy Rodney Smith,\textsuperscript{21} of England, and B. Fay Mills.\textsuperscript{22} The former appeared both in 1892 and in 1894; and the latter conducted three services during one day in 1894. Dozens of lesser-known evangelists preached, and many more labored in the after-meetings and gave public prayers.

\textbf{A Selected Sample of Camp Meeting Preachers}

In 1892, \textit{The New York Daily Tribune} reported that: "Among the speakers . . . [at Ocean Grove] are many of the world's greatest pulpit orators and lecturers."\textsuperscript{23} An indication of the calibre of public speaking talent available at the camp meeting can be gained by considering a selected few of those who appeared. Of course, all of the prominent names cannot be included in a study of this length; neither can the lesser-known preachers who occupied a brief period of prominence, but who did not achieve wide recognition as pulpit orators. Because of the difficulty of ranking so many famous ministers, those considered are discussed alphabetically.

Benjamin M. Adams, of the New York East Conference, spent most of his pastorate in New York City and in nearby Connecticut.


\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., pp. 260–264.

\textsuperscript{23}August 27, 1892.
In the number of camp meeting sermons preached at Ocean Grove, he was second only to Thomas Hanlon. From 1873 until 1900, he delivered thirteen, two of these coming in 1875. A charter member of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association, he was also affiliated with the Chautauqua assembly, where for many years he conducted the "devotional hour" throughout the summer. Every year, however, he managed to return to Ocean Grove in time for the camp meeting. He did not preach during the periods from 1884 to 1899 and 1894 and 1899, but he attended them and assisted in the services in some way.

S. L. Bowman divided his career between active pastorates and university teaching. Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Dickinson College, head of the department of theology at Indiana Asbury College, where he organized a school of theology, and professor of theology and languages at Drew Theological Seminary, he was known as one of the leading religious educators of his time. Professor Bowman, who should not be confused with Bishop Thomas Bowman, preached in the years 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1888. His approach to camp meeting preaching can be seen from the following observation by The Daily Journal:

At Ocean Grove where an occasional flood tide of revivalism is conceded to be refreshing, a large portion of the audience crave the highest

24 The Asbury Park Journal, September 6, 1898.

intellectual pablum. This they will receive hereafter to their heart’s content, for such celebrities as McGregor, Tiffany, Bowman and Cleveland are on the bulletin.26

Frank M. Bristol was widely known in Methodist circles. Having held pulpits in Chicago; Evanston, Illinois; and Washington, D.C., he became pastor for President McKinley. A strong scholar and a prolific writer on Shakespeare, biography and history as well as religion, he was also recognized as an authority on gems, paintings, autographs, stamps and rare books.27 Dr. Bristol was well known as a popular lecturer, and delivered one of the evening lectures at the Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology in 1898. He was described as "a regular old timer" after his sermon of 1894, when he moved the audience to shouts and tears.28 This sermon of 1894 was his only one at the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting, but it drew special praise from The Ocean Grove Record:

Decidedly the greatest sermon many visitors to Ocean Grove ever heard in their lives, so they seemed eager to assert, was that preached by a gentleman of winning countenance, graceful movement and extraordinary dramatic force, Dr. Frank M. Bristol, a Methodist pastor from Evanston, Ill. Under the medium stature, he nevertheless proved himself to be a giant on the rostrum — a master of the line of sacred eloquence. Dr. Bristol's discourse took the line characteristic of "the last days" referred to in Acts 2:17. Many a fine description of pentecostal power has been founded

26 August 24, 1888.
McGregor, Tiffany and Cleveland were from large metropolitan pulpits, while Bowman was from the universities.


28 The Asbury Park Journal, August 31, 1894.
on this passage, but a finer [one] we never listened to than this never-to-be-forgotten day and hour brought us. The effect was grand. Preachers wiped their starting tears and shouted aloud, and the people, thrilled with the blending touches of poetic imagery, and heart stirring pathos, fairly hung on the words of the interesting stranger...29

Dr. Bristol was elected a bishop in 1908.

Another man who was not unknown to the Ocean Grove platform was Dr. James M. Buckley. An effective public speaker from early youth, he had begun his speaking career by stumping for John C. Fremont in the election of 1856. Later, as an ordained Methodist minister, he edited The Christian Advocate (New York) for thirty-two years, "during which time the paper became one of the best known religious journals in the country."30 Dr. Buckley was the author of a textbook on public speaking.31 This volume, based upon several years of lectures before theological seminaries and law schools,32 is a scholarly work, rich with references to British and American orators. Although more than five thousand copies of the book were printed, it has largely escaped the attention of modern scholars.33 Buckley preached only one camp meeting sermon prior to 1900 (1896)

29 September 1, 1894.


31 James M. Buckley, Extemporaneous Oratory for Professional and Amateur Speakers (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1898).

32 Ibid., p. vi.

but he had spoken often at Ocean Grove on other occasions, and particularly at the Summer School of Theology.

In 1924, *The Christian Century* sent out a ballot form and asked its constituency to name the twenty-five outstanding preachers in the American pulpit. As a result, 21,343 ministers cast their ballots and 1,146 names were voted for. Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Disciples ministers cast the majority of votes.34

The top twenty-five ministers from this poll were listed alphabetically, and among them are found the names of S. Parke Cadman and Russell H. Conwell.35 Both of these prominent preachers delivered camp meeting sermons at Ocean Grove, before and after the turn of the twentieth century.

Dr. Cadman entered the Methodist ministry in 1890, after having arrived in this country from England, and three years later, launched his successful career as a lecturer and platform speaker. During this first decade of his ministry, he ran an extensive program of prayer meetings, lectures, debates and concerts at his church, the Methodist Temple, New York City. During his career, "great audiences assembled to hear the popular lectures he gave frequently throughout the country."36 Cadman became the first of the great radio preachers, beginning in 1923. By the time of his death, in 1936, few would dispute the claim that he

35Ibid.
was the greatest figure in the American pulpit. In 1894, when he preached his first camp meeting sermon at the Ocean Grove camp meeting, he was only in the second year of his preaching career.

The Ocean Grove Record, more prophetically than it perhaps realized, reported: "Had the people generally known who Rev. S. P. Cadman was, and his manner of preaching the gospel, there would not have been many vacant seats in the Auditorium." By his next camp meeting sermon in 1898, the same newspaper was calling him: "One of the most notable and eloquent preachers of the metropolitan pulpit," and reporting that: "The Auditorium was again well filled. Indeed, many sat in the aisles around the front of the platform." Cadman spoke often at Ocean Grove during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Russell H. Conwell, well known for his lecture "Acres of Diamonds," through which he popularized the "gospel of wealth," preached at the meetings of 1892 and 1896. In addition, he was also a popular lecturer and a member of the faculty of the Summer School of Theology. As pastor of the Grace Baptist Church, Philadelphia, he ministered to the largest Protestant church

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37 Ibid.
38 September 1, 1894.
39 The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1896. The size of the audience undoubtedly was influenced by the fact that this was Camp Meeting Sunday.
in America. He was also the founder of Temple University, Philadelphia. In his 1892 sermon, Conwell greatly impressed the people with his ability of oral reading, as well as at extemporaneous speaking. Concerning his 1896 effort, the Reverend Thomas Hanlon, experienced camp meeting preacher, wrote:

Long before the hour for preaching every seat in the great new auditorium was filled. . . . Dr. Conwell's original way of putting things is one element of his popularity. He is very graphic in description; his thoughts are quick and bright, and often startling; his scathing rebukes of sin in the various stations of modern life and the necessity for immediate repentance . . . were given with such vivacity, such appeals to conscience and such pressure upon the will that the people will not soon forget his masterly address.

Conwell's popularity was indicated further in another article:

"The Auditorium was crowded, for another man of rare genius and popularity was present to preach, and remembering his consummate ability in a lecture recently delivered in the Summer School of Theology everybody wanted to hear him."

Two brothers, named Dixon, also appeared. The first was Thomas Dixon, Jr., who spoke in 1889. A lecturer and author, as well as a Baptist minister, "He was a very strong, earnest and popular preacher, and before the close of his ministry acquired

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41 The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1892.
43 The Ocean Grove Times-Record, September 5, 1896.
the reputation of attracting larger congregations than any other Protestant minister in the country. He left the profession in 1899, and for four years he spent most of his time on the lecture platform. Thomas Dixon was later known for his fiction writing, being the author of half a dozen religious novels, among which was The Leopard's Spots, (1902), considered by some to be the sequel to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. His invitation to preach came as the result of one of his lectures before the meeting of the National Temperance Society in Ocean Grove, where he was "engaged on the spot" by President Stokes.

The second brother, Albert C. Dixon, carried the fight of the fundamentalists against the inroads of modernism in religion. In 1890, the report about him was: "Much curiosity has been awakened to hear . . . Dr. A. C. Dixon, of the Baptist Church, Baltimore, who is a brother to Rev. Thomas Dixon, of New York, the great temperance orator, who has spoken twice and preached one of the camp meeting sermons of last year on the Auditorium platform." The Asbury Park Press reported during the next season:

The preacher was a man well known to Ocean Grove audiences, both as a preacher and a temperance lecturer. Rev. A. C. Dixon, D.D., now pastor of the Hanson Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn, former pastor of the Hanover Baptist Church in Baltimore, was a pastor of the Hanover Baptist Church.
where he outgrew his house of worship and had a great sheet iron tabernacle built to accommodate the people.48

In describing Dixon's third camp meeting sermon, delivered the following year, The Asbury Park Journal reported that "the young giant who is attacking modern infidelity" drew a capacity crowd on the afternoon of the second day.49 Speaking and writing against modernism and agnosticism such as that of Robert Ingersoll, Dixon went on, in 1909, to become the editor of the first five volumes of The Fundamentals, the series of books which seem to have struck the first organized blow against the changing theology, and which gave a name to the resistance movement.

Between 1858 and 1864, Cyrus D. Foss was "pastor of six of the most prominent churches in the cities of New York and Brooklyn." From 1875 until 1880, he was president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, and in that year he was elevated to bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church.50 He preached camp meeting sermons at Ocean Grove both as a college president and as a bishop (1876 and 1891.)

The "grand champion" of Ocean Grove camp meeting preachers was the Reverend Thomas Hanlon,51 who preached at every session

48August 22, 1891.
49August 27, 1892.
50National Cyclopaedia, 9:431.
51Thomas Hanlon legally changed his name to Thomas O'Hanlon in 1896. See Minutes, New Jersey Conference, 1896, p. 19.
from 1873 to 1900, except that of 1876, a total of twenty-seven times. He also appeared many times at other camp meetings throughout the East. Hanlon was known prominently as an educator, being for more than thirty years the principal of the Methodist seminary at Pennington, New Jersey. Volunteering for the Monday morning, or "washday" assignment, he carried out that duty from 1885 until the end of the century. Monday morning had been considered the worst of the entire series by the preachers, because attendance and religious enthusiasm fell off sharply at that service, after the great crowds and day-long excitement of the Sabbath. Although Dr. Hanlon did not attract overflow crowds, such as those which had been present the day before, his annual sermon was eagerly awaited by a large congregation. He was unpredictable and often acid-tongued toward the institutions of the day, and also on occasion, toward the press. In effect, he was an evangelistic showman, and probably the only preacher on the grounds who could draw a fairly large audience on Monday morning.

For many years Hanlon conducted a large Bible class as a part of the weekly Sunday School at Ocean Grove. Featured in the class was a question box which stimulated lively controversy among the visiting ministry and laymen, and often drew sharp, but entertaining replies from the leader. About two thousand persons habitually attended the class.
Poindexter S. Henson:

... was prominent as a lecturer, and, in the West, where he was best known, no lecture course was considered complete without him. At Chautauqua assemblies his services were in great demand, and he never failed to draw a large audience. His style was easy and conversational in character, and he possessed a fine sense of humor, but ... he never in the pulpit used it for its own sake, but as the vehicle for a message of the profoundest import.  

The Reverend Henson, occupant of Baptist pulpits in Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston, was a mainstay at the mother Chautauqua, and also appeared as a popular lecturer for the Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology in 1897. His camp meeting sermons were delivered in 1879 and 1881, while he was from Philadelphia, and in 1885 and 1886, while he was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Chicago.

John S. Inskip was probably the most devoted apostle of the doctrine of Christian holiness. One of the founders, and first president of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, the organization which conducted the many so-called "national camp meetings," he seems to have been the greatest evangelist of the mid-eighteenth century. Up until the time of his death, in 1884, he had presided at forty-eight of the fifty-two camp meetings held in various parts of the country by the National Camp Meeting Association, as well as having conducted many city revivals. His evangelistic activities were world-wide, carrying him as far away as India and Australia.  

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52 *National Cyclopaedia*, 16:85.

Association, Inskip preached seven camp meeting sermons at that resort between 1871 and 1883.

George K. Norris, long an active minister and eventually professor of practical theology in the Boston School of Oratory, was especially interested in the Sunday School Assembly and in the Summer School of Theology. Dr. Norris' case illustrates well that not all the important speaking at Ocean Grove was done at the camp meeting. By 1897, he had spoken seventy times but only three of these appearances had been for camp meeting sermons. He preached only in 1871, 1878 and 1881, but his influence upon the oratory at the New Jersey resort continued at least until the end of the century.

One of the first professional "machine" revivalists, B. Fay Mills began his career in 1866, and for a decade held revival campaigns in nearly every American city. In that time, "he addressed probably five million people and made two hundred thousand converts." At the height of his popularity as an evangelist, in 1894, he preached all three sermons in one day at the camp meeting. Two years later, he was scheduled to repeat this accomplishment, but his appearance was cancelled because of public reaction and outcry. By this time, Mills had begun to turn away from a narrow, orthodox conception and had looked toward free

54 *The Philadelphia Methodist*, August 14, 1897.
thinking in religion. Publishing material offensive to the Methodists, he no longer held the esteem of many of them. The charges against him were summarized by the editor of The Philadelphia Methodist:

Mr. Mills has suspended for the time being the preaching of such fundamental doctrines as repentance of sin and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and is devoting himself to the social, business and political regeneration of society. He would therefore be out of place at a camp meeting where the cardinal doctrines of the Bible are preached to lead non-Christian men and women to immediate choice of a Christian life.56

Mills was the only preacher ever publicly withdrawn from the schedule of preaching at the camp meeting services.

Bishop Matthew Simpson was "one of the outstanding figures of the American public platform in the Civil War and in the post-Civil War period. . . . Friend of Lincoln, Grant and Hayes, he was prominent in the affairs of both church and state. . . . Unlike his predecessors in the episcopacy, he turned to the lecture platform."57 Bishop Simpson delivered the funeral oration for Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois, upon the personal request of Mrs. Lincoln.58 Like most of the other Methodist bishops, Simpson travelled widely and preached at numerous camp meetings throughout the country.

56September 5, 1896.


58Ibid.
Still another of the "giant" Methodists was Charles N. Sims, chancellor of Syracuse University for the twelve years, 1881 to 1893. His camp meeting sermons at Ocean Grove were preached in 1882 and 1893. According to The Dictionary of American Biography, Chancellor Sims was "credited with saving Syracuse University from indebtedness."59

In considering Sims as a camp meeting speaker, another facet of the institution is revealed. Mecca for hundreds of thousands of persons every summer, the camp meeting was a "natural" situation for powerful speakers to seek aid in behalf of their religious and charitable enterprises. Many special offerings were made at Ocean Grove for various causes.

The importance of the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage as a public speaker needs little explanation. This Brooklyn pastor had a world-wide reputation as a preacher and lecturer, and for many years his sermons were taken down in shorthand every week and published in syndicated newspapers all over the land. Great crowds came to see as well as to hear him everywhere, and when he spoke at Ocean Grove in 1891 and 1896, he drew audiences as large as Theodore Roosevelt and President William McKinley were to draw in 1899. Talmage was often hard pressed to sustain his reputation as a great preacher because so many of his sermons had been published in the newspapers. Thus, when he appeared at Ocean Grove the second

59 17:185.
time, and announced a sermon topic which the people recognized as
a "warmed-over" sermon which they had previously read, a perceptible
reaction rippled through the audience. The effort, however,
was enthusiastically received.

George Lansing Taylor of New York and Connecticut, preached
at seven consecutive camp meetings from 1678 to 1684. Widely known
as a poet as well as a preacher, he travelled the "camp meeting
circuit" extensively. Writing from Ocean Grove in 1689, he revealed
the extent of his summer preaching activities: "I have this year
preached my camp meeting sermon No. 103, besides many addresses
not registered as sermons. That fact involves a good many camp
meetings scattered through a ministry of nearly thirty years." William Taylor was described in 1677 in these terms:

This man of renown \textit{sic} is better known to the
present generation by his revival and missionary work
in Australia, India and Kaffirland in Africa, where
thousands have been led to Christ under his incisive
preaching. It is nearly 30 years since, as an
adventurer he left his Maryland pastorate, and
commenced a wonderfully fruitful ministry among
the gold hunters in California.

His adventures in the streets of San Francisco,
if written, would sound stranger than fiction . . .

Rough hewn in appearance and speech, and uneducated, in the formal
sense, William Taylor was famous for his tireless evangelistic
efforts. The first world-wide missionary of American Methodism,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[60] The \textit{Ocean Grove Times-Record}, September 5, 1896.
\item[61] The \textit{Christian Advocate} (New York), September 26, 1889.
\end{footnotes}
he was made Bishop of Africa in 1884. When Taylor returned occasionally to gather funds for his missionary enterprises, one of his favorite haunts was the "camp meeting circuit." Like others "with a cause" he found an outlet to the American masses through the camp meeting platform. The Bishop had been admirably equipped by years of outdoor oratory to reach camp meeting audiences. His speech personality was described in these terms:

His herculean labors in each of the four quarters of the globe have lifted him out of the pale of rhetorical comparison. His preaching is more for immediate results than any oratorical standards in "excellency in speech or man's wisdom," and we doubt whether he spends an hour anywhere talking about God and salvation that the word is not made quick and powerful.63

Taylor was the master of the powerful, but not of the literary sermon. Huge crowds turned out to hear him during the four sermons he preached at Ocean Grove — 1877 (twice) 1882 and 1883 once each year.

What has been given above is merely an indication of some of the personalities which the camp meeting congregation could anticipate hearing. Many who appeared during the culminating campaign of the season also spoke at other occasions throughout the summer, and still others came to Ocean Grove to deliver lectures or sermons, but were not present during the later services. In the aggregate, the entire summer program prompted such comments as the following: "Nowhere on the American continent,

63 The Ocean Grove Record, September 6, 1884.
in the year . . . 1895, has there been a more various display of
oratory than at the world-famous religious summer resort on the
New Jersey coast of the Atlantic.\footnote{Zion's Herald, as quoted in The Ocean Grove Record, August 12, 1895.}

\textbf{Methods of Delivery}

A major problem for speakers was the selection of a mode of delivery. At Ocean Grove, manuscript, extemporaneous (with and without notes) and memorized discourses were all heard. Although the extemporaneous method seems to have been prevalent, manuscript speaking was surprisingly frequent, and seems to have been common at most vacation camp meetings.

Some persons probably used manuscripts because of the basic nature of the speaking situation, for at this resort they often faced larger, more critical audiences than they had ever addressed before. In addition, the large number of preachers, many of them famous, who sat on the platform behind the speaker, and who gathered to discuss the sermon after the service, could strike fear into the heart of even an experienced man, causing him to rely upon the printed page. The fact that a selection committee from a well-paying metropolitan church might be assaying his efforts, could also have prompted him to read his sermon in order to insure a high degree of stylistic excellence. The following lamentation, printed by \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, indicates that manuscript

\footnote{Zion's Herald, as quoted in The Ocean Grove Record, August 12, 1895.}
delivery was fairly common:

What shall we do? Some of the very men whom we expect to preach in "demonstration of the spirit," have the effrontery to stand up before our congregation and read from a time-planned manuscript what they think is a splendid discourse, but proves to be in nine cases out of ten a "wet blanket" on the interests of the meeting. It is not only a waste of time to allow these men to read their sermons here, but an insult to the common sense of the age and of Ocean Grove especially. Had we the power, we should relegate every pulpit reader, if a Methodist, back to the probationary period, and keep him there until he should learn to preach the gospel. This oratorical display of reading pieces, when we expect preaching at Ocean Grove is a farce played out, and we suggest, if it can't be cured, neither should it be endured. Let the people refuse to be bored in any such manner, and fancy sermonic readers will be more likely to take the hint and stay away.65

Contemporary Criticisms

The impression that keen critics are behind him and all around him is one of the most trying ordeals a stranger has to pass through in facing an auditorium congregation and the trepidation is not unfrequently fatal to that entire self-mastery and poise which makes the effort pass muster.66

These words seem to describe accurately the critical attitude of many who attended the preaching services. Because some thirty sermons could be compared within a short time, and because many preachers, ardent camp meeting followers, and Ocean Grove residents looked upon the sermons somewhat as entertainment and somewhat as technical displays of homiletic skill, the preachers of the main

65August 23, 1884.
sermons often looked as much to criticism of their efforts as they did, perhaps, to the religious results of their sermons. Preachers new to Ocean Grove, and especially any preacher who spoke for a number of years in succession, were particularly exposed to critical evaluation. For example, a comment concerning W. H. Milburn, blind, and for many years chaplain of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States, was: "Though his sermon was interesting and at times stirring, it in no manner approached his great effort of last year . . . ."67 The Reverend Duncan McGregor, of Brooklyn, who preached six sermons in the seven years, 1883-1889, drew this comment from The Ocean Grove Record: "On one account he is more closely criticised than other preachers officiating this season. The critics do not perceive any special necessity for his having a call every year, while a hundred men remain unnoticed."68 In the same year, it was observed: "Dr. Duncan McGregor, who discoursed in the morning, is a gentleman of magnificent presence and rhetorical accomplishment; but he has preached too frequently at Ocean Grove to maintain a matchless reputation."69

In both the Old and the New Auditorium at Ocean Grove, a "preachers' room" was built behind the platform. After every

67The Asbury Park Press, August 29, 1899.
68August 31, 1889.
69The Asbury Park Journal, August 31, 1889.
sermon, many of the clergymen who had sat behind the speaker
"retired . . . to the rear of the auditorium to discuss the
merits and demerits of the sermon." It was in these gatherings
that some of the harshest evaluation was expressed.

George K. Morris, veteran Ocean Grove preacher, and later
professor in the Boston School of Oratory, wrote an article for
his church magazine, in 1885, which revealed the pattern of
criticism at camp meetings:

Judging of sermons is . . . a most difficult art.
Preachers are not necessarily good judges of sermons.
Notice their opposite decisions at camp meetings.
The same sermons will be declared both the best and
the poorest productions by different clerical listeners.
No two have the same standard of judgement. One
clerical critic at Ocean Grove has become notorious
for his unfavorable judgements of even the best
efforts of the most celebrated preachers. His
principle is to condemn a sermon in which he can
detect a flaw. He is miserable until he finds the
defect — when his face brightens. If there are
several, he is positively happy.

The critical comment about the sermons at Ocean Grove which
appeared most often in the press was that they were too long. The
camp meeting situation was inspiring to those chosen few who were
invited to preach, and often a speaker would prolong his sermon
under this stimulus.

The ever critical Reverend William Swindells, editor of The
Philadelphia Methodist, surprisingly defended the practice:

70 The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1898. This seems to
have been an established practice.

71 The Tabernacle Magazine, I (September, 1885), 2.
A report says in regard to the sermons preached during the closing days of the camp, that they were generally good, but almost all of them too long, ranging from an hour to an hour and three quarters in length, and often leaving but little time for prayer meeting or revival services.

But this is a great camp meeting, and these are great occasions. Brethren must be excused if in their desire to preach great sermons they have drawn them out to a great length; for say what you will, a great sermon, like almost every other great thing that man produces, must have the element of time as well as strength taken into account.\(^2\)

This observation, however, reveals an inconsistency in the philosophy of the "camp meeting idea" as it was advocated by many, including Mr. Swindells, for over-time sermons cut greatly into the time and energies of those who regarded the camp meeting as an agency for the salvation of souls. If the time for exhortation and direct invitation were cut down, or eliminated, the "one soul" that was always sought at every service, would not have the opportunity for conversion.

Two years later, however, his point of view had changed:

These sermons \ldots with barely an exception, were of a high order, some of them, indeed, being most extraordinary productions, finely prepared and grandly delivered.

Some of them, however, were largely neutralized in their effectiveness by their great length. As a rule, a sermon must be much above the ordinary grade to hold an audience from an hour to an hour and a half, particularly in the evening, after people have been wearied, almost exhausted by the excitements of the day. The trouble at Ocean Grove seems to be, particularly with the young men, that being engaged

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\(^2\)September 1, 1881.
some weeks beforehand, they naturally prepare very elaborate discourses, the best they are capable of, and largely memorize them. And so, when they come to deliver them, they must needs go through their programme, no matter how varied or unpropitious the circumstances.73

Taking into consideration the intent of the public services, the optimum length of a sermon probably should not have been more than one hour, and a sermon of forty to fifty minutes would have been preferable in order that the after-meeting could have been conducted efficiently.

The Camp Meeting Circuit

Ocean Grove had no monopoly upon the best speakers of the day, even though it probably attracted more of them than any other place except the mother Chautauqua. It has been seen in an earlier chapter that more than one hundred vacation camp meetings, many of which had summer-long programs, were in operation during the last third of the nineteenth century. No attempt was made in this study to establish whether a definite pattern of visitation from place to place existed for the better known speakers, but the many references in the religious press of the period imply that something closely resembling a circuit might have existed. The names of many of the same speakers who came to Ocean Grove were also observed in the press accounts of other camp meetings and religious resorts throughout the East and also as far away as Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, and West

73The Philadelphia Methodist, September 1, 1883.
Virginia. The following excerpts from the religious press give some perspective upon what should probably be called "the camp meeting circuit:"

Rev. William Taylor, after visiting the Chester and Emory Grove Camp-Meetings visited the Sea Cliff camp meeting, preaching at the latter Tuesday and Wednesday afternoons. On Thursday and Friday he was at the Newark Conference Camp Meeting at Denville and on Saturday left for West Virginia, where he proposed to spend Sunday and Monday at the Wheeling Camp-Meeting. Thence he would go on Tuesday to Silver Lake Camp-Meeting, by way of Pittsburgh and Buffalo. His plan is to leave Silver Lake on Saturday, spend Sunday and Monday at the camp-meeting near Lockhaven, Pa., and Wednesday at the Wyoming Camp-Meeting.74

Bishop Mallalieu preached to an immense audience in Ocean Grove on Sunday last prior to the camp meeting. He is spending the brief interval between his specifically Episcopal labors in a "camp-meeting" tour and has already preached at most of the great tent gatherings from Chicago to Martha's Vineyard.75

Bishop Mallalieu, who last week preached at Chester Heights, Simpson Grove and Landisville Camp Meetings, is now attending three or four similar meetings in Ohio and Indiana. He will, however, return again to this vicinity, preaching at Ocean City, Joanna Heights, Pitman Grove and Woodlawn Camp Meetings.76

Dr. Cleveland, whom we expected to find expressively weary after last Sunday morning's sermon, maintained his usual cheerful composure, and came out to hear Col. Bain in the evening. He had to hurry away on Monday to fill engagements at Mountain Lake Park

74 The Christian Advocate (New York), August 19, 1875.
75 The Christian Advocate (New York), August 6, 1885.
76 The Philadelphia Methodist, August 7, 1886.
Assembly \([\text{Fa}_n]\) thence to Juniata Valley Camp-Meeting
\([\text{Fa}_n]\) and afterwards to Martha's Vineyard, where he
is expected to preach on Sunday, August 14.\(^77\)

One preacher at Ocean Grove, probably an exception, stated
in 1891: "This is my 29th camp meeting this summer. I have spent
my vacations for the past twenty-six years in this work."\(^78\)

The itinerant system of preaching was not without its
disadvantages. Despite the fact that rail transportation was
relatively fast and efficient in many areas of the country by
the 1870's and 1880's, travel schedules were subject to delay.
In 1877, for instance, the Reverend A. D. Jack, Presbyterian,
of Hazelton, Pennsylvania, was delayed. The description of the
consequences appeared in the following article:

As the hour for morning preaching drew near,
and it was found that the minister expected for
the service had not arrived or even been heard
from, the President, as might be expected, was
once more thrown upon his resources to meet a
possible disappointment.

The brother announced was an utter stranger
to nearly everyone on the ground. On the represen-
tation that he was an able and brilliant divine,
he had been written to and had promised to be on
hand. In the very nick of time he arrived, the
bell gave out its cheering assurance "all right"
and then followed a sermon . . . . \(^79\)

Summary

Because of its fortunate location by the sea, within easy

\(^77\)The Ocean Grove Record, August 6, 1887.
\(^78\)The Asbury Park Press, August 28, 1891.
\(^79\)The Philadelphian and Ocean Grove Record, September 1, 1877.
reach of the cities of the eastern seaboard, Ocean Grove had little difficulty in attracting many of the foremost preachers of the day.

Until his death, in 1897, President Ellwood H. Stokes had sole charge of the camp meeting services, including the selection of preachers. He never announced the programs in advance, except for those of the opening of the camp meeting, and for Sundays. He released the names of the speakers selected for the other meetings one day in advance, and then posted notices on bulletin boards and published them in local newspapers.

The advantages of this system were that last-minute changes could be made without public misunderstanding; that the impression could be built up that the person selected to preach would always be a competent one; and that a number of unknown preachers could be brought to the platform and "seeded in" among the more famous.

Stokes' system of withholding announcements also had disadvantages. First, it caused him much personal inconvenience, because he was constantly annoyed by questions about the program; second, it created the impression for some people that the program was, at times, hastily put together.

Stokes maintained a geographical balance in selecting preachers, drawing from many conference territories, and from most of the cities of the eastern seaboard. The speakers selected were not paid for their services, but were reimbursed for their expenses, and given lodging.
When the president died, his program for the year was carried out, but after that, a Devotional Committee, consisting of three members of the association, plus the new president, took full charge. More reliance was then put upon finding ministers already upon the grounds, but the practice of bringing preachers from metropolitan pulpits was continued. Stricter adherence to the doctrine of Christian holiness and to a fundamental interpretation of the scriptures was required of the speakers.

Certain generalizations about those who spoke can be made. 763 sermons were known to have been delivered during the period from 1870 to 1900. Most of these men appeared one or two times, but a few spoke more often. Thomas Hanlon delivered camp meeting sermons twenty-seven times.

The Methodist managers called upon clergymen from their own denomination freely, but each year, after 1875 they admitted at least one person from another denomination. Preachers were drawn from all sections of the country, and a few from foreign lands, but most of them resided in the cities of the Middle Atlantic states, and in five conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Sixteen Methodist bishops and six bishops from other denominations delivered camp meeting sermons, as did prominent educators and evangelists. A selected sample of the preachers who appeared was included.

The selection of a mode of delivery was a problem for the speakers. Manuscript speaking was surprisingly frequent, but it
was frowned upon. Extemporaneous, with and without notes, as well as memorised delivery were used to a greater extent than reading.

The Ocean Grove audience was highly critical of the sermons, as were the preachers on the stand, and occasionally the dread of criticism caused a preacher to fail. The speaker who was thought to have appeared too often was judged especially harshly. The main criticism of the sermons in the religious press was that many of them were too long. Some preachers spoke for an hour and forty minutes, but should have limited themselves to about fifty minutes in order to have achieved maximum effectiveness.

Detailed evidence was not gathered to support the point, but it appears as if a circuit for preachers existed among many vacation camp meeting resorts.
CHAPTER VI

THE SERMONS

A complete rhetorical analysis is not undertaken in this study because of the lack of full sermon texts. However, the ideas the camp meeting preachers advanced survive, and this inquiry considers the invention upon which their sermons were based. Specifically, the chapter deals with the basic premises and the lines of argument which appeared in a series of discourses concerning three broad purposes: entire sanctification, salvation, and inspiration. Because of the esoteric nature of Christian holiness, and because of the relatively small number of sermons found to be devoted to that theme, common arguments, rather than argumentative lines are described in the first of the above categories.

The material used in the analysis consists primarily of synopses of 137 sermons, ranging from 700 to 3,000 words. No synopsis shorter than this was considered to have included sufficient detail to trace the argumentative structure. Of these, twenty-five were devoted to entire sanctification, forty-two to salvation, and seventy to inspiration.

The reporters who followed camp meetings were usually preachers themselves, who attended many such gatherings during
the summer, and who seem to have been careful to present the basic structure of the sermons which they wrote about. Some of these persons took shorthand notes, and others consulted the actual speakers' notes to check the veracity of their accounts.¹

A subsidiary analysis of shorter materials, ranging down to about 300 words, was made to determine whether the ratio of speech purposes, as discovered in the 137 sermons selected for detailed consideration would be consistent if extended over a greater number of cases. Of the 576 synopses² considered in this manner, including those upon which this chapter is based, forty-five were found to have been devoted to entire sanctification,³ 231 to salvation, and 301 to general religious inspiration.

Entire Sanctification

1. Background Information

Entire sanctification was the aim of the Christian holiness movement. Based on Charles G. Finney's interpretation of Wesley's

¹The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1867.

²Nearly all of the sermons preached from 1875 to 1900, and about half of those delivered in 1872, 1873, 1878, and 1880 were located. Only one description for 1870, and none for 1871, 1873, and 1879 were found.

³From the tenor of early accounts, which do not include synopses, it appears that greater emphasis was put upon this doctrine during the first five years of the Ocean Grove camp meeting than the number cited here indicates. Thus, more than forty-five sermons were probably devoted to holiness, but, in no way, could they have exceeded the number which aimed at either of the other two purposes.
Plain Account of Christian Perfection, holiness, which originated about 1836, became "one of the nineteenth century's most persistent and socially significant themes."\textsuperscript{4} Considered controversial in some circles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was, nevertheless, strongly supported by small, but dedicated, groups that could not be dissuaded from preaching its doctrines. It became a recurring topic at camp meetings after the Civil War, the period in which the holiness movement reached its zenith. By 1894, interest had begun to decline,\textsuperscript{5} but meetings devoted to the subject continued well into the twentieth century at Ocean Grove.

The advocates of the doctrine regarded entire sanctification as the phenomenon which admitted one into the highest and purest form of Christianity. The experience, which was subsequent to salvation, came only after prolonged, often agonized, seeking by the individual, who could do nothing but pray and wait for it. Conversion cleansed the sinner of the actual deeds which he had committed; entire sanctification cleansed him of the effects of Adam's original sin, and as a result he then became perfect in the eyes of God. "Imperfect judgment, the passion and frailties common to men, temptation, and the possibility of falling into


sin would remain real. But the bent of the soul would now be
toward God's will, not away from it."

When God admitted him into the "blessed state" the believer
then strived to bring others into the fold. Not even all the
ministers were considered to have had the experience, thus there
was room for the "improvement" of nearly everyone, except the
chosen few.

Camp meetings were ideal spots for the promotion of holiness,
for long, continued attention to religion was possible, even
fashionable, at these gatherings. There the seeker might also
have the company of fellow-seekers, as well as the guidance of
those already "perfect."

Most of the close adherents to Christian perfection were
women. "Such women conducted week-day . . . meetings, wrote
articles and sentimental poetry for The Guide to Christian
Holiness," devoured biographies of early Methodist female saints,
and spent summers at camp meetings supervising children's work
and leading their more timid sisters into the emancipated blessing." 7
A core of enthusiastic male ministers, however, participated in
the services and advanced the cause.

With the attachment of the Christian holiness movement to
the camp meeting, after the Civil War, some preachers began to

6Smith, op. cit., p. 115.
7Ibid., p. 144.
dispute the traditional idea that the latter should exist primarily to save sinners; they insisted, instead, that it should be devoted to entire sanctification. The Reverend Ruliff V. Lawrence, charter member of the Ocean Grove Association, who died during the very early years of the enterprise, was one of these militant advocates. He, like his fellows, wrote widely upon the subject and advocated that camp meetings should be devoted exclusively to the advancement of the "second blessing." His writings, published posthumously by his son in 1873, summarize clearly the position of those who sought sanctification as the aim of the sermons delivered at these gatherings. Ellwood H. Stokes, George Hughes, and Adam Wallace, all charter members also of the association, assisted with the preparation of the book, and in a sense their cooperation implied endorsement of Lawrence's views. Lawrence wrote:

In the early days of Methodism but few save the unconverted attended Camp Meetings. Then the "fathers" of whose power in the groves we hear so much did wisely in preaching directly to the ungodly.

But now the case is greatly altered, as the following case will show:

Last summer it was my privilege to attend for a part of a day a celebrated Conference Camp Meeting not far from New York City. It was one of the great days of the Camp Meeting. An eloquent, powerful and popular minister who worthily wears a "D.D." to his name had preached a fine sermon, directed to the unconverted. He was followed by another minister in the old-fashioned style of exhortation, in which sinners were urged to flee the wrath to come at once.

Urgent appeals were made to them to come to the altar. None came. The preacher, disappointed, said perhaps the most present were already Christians. He asked all that were members of the Church to rise
to their feet. As nearly as I could judge, all the people save about fifty within a circle one hundred feet in diameter, on one side of which the pulpit stood, rose to their feet, revealing the fact that only about three per cent of the congregation within fair hearing distance were out of the Church. There were, I thought, about fifteen hundred souls within that circle. Hence about fourteen hundred and fifty were in the Church.

What to practical men was the duty of that hour? Why, obviously, to bring that crowd of professors nearer to God. An expert eye could see that the majority of them were not over-spiritual. But neither the sermon nor the exhortation was calculated to do that. They were aimed at non-professors. The fourteen hundred and fifty said, "This matter of repentance don't concern us; we have already gone over that ground" — at least they seemed to say it, for they sat listlessly, looked about, pared their finger-nails or slept, though the preacher of the hour was a favorite with them. It was not in the human nature to listen attentively to a sermon that belonged to somebody else. And the few unconverted around them, seeing the mass unmoved, by contagion were unmoved too. So with a grand sermon and stirring exhortation, it was a dull time, because sermon and exhortation were out of time.

But suppose the preacher had, without any ifs and ends, preached to that fourteen hundred professors a direct, earnest sermon on the subject of entire holiness, urging them to an immediate and entire consecration, reminding those who had not then the witness of the spirit that they should do their first works over again, and showing those who had it that they might, through Jesus' blood and by the aid of the Holy Ghost, be fully saved at once.

Some of them — many of them — would have been moved to seek sanctifying grace, and all would have been interested. Then the unconverted around them, seeing the mass interested and moved, would have been interested and moved, too. Besides that, the most of the believers that night that might have been sanctified would have gone to work on the spot, and kept at work after they reached home, and then the "consequential" blessings of the hour would have been great.
Let us not suppose, because our zealous "fathers" cut a wide swath preaching to sinners, when ninety-six per cent of their congregation were non-professors, that we can do the same with the same kind of sermons, when ninety-six per cent of our Camp Meeting congregation within fair hearing distance are Church members. Skill in adaptation is one of the laws of success.

Let us plan for success. Let us remember that at any of our great Camp Meetings the majority of seats within good hearing distance are filled by church-members, and that most of the non-professors are far off, on the outside of the circle; and hence if we would do much execution, it must be with those that are near. The unconverted should have an occasional sermon, but we can get more souls converted by first stirring the Church up to fervor and activity. Move professors and they will move others. And indeed the truth that will move believers commonly most affects sinners.8

Another veteran preacher, George Lansing Taylor, took the opposite view, not rejecting sanctification as an aim of the camp meeting, but calling for salvation as the aim of the preaching. Taylor said:

... Camp-meeting preaching should be predominantly and intensely evangelistic. I do not mean by this that it should be mere exhortation, or that the merely fragmentary, scrappy, singing, catchy thing which goes, in most cases, for evangelistic "labor" should be a model. Far from it. ... What I mean is preaching, mighty preaching, if it can be had, intellectually, oratorically, every way, but above all, spiritually; and that preaching not directed to the end of apologetics, to the defense of Christianity, to the pummelling (and so advertising!) of the last new and noisy form of infidelity; not soaring, rhetorical spread-eaglem, to the astounding of the

simple amazement of the rustics; and not devoted to unnecessary and abstruse discussions of recondite doctrines, however true and interesting, if not of present urgency and usefulness. But I would have all available talent, all necessary learning, all the blessed unction of the Spirit concentrated on preaching, not in a speculative but in a practical way: the great doctrines of practical and evangelistic theology, such as sin and its guilt, consequences, penalty, etc.: atonement, its necessity, nature, extent, obligations, motives, etc.; repentance, its meaning, its indispensability; faith, saving faith, not mystified, but explained and enforced; justification, regeneration, the witness of the Spirit, sin in believers, growth in grace, consecration, sanctification, perfect love, appeals to the unconverted and backsliders, encouragement to the weak and troubled, incitements to fruitful work for God, and to entry upon the vast inheritance of grace. All this I would have, and have it red-hot, white-hot, incandescent, as the great staple substance of camp meeting preaching.  

Neither of these views was entirely in keeping with the type of preaching actually heard at Ocean Grove. To have clung to either aim, to the exclusion of all others, would have defeated the function of the camp meeting as a religious force. Since sanctification came only after long seeking on the part of the individual, large public meetings were not conducive to its promotion. The smaller side-meetings held throughout the day and devoted exclusively to holiness gave ample attention and opportunity for those who wished to seek and to advance the idea of "the second blessing." Because the doctrine was controversial within the Methodist Episcopal Church, a heavy emphasis upon sanctification would have limited severely

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9 The Christian Advocate (New York), September 26, 1889.
10 Sweet, op. cit., p. 341.
the broad program of preaching that President Stokes apparently sought to bring to the services.

On the other hand, to have required every sermon to be dedicated to evangelism would also have been unrealistic. The audience analysis offered by the Reverend Ruliff V. Lawrence was substantially correct, and especially so at Ocean Grove, where the majority of the congregation was church members already. Sooner or later, an over-emphasis upon salvation probably would have resulted in a loss of interest on the part of the already-saved, who would have found little to do but to nod in assent as the preachers tried hard to convert a small percentage of those present. Candidates for redemption of sin were not present in sufficient numbers to justify only evangelistic sermons. The position taken by the Reverend Taylor, then, was more tenable, for he would include a gesture, at least, toward sanctification in his evangelism, thus including both goals.

The need for a broader approach became apparent as early as 1877, when the ministers upon the ground held a meeting to decide the kind of sermons to be preached. They passed a resolution that "the order of daily services, as suggested by the President, include morning sermons on the higher forms of Christian life, and evening efforts to reach, awaken, and save sinners."\(^{11}\) This decision meant that the morning and afternoon programs would deal with

\(^{11}\)The Philadelphian, August 13, 1877.
both holiness and with inspirational topics, while salvation was to be reserved for night. Although this formula was not adhered to throughout the entire period, it established the precedent for agreement that no one type of discourse would dominate the camp meeting. What actually happened at Ocean Grove was that the inspirational, or stimulative, themes greatly outnumbered either the holiness or the evangelistic topics.

Holiness preaching often raised additional controversy among some of the ministers. The following report of the Ocean Grove services in the early days is illustrative of the conflict which it aroused over scriptural interpretation:

The meeting this year was regarded as a very good one — in fact, a success. A great deal of attention was given to the doctrine of holiness, and, as usual on such occasions, there was more or less a clashing of views. On Wednesday . . . the brethren who preached both morning and afternoon took occasion to make very definite thrusts at the wearers of jewelry, artificial flowers, and at other practices which are now common enough in the Church. These assaults were regarded by some at least as uncalled for and improper, in view of the vastly greater interests that might well press upon the preacher and his hearers. On Thursday morning Rev. Dr. True preached a charming sermon, in which he took occasion to say that these caustical questions about dress, jewelry, etc., had better be left to the judgment of the individual, as no one in these matters of taste should decide for another. He said that the apostle did not mean to say, as those who read the Greek knew, that women should not adorn themselves, but, knowing that they would adorn themselves, he exhorted them first of all to attend to their spiritual adornment. He said he liked a little jewelry, and wore some himself, which was the gift of his children, and did not regard it as inimical to his spiritual welfare. Very decided
opposition was shown to this teaching by those who maintained the other view of the subject.12

From its beginning, Ocean Grove was closely identified with the holiness movement. Throughout the entire summer, every year, special meetings were held daily for the cause, first in a tent, and after 1878 in the small, wooden Janes Tabernacle adjacent to the auditorium.13

In the first few years of the Ocean Grove camp meeting, entire sanctification was probably a dominant theme, but, unfortunately, few sermon synopses have survived from those days. The fact is clear, however, that there was disagreement over the amount of attention then given to the subject. Additionally, it is clear that the advocates of "the second blessing" were militant in insisting on the right to preach their beliefs. John S. Inskip, of Philadelphia, who may be regarded as one of the leaders in the articulation of holiness with the vacation camp meeting, was especially insistent, as can be seen from the following:

Brother Inskip . . . gave one of his earnest and inimitable talks in which among other things he dealt with those who were disgusted at having the theme of holiness held up so prominently in all the meetings. He explained that the originators of the Ocean Grove enterprise had that interest especially in view in providing this resort, and fitted up a camp ground especially for the promotion of holiness, special

12 *The Christian Advocate* (New York), August 18, 1870.

mention of, and provision for which was made in the constitution, so it was a holiness camp meeting by law.\textsuperscript{14}

Over the entire period studied, however, the sermons devoted exclusively to entire sanctification were much fewer than those dedicated to other themes. Slightly less than ten per cent, in fact, were concerned with holiness. In most years after 1873 it appears that only two or three discourses were centered around that idea. The many side-meetings in which the doctrine was discussed nevertheless kept it in the public mind.

The effect of the continuing emphasis on holiness was apparent after the death of President Stokes. A tightening-up then occurred in affairs generally at the resort. Entertainments offered during the summer season were much more closely supervised, and the newly-appointed Devotional Committee attempted to exercise some control over the content of the camp meeting sermons. Vice President Aaron E. Ballard wrote a statement of philosophy for the newspapers in 1899, which largely reaffirmed the attitude of the association:

\begin{quote}
The baptism of the spirit in the promotion of holiness is the great and primary object of the meeting in camp. It is not to be understood as ignoring the usual exercises of the churches in which revival services for special conversion of sinners is the prominent feature; but to be accepted as a preparation for those exercises in their churches at home after Christians were spiritually baptized here, and in consequence
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14} The Methodist Home Journal, August 23, 1873.
filled with the power of God by which such work as conversion of sinners could be made more effective.

From this it will easily be seen that the camp meeting exercises will naturally be more in the line of special sanctification than any other character. The meeting held on the Sabbath under the special charge of Mr. Alday all the year around is named "Holiness Meeting."

In this meeting, which is called the thermometer by which the spiritual heat of the souls of the people is determined, holiness is both taught and its experiences delivered. The preaching at the camp meeting is expected to illustrate the doctrine, and the other exercises to develop and enlarge its experience.\(^{15}\)

The effect of this reaction, nevertheless, is not readily apparent in the reports and synopses of the sermons themselves, for in 1898, only one; and in 1899 and 1900, but two discourses were devoted to holiness. From 1898, however, sanctification meetings were substituted for the afternoon preaching services, and at these gatherings, the Association was able to accomplish at least a part of its reaffirmed objective.

2. Basic Premises

Five basic premises were used to advance the ideas of holiness in the sermons at the Ocean Grove camp meeting. The first of these was that Christianity exists on three levels, the highest of which is the state of sinless perfection. Of the sermons studied, all agreed that the first step is pardon from

\(^{15}\) The Ocean Grove Record, August 16, 1899.
Another statement to this effect was printed later in the year: Thirtieth Annual Report, pp. 29-30.
past sins, or salvation; next comes regeneration, which compels the believer to apply religious principles to his daily life; and, as the final achievement, the state of holiness is entered into by way of the experience of entire sanctification.

A second major premise for the preaching of the doctrine was that entire sanctification is vitally necessary if one is to achieve the highest form of Christianity. This experience was regarded as "the all-essential pre-requisite to the holy state, which is a state of positive goodness," and because God's kingdom is a kingdom of holiness, sanctification is fundamental to the gaining of special favors in heaven. Additionally, the preachers maintained that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is necessary for one to get a correct conception of Christ. Bishop John P. Newman, in fact, extended this premise to include sanctification as a positive pre-requisite for heaven, but other preachers do not seem to have joined in this assumption.

A third basic tenet was concerned with the phenomenon of entire sanctification itself. Nineteen of the twenty-five

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16 Benjamin Pomeroy, preached August 21, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.


18 John Handley, preached August 23, 1894. The Ocean Grove Record, September 1, 1894.

19 Preached August 20, 1889. The Ocean Grove Record, August 24, 1889.
discourses on holiness studied maintained that sanctification comes as a direct, physically-felt, emotional experience which is a manifestation of an actual visitation, or fiery baptism, of the Holy Ghost upon the individual, and is patterned after the experience at Pentecost, as described in the first chapter of The Acts of the Apostles. The believer has to seek the baptism actively, but he can do little else than plead for it, until God sees fit to bring it upon him. D. F. Brooks, of Troy, New York, summed up the belief in these words: "Consecration is what I do. Sanctification is what God, by the Holy Spirit, does. The resultant cleansing is a completed act, and subsequent growth is continuous and forever."20

Five sermons, however, seem to have made no mention of a fiery baptism from the Holy Ghost.21 Two preachers, Bishop John P. Newman, and Benjamin Pomeroy, of Troy, New York, argued that an actual experience is not necessary for one to achieve holiness. The former maintained that there are two roads to the highest state, one being by way of a gradual development or growth, and the other being the result of a pentecostal experience, either pathway

20 Preached August 25, 1898. The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1898.

21 John S. Inskip, probably the most militant prophet of the holiness movement, until his death in 1884, preached seven camp meeting sermons at Ocean Grove, all of which revolved around the theme of holiness. Although he did not mention a direct baptism in his sermon of 1883, he did so in 1882. It is highly probable that he also spoke of this experience in other years.
being acceptable. The latter believed that holiness is more of an attainment than a result of being annointed.

The fourth premise was that holiness involves many esoteric aspects, for the joys of Christian perfection can only be known by those who have achieved that august state. Inskip, for instance, preached that these joys are of the type the world knows little about. The Holy Ghost, the preachers believed, furnishes the will with mastery over the body, thus quickening the conscience of the wholly sanctified person. The Spirit also was reputed to be able to "send surprising revelations and visions with surprising and constant frequency and clearness," to the perfect Christian. Most esoteric of all was the matter of being able to recognize when one had received the fiery baptism. Because there was little outward manifestation, other than shouts of joy, to indicate when one had finally been baptized, only those who had actually gone through the experience were considered to know what the phenomenon was like. Various preachers described their own experiences, but perhaps the simplest, if least revealing, of the explanations was offered by

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22 Newman, op. cit.
23 Pomeroy, op. cit.
24 Inskip, op. cit.
26 Ibid.
Bishop Abraham Grant, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who said: "If you have received the Holy Ghost, you know it!"27

A fifth basic premise was that entire sanctification concerns primarily those who have already been saved from their sins, and who have become regenerated, or "born again" because they have applied the law of God to their daily living. Thus the sermons were, for the most part, aimed and addressed to the believer, rather than to the unconverted. In fact, Thomas Hanlon,28 of Pennington, New Jersey, D. F. Brooks,29 and Benjamin M. Adams,30 of Brooklyn, New York, stated this idea at the outset of their talks. Adams, for instance, put the matter to his audience bluntly: "If there are any here who do not believe in the Holy Ghost, for our sakes and yours, you had better get up and go out."31

3. Arguments Advanced

Sermons devoted to holiness had essentially similar lines of argument, for the doctrine was unique, and those who advanced

27Preached August 23, 1899. The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1899.

28Preached August 24, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, September 4, 1875.

29Preached August 25, 1898. The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1898.

30Preached August 30, 1892. The Asbury Park Journal, September 3, 1892.

31Ibid.
It were a small, closely-knit group who shared the same outlook on almost all of its teachings. The lack of variation in argumentative development, it must be admitted, may be because of the relatively small number of sermons in this category located. The several common arguments, however, which appear throughout many of these discourses reveal the methods which those preachers used in expounding their cause. A detailed outline of a typical sermon which embodies most of these ideas is included at the end of this section of the discussion.

Six major arguments were offered in support of sanctification: first, that it cleanses one from sin; second, that it tends to keep him from sinning again; third, that it inspires fearlessness; fourth, that it endows the sanctified with special powers; fifth, that scholarly knowledge is not necessary for a complete understanding of God; and sixth, that the people are lax in seeking perfection.

The first argument supporting Christian holiness was that the fiery baptism, or the anointing, had a superior cleansing power which resulted in a purity of the heart obtainable nowhere else. Bishop Grant, A.M.E., suggested that this was like a fire that burned into the innermost recesses of the mind and soul, searing out the effects of past sin. Captain R. Kelso Carter, of Baltimore, also using this approach, said: "Ask God, dear brethren, to burn you out. You are not asked to burn out your

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32 Grant, op. cit.
own evil desires, and wicked propensities. Let God do it. He
will make thorough work. He is a searcher. He knows how to
reach all the dark corners where sin is concealed. W. L. S.
Murray added the analogy that the fiery baptism would provide
the heat to purify just as will the fire which separates gold
from the alloy. Ichabod Simmons, of Danbury, Connecticut,
George Hughes, of New Jersey, and B. Fay Mills, of Philadelphia,
also argued that the fire would sear the soul of the effects of
past sin and impurities, while D. F. Brooks maintained that it
involved a general cleansing. Bishop Grant added that: "The
Holy Spirit cleanses thought, speech, literature, and life."

A second argument supporting holiness dealt with sinlessness.
R. Kelso Carter told his hearers that, receiving sanctification,
they would henceforth be dead to sin, just as they would be more

33 Preached August 21, 1890. The Ocean Grove Record,
August 30, 1890.

34 Preached August 23, 1890. The Ocean Grove Record,
August 30, 1890.

35 Preached August 26, 1893. The Ocean Grove Record,
September 2, 1893.

36 Preached August 16, 1876. The Ocean Grove Record,
August 26, 1876.

37 Preached August 24, 1894. The Asbury Park Journal,
August 31, 1894.

38 Preached August 21, 1899. The Ocean Grove Record,
August 30, 1899.

39 Grant, op. cit.
fully alive to God. This death would not be to specific sins, but to sin itself, and since the body of transgressions is destroyed by the experience of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the sanctified simply were not to desire to serve evil at all. Three other preachers took this position. J. H. Hargis, of Philadelphia, in extolling God's power to send forth the Holy Spirit, argued that He could keep everybody from sin, implying that there was no limit to the number of persons who could be sanctified. Pomeroy and Murray took similar lines on the matter, defining the term sanctification as a separation from sin. Pomeroy said that the experience marked "the place where sin and soul part," and that it meant separation from sin to God, which put the perfect Christian apart from others. There could be no middle ground. Murray maintained that holiness was not deliverance from temptation or the possibility of sinning, but that it was a complete separation from profane and secular service. Thus the sanctified would not be interested in worldly things which might defile their purity. He also said: "We are to live with the filthy without defilement, with the vicious without vice, with the drunkards without drinking, with the profane

\[40\text{Preached August 27, 1891. The Ocean Grove Record, September 5, 1891.}\]

\[41\text{Preached August 26, 1890. The Ocean Grove Record, September 6, 1890.}\]

\[42\text{Pomeroy, op. cit.}\]
without profanity, with the hypocrites without hypocrisy, preserved blameless. 43

A third argument revolved around the concept that holiness produced a state of fearlessness in those who had been entirely sanctified. The primary fear, common to all religions throughout history, according to J. H. Hargis, is fear of God. He reveals Himself, however, to those who are wholly sanctified, and in loving Him in a way revealed through the fiery baptism, one also loves his fellowmen, and learns to fear neither. In perfect love, both of God and of man, then, "there is no room for fear." 44 R. H. Bleby, of Nassau, British West Indies, 45 and G. D. Watson, of Kentucky, 46 also alluded to this idea. Thomas Hanlon, who seemed nearly always to be trying to strike a balance between extremes, attempted to present a more moderate view of the idea that holiness produces complete fearlessness. He said:

No amount of religion will remove a man's natural temperament. Courage and timidity are of our parents, in the blood. . . . But the grace of God removes fear of death. It enables a man to give up his business, family, and so forth. He sees the providence of God in all things. This enables him to fling himself fearlessly into the arms of death. 47

43 Murray, op. cit.
44 Hargis, op. cit.
45 Preached August 23, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, August 28, 1875.
47 Hanlon, op. cit., 1875.
R. H. Bleby described another aspect of inspired fearlessness, which was "a holy boldness to speak and work for God."\(^{48}\) R. Kelso Carter, in paraphrasing the story of Pentecost, told his audience that holiness makes one fearless to speak the truth boldly, no matter where he is, and no matter how unpalatable it is to others. This sanctified fearlessness, he said, should be revealed "not with foolish words, but as the Spirit gives us utterance. The carnal mind cannot do this. . . . The Lord make us bold! You cannot do this unless you have had your Pentecost."\(^{49}\)

The belief that strong powers were conferred upon the entirely sanctified served as the fourth major argument used in sermons concerning holiness. The experience of sanctification, said Carter, compels disciples to witness for God. When you are baptized with the fire, "you begin to speak with another tongue, just so sure as you are filled." To this preacher, speaking "in another tongue" did not mean speaking in some incoherent manner, but it did mean that powers of expression not previously possessed would be conferred upon the perfect Christian, who would then use these abilities to save and to sanctify others. There was a compulsion to speak implied in this argument, for "they who are saved to the uttermost cannot keep still," he said.\(^{50}\) No man is

\(^{48}\)Bleby, op. cit.

\(^{49}\)Carter, 1890, op. cit.

\(^{50}\)Ibid.
ever at his best, charged Benjamin M. Adams, until he is under the full pressure of the Holy Ghost.\textsuperscript{51} Sanctification is the necessary preparation of man to go out and work for God, was the contention of another preacher.\textsuperscript{52} In fact, maintained John Handley, of Trenton, New Jersey, the baptism of the Holy Ghost is necessary to produce conviction, conversion, and to bring about salvation in others.\textsuperscript{53} These men were joined in this position by Carter\textsuperscript{54} and by Brooks\textsuperscript{55} who held the experience to be absolutely necessary in order to get the power to work effectively for the Lord.

W. H. Wardell, of New York, in discussing the power which comes after sanctification, called it the highest grade obtainable which made the believer mighty in his efforts for his creator.\textsuperscript{56}

As an illustration of the force allegedly given to the sanctified, George Hughes referred to the zealous members of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union, charging that: "This living fire, coming upon even the Christian women of the land has made

\textsuperscript{51}Adams, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{52}Hughes, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{53}Preached August 23, 1894. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, September 1, 1894.

\textsuperscript{54}Carter, 1890, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{55}Brooks, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{56}Wardell, \textit{op. cit.}
them mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds . . .

$\text{of iniquity}^7$\textsuperscript{57}

John S. Inskip expressed the fifth general argument for Christian perfection, saying that the knowledge of Christ, received through the Holy Ghost and constituting a matter of personal experience, provides a great illumination of the mind.

He continued:

This knowledge is above that which comes from science, or from history, or even the written gospel. . . . It is a revelation made to the soul of the true believer — made by the power of God. This knowledge will drive away all skeptical doubts from the mind and enable its possessor to act accordingly. If he can't understand all, he can understand enough to know Jesus; and to know Him is everything."\textsuperscript{58}

Mardell concurred with Inskip in maintaining that sanctification produces continuing flashes of insight into the spirit of God, bringing closer, if not complete, understanding of the Divinity.\textsuperscript{59}

Thomas Hanlon furthered the argument when he held that entire sanctification does not mean a complete knowledge of worldly things, or of all right and all wrong, but it does mean purity of motive. If one's knowledge of temporal things is short, he nevertheless can live a sanctified life.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{57} Hughes, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{58} Preached August 22, 1882. The \textit{Philadelphia Methodist}, August 24, 1882.

\textsuperscript{59} Wardell, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{60} Hanlon, \textit{op. cit.}
A sixth argument concerned not the doctrine of holiness, but was directed, rather, at getting people to seek "the blessing." Hanlon, in his sermon in 1875, told his audience that sanctification is definitely possible to attain if one is willing to seek it actively.\(^\text{61}\) He also attacked those who in reality did not possess it, primarily because of a mistaken belief that they had had the experience, and because of their failure to live a perfect life afterward.\(^\text{62}\) Ten years later, the same preacher berated those who had come to Ocean Grove year after year without having had a marked improvement in their religious experience.\(^\text{63}\) Appeals to the apathetic continued. R. Kelso Carter reminded his listeners that they had to pray and to seek actively,\(^\text{64}\) but Ichabod Simmons told a subsequent audience that there were far too many people who resisted God's wish that they seek a second blessing.\(^\text{65}\) B. Fay Mills, on the other hand, tried to actuate those who listened to him by charging that the reception of the Holy Ghost was the Christian's "glorious privilege" as well as his "solemn duty."\(^\text{66}\)

The ultimate answer, suggested E. M. Garnett, of London, England,

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\(^{61}\) Ibid.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) Preached August 24, 1885. *The Ocean Grove Record*, September 5, 1885.

\(^{64}\) Carter, 1890, *op. cit.*

\(^{65}\) Simmons, *op. cit.*

was that "the Twentieth Century Pentecost, about which so much has been said and written, may and must come, and ought to begin at Ocean Grove . . . ." This, of course, was the line taken also by the Ocean Grove Association, which conducted annually a marathon preparation prayer service, asking for an actual, physical visitation of the Holy Ghost upon the meetings to come.

Of all the sermon synopses considered, one stands out as the embodiment of most of the arguments of all of the preachers who discussed holiness. This was delivered by the Reverend Isaac Levy, Baptist, of New York City, in 1887. The following excerpt reveals the general areas of exposition and argument which he advanced.

The speaker's introduction established three points:

I. Repentance or conversion is not the whole thing of religion, but it is merely the beginning, which results in the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

II. The baptism of fire on the day of Pentecost assumed two distinct forms and produced two distinct effects:
   A. The forms were first, a miraculous endowment and secondly a spiritual endowment and power.
   B. The results were first, peculiar to the apostles, and secondly, available to all Christians.

III. This baptism is not to be confused with regeneration or conversion, but it is a distinct process of divine grace, belonging to a subsequent period of religious life.

67 Preached August 26, 1899. The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1899.
The body of the sermon included nine ideas to explain holiness:

I. Observe, first, that this baptism is supernatural, and consequently is not the outcome or result of works.

II. Secondly, this fiery baptism will wonderfully illuminate the mind.

III. Thirdly, this baptism will give the soul a constant sense of the indwelling of the Sanctifier.

IV. Fourthly, this fiery baptism gives great holiness.

V. Fifthly, this fiery baptism likewise inspires the believer with unremitting zeal in the service of Christ.

VI. Again, this baptism will enable Christians to speak in another tongue.

VII. Again, this baptism imparts joy — joy unspeakable and full of glory.

VIII. Again, this fiery baptism has a marvelous power to transform the human face.

IX. Lastly, this baptism is a conscious instantaneous experience.

The peroration "closed with an earnest appeal to all to come and get a clean heart." 68

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68Preached August 26, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.
Salvation

1. Basic Premises

From the beginning of the camp meeting as an institution, the idea of conversion of sinners had been prominent. This goal appeared in at least two sermons at Ocean Grove as early as 1872, but the preachers probably included it in their pulpit efforts from the start.

Five basic assumptions were common to all of the forty-five sermons studied which were devoted to salvation. The first of these is that the souls of men are immortal, and that the body is merely a temporary dwelling place for these spirits while they are on earth. No preacher appeared to question or to disagree with this premise, and each held it to be the primary reason for the acceptance of God's salvation, because he believed that upon the death of the physical body, the soul transcended the earth, to dwell either in heaven or in hell.

A second premise upon which all of the evangelistic preachers agreed, was the existence of sin, which was brought upon man through the agency of Satan, many believed because of the original fall of Adam and Eve. Sin exists in varying degrees, they maintained, but it permeates the earthly existence of man and, if unforgiven, leads to the destruction of the soul, or to its eternal punishment in hell.

All preachers at Ocean Grove, which was famous for its preservation of conservative, fundamental Christianity, believed in the infallibility of the Bible.
A third assumption involved atonement for sin. Each individual, the preachers thought, is liable for all of the sins and evil doings which he has committed in his lifetime, and in accordance with the ancient Hebraic concept of offering sacrifice to the Lord in atonement for these misdeeds, man still needs to make some reparation to Him. Rather than demanding a personal sacrificial offering from each person, they reasoned, God sent His own son, Jesus Christ, to the earth in human form and had Him crucified at Calvary in symbolic atonement for all the sins of mankind, past, present, and future. Thus, by accepting the salvation of Christ, the individual is, in effect, sending a substitute as an offering to the Heavenly Father.

A fourth premise which the preachers held was that salvation, through Christ, is available to every individual, regardless of his race, educational, social, or economic station in life. God does not discriminate, they believed, but takes all who sincerely desire to come to Him.

The fifth basic belief from which the ministers preached salvation was that acceptance of God's plan of relief for mankind requires a conscious, voluntary act of belief followed by repentance on the part of the sinner, who is subsequently converted to Christianity. Man has been endowed with the faculty of reason, according to this assumption, and he therefore must exercise his will in order to reach for the proferred salvation. The resultant
act is one of simple belief that God has forgiven past sins. Although God is pictured both as wrathful and as beneficent, His plan of redemption, the preachers maintained, is not forced upon the individual. It is possible, then, for one to reject it.

2. Lines of Argument

Although many of the sermons devoted to salvation used various common appeals, there seem to have been five basic lines of argument which can be classified. In addition, fourteen of the forty-five studied took individual lines, which could not be categorized.

a) Procrastination

Procrastination, or putting off complete acceptance of God, was the prevalent line found in the preaching of salvation, being the subject of fifteen sermons, and included as a subsidiary part of two others. The fact that so many preachers used this approach is not surprising in view of the attitudes and beliefs of the audiences which attended the camp meeting. Few persons openly flouted the church, or denied at least lip service to the acceptance of Christianity, as has been seen in an earlier chapter, but apparently everyone was not in the fold.

That one must be either for or against God was one line used against procrastination. In urging his audience to repent their sins, the Reverend Dr. King, of Port Edward, New York, told them that a great warfare between the forces of God and of the Devil is in progress. In this conflagration there is no middle
ground, and neutrality is impossible. A sharp line is drawn between those who are serving the Lord and those who are not, he said. People "who were brought up under Christian influences and who have not given allegiance to Jesus are ungrateful, and they stand in the way of sinners, who see them do the things that they should not do," he argued. Further, King maintained that their education and their good qualities will make hell especially terrible to them, since they know better than to have forsaken God. These persons should accept Christ fully, without delay, he reminded his listeners, because of the fact that "only almost saved is lost."

Another preacher also took the position that neutrality is impossible. Stating that the root of sin is human selfishness, G. Campbell Morgan, of Birmingham, England, said that this attitude must yield to a higher and divine motive in life. The individual must decide one way or the other, but he must move on. The preacher urged his listeners to take the side of Christ and salvation immediately, for a dividing time will soon come, when God's line of demarcation will be drawn between the wicked and the righteous. He challenged the people to take stock of where they stood, and to decide that night for eternity. "Nothing can keep you out of a blessing tonight but your own unwillingness to take your stand on the Lord's side," Morgan challenged, for now

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70Preached August 22, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.
is the time to do what you know is right. 71

Another method of overcoming neglect was to compare God's plan of salvation with an unanswered invitation. Three evangelistic discourses took this line. In 1877, A. D. Jack, of Hazelton, Pennsylvania, compared the gospel with a great feast, because it represents a time of joy, to which all men are called. He stated that God could do no more for the human race than to send His own son with a plan of redemption. Yet, he charged, "Men and women here are refusing to sit down at the feast of a king," and are putting off until a more convenient time the acceptance of His great invitation. 72 G. M. Colville, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, attacked the problem of procrastination with a reference to the conversion of Saul. Like him, "Many sinners disregard the offers of mercy and the invitations of grace, and they turn away to meet a future of discontent and utter despair," he said. God will never cast off a sincere penitent, or refuse to help a soul that cries out to Him for deliverance from sin, but there is a great peril from putting off our appeal, Colville continued. "The people at Ocean Grove who are quite familiar with these cheerful songs of salvation and these repeated calls of the Spirit, may so neglect the day of salvation as to make it


72 Preached August 22, 1877. The Philadelphian (The Ocean Grove Record), September 8, 1877.
difficult, if not impossible, that they will ever taste the joys of pardoned sin," he declared. Thousands, the preacher claimed, are drifting aimlessly at this very moment. If these do not repent, they shall perish, he warned. Continuing this line, Thomas Houston, the blind Presbyterian evangelist from Elizabeth, New Jersey, maintained that the invitation for salvation is universal and unlimited. God plays no favorites, he declared, and all are welcomed to come. There are three things that one can do in refusing the invitation, said Houston: first, he can make light of it; second, he can courteously decline to go; and third, he can object on account of preoccupation with the trivialities of the time. He then urged his listeners not to decline, but to ask those who had already accepted, and they would assure them that there was plenty of room for all in God's plan.

Still another approach to the overcoming of religious inertia was to appeal to those who professed salvation, but who, in reality, were not converted to Christianity. C. H. McAnney, of Princeton, New Jersey, stated bluntly that it is possible to be a church member and yet not to be a Christian. Those who have professed to have accepted Christ, but who have given only

73Preached August 27, 1885. The Ocean Grove Record, September 12, 1885.

74Preached August 27, 1898. The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1898.
lip service to His teachings should be especially fearful, this preacher said. The Lord's second coming seems to be at an uncertain time, but it is actually firmly fixed, he continued, and those who think that they have plenty of time to bring their religious affairs in order should be careful, for they might find the door shut and that they are too late. There is no future probationary period in the world to come, therefore, these people should come now and be sure that they are saved. J. R. Daniels, member of the Ocean Grove Association, also attacked "half way Christians." He maintained that the standard by which a great many professing Christians measure themselves is defective. When they apply the requirements of God's law to themselves, they find that they are not really converted, and then they should realize, said Daniels, that there is "handwriting on the wall" in regard to lukewarmness and indifference toward salvation. If they find that they are not saved, he went on, they must come to God immediately, or they will be lost. If they are sure that they are converted, they should check upon the religious state of their families and their neighbors, for there is a great deadness of spirit in the land, Daniels declared. Alluding to the great work which he said was being done at Ocean Grove in regard to salvation, the preacher concluded with an

75Preached August 18, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 19, 1886.
earnest appeal for those who were not absolutely sure that they
were saved to hear God's voice and to yield to it. 76

The remaining half of the preachers who spoke about
procrastination took individual lines of argument. George M.
Neal, of the New Jersey Conference, lamented that there was no
need to convince men that they should accept salvation, but that
they were not taking the final step toward redemption. 77 Benjamin
M. Adams, of Brooklyn, New York, sounded a warning that God
would pronounce a final "amen" to the sins of the neglectful,
from which there would be no appeal. 78 J. R. Westwood, of
Millville, New Jersey, charged that there is no second probation
upon which men can count, so they should not neglect to seek God
immediately. Madison Peters, 79 Presbyterian, of Philadelphia,
discussed "six cloaks for sin," giving typical answers that
procrastinators give to God's urgent message, but telling his
listeners that the only cloak to throw over their transgressions
was the blood-stained cloak of Christ. 80 C. H. Woolson, of

76 Preached August 26, 1893. The Ocean Grove Record,
September 2, 1893.

77 Preached August 21, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record,
August 25, 1875.

78 Preached August 26, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record,
September 4, 1875.

79 Preached August 24, 1886. The Daily Spray,
August 24, 1886.

80 Preached August 24, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record,
September 3, 1887.
Philadelphia, compared the experience of the Roman officer, Felix, with the attitude of the procrastinator, urging his hearers not to put off salvation as this soldier had done. Thomas L. Poulson, of Brooklyn, said that the pleading, persuasive voice of Christ would eventually cease, and that the ensuing voice would be terrible and awful. Therefore, he urged those who had been putting off their decision to heed the summons promptly. Isaac Naylor, of Yorkshire, England, told his audience that they could not save themselves, and that no amount of tears or prayer would redeem them if they put off their decision. In 1898, Bishop Edward Fitzgerald, then president of the Ocean Grove Association, said that God had given the birthrights of justification, regeneration, and sanctification to all His people, but that they were in danger of forfeiting them through neglect, indifference, carelessness, and desire for worldly things.

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82 Preached August 28, 1889. The Asbury Park Press, August 29, 1889.

83 Preached August 23, 1893. The Ocean Grove Record, September 2, 1893.

84 Preached August 21, 1898. The Ocean Grove Record, August 24, 1898.
b) Rewards of salvation

A second general line of argument for salvation was the idea of reward for accepting God's plan. Six sermons were found to be aimed in this direction, covering the basic recompenses of joy, hope, satisfaction, and the favor of God. Three of these sermons were devoted to the joys which come as the result of salvation. J. H. Lightbourn, of New York, told the congregation that the Christian never dies, but from the fighting church he is merely transferred to heaven. Life on earth is a probation, filled with tribulation, which is merely the means through which God prepares the Christian for his coming duties in the life beyond, he reported. God has adopted a plan of salvation for mankind, but it is up to the individual to accept it, said Lightbourn. Those who are saved enter into a blissful estate, for heaven is a great pleasure, and a land of continuing delights. The preacher concluded by reminding his hearers that there was no way to heaven except through the blood of Christ, and then he pleaded that they seek immediately to be saved in order that they might find their way there. R. S. Van Horn, of the Newark Conference, also spoke of the joys of Christianity. His approach, however, was that great joys could be had upon earth, as well as in heaven, for joy, he maintained, is an essential part of true religion. One who is saved, he went on, experiences spiritual

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85Preached August 25, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, September 4, 1875.
joy, or soul joy, which is distinguished from physical joy that may or may not co-exist with the spiritual. The source of this jubilation, he said, is the favor of God, who never fails to bring it, even in affliction and in tribulation. Christian joy, the preacher said, is perennial. It gives an abiding assurance of the genuineness of one's religion, and it crowds out the desire for the follies of the world. He concluded that one should never be satisfied with his religion unless it makes him happy, and, therefore, all should seek salvation for their own sakes, and for the sake of humanity. The third sermon revealing the delights of salvation was that of John W. Langley, of Philadelphia, in 1891. This preacher held that salvation was God's great secret, which baffles even the angels, but that the key is given to every man to unlock the mystery. Once this is accepted, he said, a sacred bond exists between God and the saved individual. Consequently, the wisdom brought about through the presence of Christ in the heart supports one in sickness and in bereavement, and the joys of heavenly communion with God contrast boldly with the Godless and worldly aims of those who have nothing but their wealth to lean upon, living or dying, he concluded.

Another reward for accepting salvation was satisfaction

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with one's personal life and with his religion, according to W. H. Boole, of New York. All earthly good is unsatisfactory, this preacher said. Christ offers ample provision to meet every aspiration of the soul, and this satisfying experience is available even without the complicated machinery employed in church organization, he maintained. To be at ease with himself, one must accept salvation as an experience which comes from within, and then he must grow until he is one with God; then he has a personal soul-satisfying religion.®

Two additional sermons were devoted to the idea that tangible results on earth, as well as in heaven, can be had through salvation. C. H. Fowler, then editor of The Christian Advocate (New York), put forth the proposition that "Godliness is profitable" in his sermon in 1876. Possibly thinking of the many lawyers and business men in the audience, he compared our trust in God to an investment. What we have on earth is only a loan from God, for which we are accountable, he suggested. God, therefore, has a first mortgage on us, with which He expects to be a hard creditor, said Fowler, but in addition, religion pays very real results on earth. First, he said, it pays in dollars and cents, to the individual and to the Christian nations who have to spend less on control of vice; second, Godliness pays in the fellowship it offers; third, it pays in this life because

®Preached August 22, 1886. The Ocean Grove Record, September 4, 1886.
God sends angels to guard and to guide us. As a final return of investment for a religious life, he concluded, man will find that salvation pays most of all in the life to come. Bishop John M. Walden also spoke of earthly as well as heavenly rewards. God discriminates in favor of them that love Him, and He has put this into the constitution of His moral government, said the bishop. It is unfortunate that all do not love God, but we must accept the divine order as it is, he went on. Thus the Lord builds His discrimination on character, recognizing that the great business in this life is to build this for eternity, Walden continued. All things, including the spiritual, the intellectual, the social, and the secular turn to the advantages of the Godly according to Bishop Walden, who also said that when man gains God's favor even the bitterest adversities are sweetened and sanctified. God intends all this for man, he concluded, and man merely has to step forward and take it.

c) Judgment and punishment

A third general line of argument concerning salvation involved the concept of judgment and punishment for unrepented sins. Three preachers devoted sermons to this kind of discourse. The first was P. S. Pardington, of Brooklyn, New York, who said

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89Preached August 18, 1876. The Ocean Grove Record, September 2, 1876.

90Preached August 22, 1893. The Ocean Grove Record, August 26, 1893.
that a bad act has an irrevocable character, for once a deed is done, it has an existence and history of its own and cannot be obliterated. No lapse of time can abrogate the power of a bad action. An act, good or bad, he continued, passes beyond the actor's control, and then it has the effect of controlling him. The first wrong step toward evil should be guarded against, he went on, for it has the power of reproduction, and therefore sin breeds additional sin. Constant familiarity with vice gradually dethrones the conscience, and the longer this continues, the worse it gets. The preacher then stated that sooner or later every man shall reap what he sows, and all old wrongs must be made right. Sin, Pardington maintained, will crush its victim, if allowed to continue. As he closed his sermon, he told his hearers that a time was given then and there to those whose influence has been harmful to repent. He urged their acceptance of salvation. At the camp meeting of the same year, Charles Pitman Masden, of New York, used a similar line, preaching that the character of God, as revealed in the Bible, stampe the character of sin, and gives it its evil nature. The law of God has infinite penalties, this speaker said, which must be paid by the sinner himself, or by his substitute. The cure for sin is the greatest problem in human thought, for all men ultimately wish for relief from God's punishment, he continued, and that

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91 Preached August 19, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 20, 1886.
cure is the blood of Jesus, in a figurative, not in a literal sense. The effects of this divine remedy, he concluded, are a cleansing from sin, in addition to a fellowship with God and with other Christians.  

Seven years later, in 1893, the theme of God's punishment appeared in a sermon by Leander W. Munhall, of Philadelphia, who said that the words of Christ, of Paul's epistles, and of the book of Revelations all attest to the inevitability of the final day of judgment. Everyone, great and small, must appear for this event, he said. The judgment is certain, searching, equitable, and final, leading to one of two results: the individual will be either blessed or cursed. "God never made hell for you," he told his audience. "You get there on your own motion by rejecting the grace that saves you freely and forever." He reminded them that God's punishment will be endless and awful, and that there is no predestination affecting the saved or lost which would imply that responsibility for one's fate rests with God. The individual himself, Munhall went on, may elect the verdict for himself, by taking or rejecting the mercy offered at the moment. "Seek the Lord while He may be found!" he challenged them.

92Preached August 25, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 26, 1886.

93Preached August 26, 1893. The Ocean Grove Record, September 2, 1893.
d) Salvation through faith

The concept of faith constituted the fourth line of argument for salvation, in which four sermons were offered. The perennial Thomas Hanlon, in 1886, began by saying that we can only know God as the Father through Christ. We cannot shut out of our minds the thought of what comes after death, whether we are a saint or a sinner, he went on, for we know that we all must die, and we know that fear of the unknown comes out of the grave. Knowing that we must face God on the day of judgment, we must find Him before that day to gain salvation. We cannot find Him in a scientific way, for He is a spirit and cannot be observed, Hanlon continued. Neither can the soul be seen. Our senses or our reasoning cannot bring us close to God. The only way is through salvation which comes as the result of faith. Our whole system of religion is founded, and shall be continued, through faith, he said, and one can never be satisfied until he has exercised his trust in seeking God. Bishop E. G. Andrews also preached on this topic, saying that faith in Christ is the voluntary act of a soul aware of its incapacities and of its destiny. Further, he said, it is that act and habit by which man ignores any other master, and trusts and acknowledges Jesus Christ to be his only hope for eternal life. Faith, which is a human and not a divine act, is the most sensible, intelligent, reasonable thing, and

94Preached August 23, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 24, 1886.
therefore everyone should believe in Christ, he continued. He admitted that it is mysterious how the unseen God lays His hand on us, awakens our faculties, and pours into our wills such great energy, but even if he cannot understand the divine will, man should know his duty, which consists merely in believing that Christ can save him. This cannot be done half way, the bishop concluded, and one should not wait for some great emotional experience to prove to him that he has faith in Christ, but he should put his trust in Him immediately.95

George E. Strowbridge, of New York, and Albert C. Dixon, the ardent fundamentalist, then of Brooklyn, used the same line of argument on the same day, in 1891. Strowbridge, who spoke at the morning service wove his sermon around the illustration of the woman whom Jesus healed. She set the example for those who seek salvation, he said, for she had a yearning desire for His spirit. She had faith in Him, and she approached Him as savior, in an understanding way. In genuine saving faith such as hers, Strowbridge concluded, there are three aspects: renunciation of the past; action on the part of the seeker; and profession of belief. All these things revolve around faith in Christ.96

Dixon, in the afternoon sermon, first established conversion as

95Preached August 23, 1887. The Asbury Park Press, August 24, 1887.

96Preached August 21, 1891. The Asbury Park Press, August 22, 1891.
necessary for entrance into heaven, and then he told the audience that the individual's part in salvation has nothing mysterious about it. One is saved through faith, he went on; in fact, everything worth saving is saved in this manner. Morality, religion, and penitence do not take the place of faith in God, and none of these can be substituted for regeneration, which comes only through faith. A change of feeling does not indicate a change of heart, he said, for there is no physical change involved. There is no other mechanism through which one can be saved other than faith, Dixon concluded.97

e) Argument by exposition

Three preachers took what might be termed an expository line of argument in their sermons on salvation. Similar in structure to many of the others, these discourses did not have recurring ideas, but proceeded from the establishment of a need for salvation to a step-by-step unfolding of God's plan. George E. Strowbridge used this approach in 1886, first stating that man is spiritually diseased, and naturally degenerate, because of the effect of the original sin of Adam. Since man abused the freedom which God at first furnished him, the preacher said, he has become subject to death as the punishment for his transgressions. Man degenerate as the race multiplies, and because they are so evil, reported Strowbridge, God is sorry that He made them. The fact that evil

97Preached August 21, 1891. The Asbury Park Press. August 22, 1891.
comes naturally to men and that it can be transmitted genetically, this speaker said, has been proven by history, by reason, and by science, which all teach that man is degenerate. There is, however, he went on, a remedy for this moral depravity. No amount of culture can furnish it, but the mysterious change which God can bring about in an individual through salvation and subsequent regeneration will turn him completely away from the contemptible world of sin. It is not necessary to remain in sin, the preacher concluded, but there is only one cure, and this must be sought through God. 98

Otis H. Tiffany, of New York, also used exposition as a form of argument when he reminded his audience that God has met fully all the obligations resting upon Him as the divine Father in relation to man, His creature, and His child. As a physical being, invested with noble attributes and possessed of a spiritual nature, inbreathed by the Holy Ghost, man was originally made emphatically very good. The New York minister continued, saying, that God had also provided for man as a depraved, and wicked fallen being, through offering a mighty savior and a salvation that met fully all the wants of his deposed nature. The Father had provided for the removal of man's moral disability, offering pardon and reinstatement in the divine family, and proferring an opportunity for the development of all of his powers which would lead to his supreme happiness and to his eternal salvation in heaven, Tiffany

98 Preached August 18, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 20, 1886.
said. In short, God having done all that was possible for man had left His creatures without the shadow of an excuse if they fail to realize the benefits He had provided. Under this system, the burden of acceptance was laid directly upon the individual.99

A. E. Richardson, of Camden, New Jersey, too, used an informative sequence to argue for the acceptance of salvation. This preacher began by saying that there is no impossible gulf this side of the grave that prevents one from entering into divine glory. The great central truth of all truths, he said, is that Christ was crucified for our sins. This great verity reveals to us the justice of God, and its inflexible law that all who sin must die; and unless Christ had died, we ourselves must have suffered the penalty of sin. Agreeing with this concept, the individual must do two things to become a Christian. First, he must submit to God, and secondly, he must accept Christ as his savior. God will save you from sin, said Richardson, through the act of simple faith on your part that He is able and willing to do so. "Accept and believe the gospel of Christ," he urged his audience.100

f) Miscellaneous lines of argument

Eleven sermons took individual lines of argument, which

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100Preached August 26, 1889. The Daily Spray, August 27, 1889.
cannot be classified. Each developed the same basic theme of salvation through belief in Christ, but no two of them were similar. Bishop Matthew Simpson, in 1872, declared that Christ was a mighty redeemer, battling in the realm of ideas for His people. He brings His salvation to mankind, but man must reach out to accept it.  

101 Robert Crook, of the New York East Conference, preached that God is a wonderful, a present, a willing, a complete, and an everlasting savior, who takes over the whole task of redemption if one accepts Him.  

102 Otis H. Tiffany maintained that because one cannot understand the process by which God works, he should not conclude that it does not work at all. The evidences of God's drawing power, Tiffany continued, are so patent that the time is coming when it will be felt in all nations.  

103 S. M. Vernon, of Philadelphia, told his hearers that Christ mediates between the inexorable and unchanging demands of the divine law, and human weakness. Faith in Him is essential, he said, to a clear comprehension of the nature of sin as being soul-destroying, and of the nature of Christianity as a life-giving principle that enables man to keep the law.  

104 James Moore, Presiding Elder of the

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102 Preached August 20, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.

103 Preached August 24, 1884. The Philadelphia Methodist, August 30, 1884.

104 Preached August 23, 1885. The Philadelphia Methodist, August 29, 1885.
New Brunswick, New Jersey, district, said that by our actions we write the nature of our character, which is all that we take into the eternal world. God's judgment will seal to us forever the fruit of our doings, therefore, we must immediately make a decision whether to serve Christ or not. Albert Mann, of Newark, maintained that the Bible casts out all forms of excuses for neglect of salvation, consequently, there is no excuse for sin. But, he continued, help is ready if it is requested, and, as promised in the Bible, God will redeem those who have destroyed themselves through voluntary sin. S. L. Beiler, of Brooklyn, preached that the mysteries all around us show us that there is a God, even though He is unseen. People think they do not need salvation until they die, he went on, but heaven and hell are not far off, and a decision must be made between them.

Five more preachers took miscellaneous lines of argument. Thomas Dixon, the author, of New York, challenged his audience by declaring that man's greatest danger is to rely upon his own strength. Man must admit his weakness consciously and come to God, but He cannot use one until self is taken out. Salvation cannot be

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achieved by man himself, Dixon concluded. An intricate, inductive line of argument for salvation was advanced by Thomas E. Terry, of Dover, Delaware, who reasoned that in all our investigations involving belief or disbelief in a subject that lies partly within and partly beyond our realm of comprehension, any system that is true as far as we can investigate it is entitled to our belief in its statements concerning matters that lie beyond our power to prove them true or false. Religion lies within this realm, for it is partly experimental and partly belief, and it has to do with a future life, so we have to accept it on faith. The truth, as it relates to these matters, can only be learned from the Bible, he continued, and that source teaches that life is continuous, and will be extended beyond earthly existence. Just as the facts and conditions of a future life are now an unexplained mystery, so the joys that await us in heaven are beyond comprehension. These ideas accepted, one must decide now between belief and doubt, he concluded.

Thomas L. Poulson, preached salvation sermons on two consecutive years, both of which took lines of argument that must be classified as miscellaneous. In 1893, he said that the human soul is of greater value than anything else in the world. It is

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109 Preached August 22, 1890. *The Ocean Grove Record*, August 30, 1890.
immortal, but it may be lost in this world by allowing satanic passion to usurp its possession. Whatever a man is in his mortal nature is entirely his own choice, but, concluded Poulson, what does it profit him if he gains the whole world and loses his soul?110 In the following year, this preacher lashed his audience for following the multitude to evil. Many who attend services in Christendom also follow the crowd to sin, but these will perish along with the rest, if they do not repent, he said.111

**Inspiration**

More than half of the sermons studied were devoted neither to entire sanctification nor to salvation, but ranged broadly over topics which can best be described as inspirational. Seventy-five of the synopses located fell within this category, indicating that many of the preachers must have realized that a wide area of religious doctrine was needed to satisfy the Ocean Grove audiences.

1. **Basic Premises**

One basic assumption was common among the speakers who advanced general stimulative themes. This was that there was a large segment of the congregations at the New Jersey resort which was composed of already professing Christians who did not need to be reminded excessively of salvation, or to be shown the virtues of seeking


holiness. Rather, these persons needed to be reassured in their religious beliefs, and to be prodded to apply them to their daily lives. Within this broad hypothesis existed five specific basic premises which became the foundation for certain lines of religious argument. The first of these was the belief that Christ is the central and dominant figure in Christianity, and that His position, function, character, and purpose in God's plan should be revealed to the people. This idea became the subject for thirteen sermons.

A second basic premise was that Christianity is the foremost religion. It offers the only answer to man's needs on earth, and the only key to a future life, therefore, the Christian Church will eventually conquer the world for God. Nine preachers devoted their arguments to this belief.

A third basic assumption was concerned with a reaffirmation of the faith of those who were already converted. In this area, the speakers assumed that man should be told from time to time that life, even for the Christian, is very hard, but that he must accept tribulation on earth in preparation for better things in heaven. As a subsidiary to this premise, some preachers also maintained that a periodic prodding is necessary in order to keep the Christian from wavering in his faith, and to stimulate him into a more active practice of his beliefs. Nine sermons originated from this assumption.

A fourth basic premise was that the believer has to be given instructions in the application of the duties which Christianity
imposes upon him in his daily living. These are not in the form of catechisms, but rather they should come as gentle prodding reminders that a Christian life also carries obligations. This outlook seems to have been behind twelve sermons.

Individual responsibility in working for the advancement of God's plan of salvation was a fifth basic premise from which some of the preachers argued. They maintained that personal salvation is not enough, but that each Christian has the additional duty of doing all he can to further the spread of the gospel, until it has reached the ends of the earth. Thirteen sermons utilized this approach.

2. Lines of Argument

a) Christ is dominant

Except for three minor categories, and a dozen sermons which cannot be classified, the inspirational sermons took lines of argument to support one of the basic premises mentioned above. Fifteen of these discourses concerned the figure of Christ. In 1885, L. R. Dunn, of Jersey City, said that out of the account of the transfiguration we see that Christ received divine recognition from God, who acknowledged Him there as His son. By this event, we also see, said the preacher, that Christ is equal to God, hence it is blasphemy to say that Christ was only a man. God's voice at the transfiguration commanded us to hear Jesus Christ, and, therefore, we should hear all that He says when He talks about hell, as well as when He talks about heaven. In this sense, God's son brings
a valid message of hope and salvation from sin, the speaker concluded. 112

Another sermon devoted to Christ was that of Bishop John F. Hurst, in 1886. The bishop told his audience that Christ was many-sided, in that He was human as well as divine. He came, the speaker said, to deliver the captive Judea, but from what enslavement does He deliver us? From the captivity of the body and of the mind, Hurst answered, for we shall be known in the great hereafter, and retain our identities in heaven where God will give us greater mental powers than we could dream of possessing here on earth. Jesus also delivers the soul from evil, if we are willing to let Him do it. He can also bring happiness and the joy of right living to the sinful man, the speaker continued, as well as offering him peace. He closed with a plea that those present should pray that others might be saved through Christ. 113

"Christ was the greatest living revolutionist the world has ever known," said John Handley, of New Brunswick, New Jersey. When He came, sin was considered to be a physical infirmity, existing from the beginning in matter. It was an irresistible impulse with no accountability on the part of its possessor

112 Preached August 20, 1885. The Philadelphia Methodist, August 29, 1885.

113 Preached August 18, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 19, 1886.
attached to it, and for which the gods were blamed, he went on. Christ reversed this situation, proving that sin originated in Satan, and that it contained a moral quality. Since it produced guilt, God made men accountable for it here and hereafter. Conversion was unknown before Christ's advent, continued Handley, and even the Jews did not understand it. Immortality, too, was but dimly felt, and therefore this concept was brought to light through Christ's gospel. At the beginning of the Christian era, the preacher said, there was no divine creed, for the Sinaitic law had become lost in its original intent because of obedience to the letter, rather than to the spirit of its demands. Christ redeemed the Decalogue and out of it, the preacher maintained, He enunciated first, the fatherhood of God, then the divine sonship of His creatures, and lastly, the brotherhood of man. By His authority, honor, deeds, and conscious superiority, Christ compelled Pontius Pilate to admit His divine kingship. Jesus will completely revolutionise the world, Handley concluded, by drawing all men to Him through spiritual conversion, and by the absorption of the kingdom of God. "What think ye of Christ?" the speaker challenged.\footnote{Preached August 24, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.}

S. M. Vernon, of Philadelphia, spoke of Christ as the center of all systems, who functions as Supreme Ruler as well as Divine Redeemer. Christ, he said, upholds law, and maintains government. He gave His life to vindicate the sacredness of God's law, which is
as eternal as the Lord himself, and in this process, He offered mediation and salvation for a lost race. Not only mankind, the preacher continued, but every living creature is brought in contact with Christ's love. Vernon also said that Christ is the head over all things in the church, and that He would continue as such despite "all temporizing deductions of so-called science." Christ is the greatest power in the universe today, and the benign influence of His truth is forever rolling onward, the preacher concluded. 115

George K. Morris, of Philadelphia, suggested that conversion, in addition to being a loving study of Jesus, sends men to heaven. Therefore, he said, look at the man Jesus Christ as a living illustration of human perfection, who was morally, mentally, and physically perfect. In discussing Christ as a pattern for man, Morris told his audience that they did not keep their minds and bodies fit, that they did not live right, and that they were sick too much. Christ was strong, and not namby-pamby, as many Christians are, therefore, He stands for hygiene and mental development. The study of His perfections, continued the preacher, will aid in forwarding God's purposes. This study will lead to further discoveries of God, and will promote Christlikeness in men. "When we outshine sin," he concluded, "we shall have become men." 116

115 Preached August 23, 1885. The Ocean Grove Record, September 5, 1885.

116 Preached August 20, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 21, 1886.
John E. Cookman, of New York, spoke about Christ as the pattern of purity, integrity, and charity. There is no human example, however noble, that we dare to emulate, for Christ must be our pattern. We know the power of His life, this preacher said, and of the glory of His resurrection. Let us abide forever, then, in the presence of that constantly beautiful character.

Unless Christianity can be made to improve everyday life, he went on, it has no claim to be called sacred. The law of pattern runs through all things, the preacher said. Everything was made according to a plan and man follows the highest one made. God sent Christ, therefore, to show what He desired humanity to be. We should ever be striving to realize the earthly counterpart of our heavenly pattern, charged Cookman. If we are to be His, we must die with Him. The highest life is begun by death, and Christ is the death pattern. He comes to die with us, and we are to rise with Him, for this pattern is the fulfilment of our highest hope, suggested Cookman.117

Another sermon centering around Christ was delivered by O. A. Brown, of New York. This speaker maintained that it was a part of the law of redemption that Christ should establish a kingdom, and Himself be king. Christ has a right to the kingdom, for He was born to the crown by human right; for He was a direct descendent of David; for He is the son of God; and because He owns it, having

117 Preached August 24, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 10, 1887.
bought it with His own blood, the preacher continued. Christ rules over the conscience of the world, over the intellect, and over the will of men. There is no boundary to His kingdom, said Brown. The body and spirit of all men will yet come under His sceptre. Difficulties are in the way, it is true, but onward, upward, like a star, the cross of Jesus is leading nations on, toward the conquest of all evil, and toward the overthrow of Satan in hell, concluded the preacher.\textsuperscript{118}

Willis Reeves, of Long Branch, New Jersey, said in 1890 that Christ is a worker of good, as is proven in three ways. First, His miracles were all stamped with the supernatural, and all of His cures were permanent. Second, His ministry was vital and active, and His followers today, ministers and believers, may expect as much power in the gospel now as any one could have in any former period. The third way, Reeves maintained, was through His divine example. He left precept and example for those who follow in His footsteps. Study His patience, and kindness in order to make your religious lives more fruitful, Reeves suggested.\textsuperscript{119}

Bishop Cyrus D. Foss opened the camp meeting of 1891 by asking his audience: "What think ye of Christ?" The bishop said that He is the greatest character in the world's history, and that

\textsuperscript{118}Preached August 21, 1889. \textit{The Asbury Park Press}, August 22, 1889.

\textsuperscript{119}Preached August 20, 1890. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, August 30, 1890.
there has been more said and written about Him and His relations
to man than about any other person. On the strength of this, it
would be impossible to rule out His record. "You and I believe
Him to be as real a person as Lincoln or Wesley," he told them,
"and the proofs of their existence are quite as clear in one case
as in the other." Further, he said, Tacitus, Paul's epistles,
and the whole New Testament prove that Christ lived. The bishop
then discussed Christ under four headings. First, He was a
marvelous man, who had friends whom He loved and to whom He was
devoted. His life was a model for humanity, for He was the one
sinless man whose soul became an offering for the sins of the whole
world. Second, the bishop maintained, He was intellectually great,
for His words stand out in beauty and power unlike anything in the
world's great literature, and because evidences of His possession
of all knowledge are seen in His answers to the questions which
shrewd men put to entrap Him to his injury. Third, Foss continued,
He was a miraculous man, for His birth and death were miraculous,
and His resurrection is the great climax of all miracles, and it
is the best attested fact of the ages. Fourth, He was God, for
His divinity is attested in the four Gospels and in Paul's works,
and because His works and words proclaim Him as God. In the history
of Christianity, continued the Bishop, we have the standing monument
of the divinity of Jesus. "The world is coming to His feet! Lord,
hasten the day!" he said. Foss asked his audience again: "Now,
what think ye of Christ?"120

James Boyd Brady, of Newark, spoke on Christ's love. This camp meeting speaker said that thirsting for name and place, ambition for scientific insight, and the heritage of liberty all possess but a subordinate place to the redeeming love of Christ, which comprehends and hallows every aspiration of our nature. He then considered Christ's love as being versatile, in that it applies to all men; as being continuous, and never failing; as having great propulsive power sufficient to propel Him past heaven and onto the earth to reach suffering humanity; as all powerful, in that it was able to establish the plan of salvation from sin; as highly protective of those who recognize Him; and as triumphant over the forces of evil. The preacher continued by saying that Christ's love is the only power able to give the soul triumphant entrance into Heaven. "Victory is ours," concluded Brady, "if we come to Jesus for this life giving, soul ennobling, heart purifying, all comprehending, and triumphant power."121

C. B. Pitblado, of Ansonia, Connecticut, also spoke of Christ. The foundations of His fame are many, the preacher said, and as men are renowned for one great work of theirs, Jesus is known for redemption. This fame of Christ's rests upon His originality, and

120Preached August 19, 1891. The Ocean Grove Record, August 22, 1891.

121Preached August 27, 1891. The Ocean Grove Record, September 5, 1891.
upon the power of His influence, which never dies. The world is coming around to Christ's services, he went on, and more and more it is being dominated by Him. Christ is coming to conquer the world through a soul victory when right, truth, and peace shall sing paeans to the victor. His light of life is sifting into all our creeds and confessions, into senates, parliaments, business marts, and boards of trade, the preacher said. Thousands of witnesses are coming to tell about the glory of God, which has dwelt in their hearts, Pitblado concluded. 122

J. S. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, devoted his sermon to an answer to the question: "Why should Christ want men to be with Him in heaven?" Five reasons were advanced: first, because He paid such a price for us, through His crucifixion; second, because He has done so much for us since the atonement; third, because our presence there will give Him joy as He beholds us forever as the trophies of His love and sacrifice; fourth, because we are to exhibit there the glories and virtues which have grown by reason of His work in us; and fifth, that we may see and display His glory. Yet, continued Chadwick, it is hard to get men to accept crowns from Him. The lessons we learn from this, the preacher concluded, are first, that we have a ground of hope and inspiration in being aware that Christ is looking on and that He leads us; and second,
that He would have us know that death to a believer is only transfer to a higher sphere.\textsuperscript{123}

Thomas E. Martindale, of Milford, Delaware, spoke about Christ in terms of His ascension. He told his audience that Christ has not vanished, and is not lost, but that He owns both worlds, heaven and earth, as well as all the space that lies between them. It was necessary, said he, that Christ's life have a miraculous ending, for He was an absolute victor, and did not leave the world in defeat. The time for earthquake and fire had passed, to be replaced by the still small voice of conscience. Christ's ascension immeasurably widened the scope of His power, said the preacher, for it emphasized the character of the Christian religion, which looks ever upward to God. The ascension was the necessary prelude, he went on, to the descent of the Holy Ghost, and this event, therefore, makes heaven a great deal more real to us.\textsuperscript{124}

To comprehend Christ in fact, we need to study in detail the essential truths concerning Him, said Bishop Willard F. Mallalieu, in 1896. We are living in an age of agreement with the Apostles' Creed, the bishop said, patterning his sermon somewhat after the organization of that document. "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only begotten son."

\textsuperscript{123}Preached August 25, 1894. \textit{The Asbury Park Journal}, August 31, 1894.

\textsuperscript{124}Preached August 27, 1895. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, August 31, 1895.
Therefore, Jesus is divine, and He hears our prayer. "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the virgin Mary," continued Mallalieu. There are some who doubt the supernatural origin, he said, but in the Bible we have a history of unimpeachable truth, and although these volumes have been subjected to untold criticism, they still stand as a thoroughly reliable compilation of fact. Christ's actions, also, impressed upon believers the fact of His supernatural origin. Christ was not a myth, said the bishop, for He lived and died under emperors whose names we know well, and it is impossible for writers to relegate Him to the realm of legend or impossibility. He rose again; His resurrection was complete, absolute to the point that there was nothing left in the grave. There is Christian evidence to this, the preacher went on, in the napkin from the grave, in His appearance to His disciples, in the nail prints, and in His wounded side. Based on the Son of God, Christianity is divided three fold, maintained the bishop: first, it is a divine philosophy that has to do with the salvation of humanity; second, it is the supreme regenerative force of human society; and third, it is the antagonist of all tyranny, the uncompromising foe of all evil. Further than this, he said, Christianity is an experience. "What we have seen and heard, we tell the world!" Mallalieu concluded.

125Preached August 30, 1896. The Ocean Grove Times-Record, September 5, 1896.
The final sermon on Christ, among those studied, was delivered by Bishop Dubbs, of the United Evangelical Society, in 1899. This speaker claimed that criticisms and inventions of the present age have destroyed many cherished historical tales, such as the William Tell tale, and Luther's classic comment, "Here I stand, I can do no other!" But, he said, criticism has invaded sacred precincts and meddled much with the Bible and its revealed Savior. Personally, the bishop commented, like Pilate, "I find no fault in Him." Christ is the ideal man; He claims to be God, and His claim is validated through the scriptures. He is the personal savior of everyone on earth, if they will only come to Him, the speaker went on. He saves to the uttermost, and completely, and I find no fault in His character as my redeemer, and I find no fault with the conditions of salvation which He offers. All alike, concluded the bishop, can have salvation by complying with the simple conditions of repentance and faith.126

b) The advance of Christianity and of the church

The second major group of sermons on general religious subjects was concerned generally with the progress of religion, and the church. The first of these came from J. Hepburn Hargis, of Philadelphia, who maintained that the true church of apostolic

126Preached August 20, 1899. The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1899.
Christianity touches with vitalizing truths the top and the bottom of society, and levels up both on divinely human planes of being. The outcome of the gospel preached, received, and believed, he said, is a life true to the law of well being, and true to all social relations, because it is true to God in Christ. The gospel, then, must be true, he continued, for it comes from such a divine source. The best of all the evidences of Christianity is a true life, which fulfills its duty toward God and toward man, he said. All states and means of grace, Hargis suggested, have for their end the brightest fruition of human life and Christian manhood. At all ages and stages of our life on this planet, he went on, we may be ripening for heaven through our religious activity. Wesleyanism is a revival of apostolic Christianity, and as such, has a vital role in the Christian era. This is an age of great revelation by God, and He is making more and more known to us daily, the preacher also said.127

Another approach to the subject was that of Samuel H. Payne, of Jacksonville, Florida, who declared that Christianity is progressing, having made more headway in the last ninety years than in all the preceding centuries. We are not ashamed of Christ, he said, for He can be compared favorably with the greatest teacher, philanthropist, or martyr that ever lived. We are not ashamed of His gospel, either, the preacher went on, for Christianity hinges

127Preached August 26, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.
upon two great truths; the death and the resurrection of Christ, and we are ready to defend these above all other truths. The gospel of Christ is supreme love of God, and means love to our fellow men, as well as observance of the golden rule. We are not ashamed of the fruits of Christianity, either, as they are exhibited by the Red Cross Society and by the Christian Commission, which operate on the battlefield, he continued. The gospel of Christ is the only religion in the world that professes to be able to regenerate men, and witnesses to its potence are all over the world and throughout its history. This gospel has lost none of its power; it is destined to triumph, stated Payne.¹²⁸

Bishop Isaac W. Joyce linked a discussion of Jesus Christ with the idea that the gospel is omnipotent. Christ, he said, has passed into all human character and experience, and has become the conservator of the unity of the race, which is advancing. It must advance, commented the bishop. No new religion is possible now, for the religion of the New Testament is the only one approved by God. It deals with the present and with the future, and as such, it meets man's needs completely. Christ was born poor, he went on, and His humble origins reinforce the idea that we should help the poor, for the whole system of charity is designed to make men think well of God. The enriching of religion is not only for the body,

¹²⁸Preached August 28, 1890. The Ocean Grove Record, September 20, 1890.
but for the brains of the world, the bishop said. Men have to think because they have to die, and are going to judgment. This compels them to think about their own salvation. There is no fear now that the gospel of Christ cannot save the world, for He died to open the way to heaven. "Remember, there is a full saving gospel," the bishop told his hearers. "Let Him save you now!"

Charles H. Payne, then corresponding secretary of the Methodist Education Society, continued the theme of religion and the church. He began by saying, "There is today much doubt and questioning among good people as to the establishment of a kingdom of righteousness." There is, he continued, much in the church to make men despondent, such as injustice, and the labor wars against capital, which are affecting it. The influence of the world over the church is all too potent, he went on, and yet, it still remains that the kingdom of Christ shall have the real sway. This universality of the Christian church shall be achieved as sure as God is God, for He is going to make a success of His creation. It is a law of philosophy, Payne said, that the kingdom of evil must be disintegrating, and self-destructive, for selfishness is always its own destroyer. History says that the world is growing better, and this is evidenced by the glorious results of the present revival work, which is more effective than ever before. The

129Preached August 23, 1891. The Ocean Grove Record, September 5, 1891.
Church will accomplish its great work of evangelism, for God will have His own way, the preacher maintained. It must, however, come to a more correct conception of its work in this world, which is to gather into the holy brotherhood all humanity, acknowledging Christ as Lord; and to regenerate all political and social life. This calls for a broader spirit, he said. The church is not touching the temporal life of the nation sufficiently, he charged, so, let us apply our Christian principles to our living. Christ in our hearts and lives is what we want; the church must be in every way representative of Him, he concluded.  

David Wills, Presbyterian, of Philadelphia, also spoke on Christianity. Man, he said, guided by his highest qualities, is never left to a choice between religion and atheism. There are two grand moral principles which are the very foundation of things, he went on. These are first, that man, wherever you find him, must have a religion of some description, and second, that Christianity is the only religion which meets the demands of our spiritual and moral natures. It is the only religion that distinctly announces the doctrine of pardon for sinful man, Wills continued. All systems show that conscious guilt is universal, and every man feels that he is guilty in the sight of heaven, but the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and releases that guilt, the preacher said.

130 Preached August 23, 1892. The Asbury Park Journal, August 27, 1892.
Christianity is predominantly a religion of facts and suits all men. It has a philosophy, deep and boundless, but simple and certain. The fact that it can overcome death is worth more to us when death comes than would be Victoria's throne, he concluded. 131

W. L. S. Murray, of Dover, Delaware, spoke of religion in similar terms. "In the beginning there was but one human pair, and only one religion. When tribes, peoples, nations, kindreds, and tongues multiplied, religions also increased," he said. Today there are many religions, he went on, but we claim our religion to be the best for the following reasons. First, it accepts all truth as God's truth; it is not exclusive (except in relation to that which is false) but inclusive, and it is hospitable and all embracing toward the truth. Second, it has the best book. The sacred books have all been tested under the white light of the 19th century, Murray stated, and all have some truth, but all have been found false and unreliable in history, geography, astronomy, and science, except the word of God. The Bible is the only sacred book that has a perfect moral code and reveals clearly the immortality of man. All the powers of darkness may combine against it, the preacher said, but it shall never pass away. The third reason that the Christian religion is best is that it makes a pure white life possible to all through the only atoning sacrifice

131 Preached August 26, 1892. The Asbury Park Journal, September 3, 1892.
available. In sacrifice, man has given his best, but none of these have atoned. Christ alone has the answer. The fourth reason, according to Murray, is that Christianity offers the only pure example. All other examples are either human or imaginary, ideal or real. Christ was real, but He was superior to all of them, the preacher maintained, and He is a perfect pattern. The fifth reason for the predominance of Christianity is that it promises the greatest reward for faithfulness, which is immortality and eternal life.  

F. L. West, of Mount Carmel, Illinois, took the line that the shackles of sin are falling from many who never knew before what it means to serve God. The gospel is His great thought concerning His creatures: the redemption of sinners. This gospel, said West, comes not only in words, but in power. Some Christians cry that they are trying to serve God in their own poor, weak way, but they ought to be educated to serve Him in a strong and vigorous manner. The power of the gospel is the same now as it was years ago, the preacher charged. Christ intended that it should link heaven and the earth. We sometimes think that the church is going backward, West said, but this is a delusion, for the gospel is going ahead all the time. What we have to be careful of, he told his hearers, is a superficial practice of religion.  

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132 Preached August 23, 1894. The Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Delaware), September 5, 1894.  

133 Preached August 28, 1900. The Asbury Park Press, August 29, 1900.
One sermon was devoted to a discussion of religion, but
spoke specifically about the march of Methodism. G. D. Carrow,
of Philadelphia, said that during the first two centuries, the
area covered by Christianity was limited, and that the number of
Christians at the close of the second century was not more than
one and a half million. Methodism, however, originated at Oxford
University in 1739, has existed not quite a century and a half,
but within that period, it has come to a ministry of 35,000 and
a membership of six and a half million, and, in addition, there
is now a population of twenty-five million under its influence,
including its missionary territory. There are three reasons for
this great success, said Carrow. First, the peculiarities of its
government, having concentrated the strength of Loyola's system
with the individual liberty of Protestantism have insured its
success. Second, Methodism has insisted that its ministers shall
in every instance give satisfactory proof of a divine call in the
discharge of their functions. Third, he said, it insists that
conscious salvation from sin, and conscious peace with God are
by divine appointment the privileges of all Christians. There
is no need for a reconstruction of the creed, or of any change
in the organization of Methodism, the preacher concluded.134

134 Preached August 25, 1887. The Asbury Park Press,
August 26, 1887.
c) Reaffirmation of faith

A third group of sermons on general religious inspiration dealt with reaffirmation of faith. Charles A. Payne, then president of The Ohio Wesleyan University, asked several rhetorical questions, such as: Is there a God? Does He know me? Does He love me? and Does He watch over me? The answer to each of these, he said, was in the affirmative, but it must be remembered that God usually carried out His providential designs with our free cooperation, and that we should not be afraid of the doctrine of salvation because it seemingly looks toward Calvinism. The latter fear, said Payne, should not exist, for whatever God may determine to do, He can bring it about without the least interference with the free agency of man.\(^{135}\)

Chauncey Larew, address unknown, spoke also on religious reaffirmation. He said that a lack of purpose, and consequently of power, is the prevailing feature of our Christian life. Much of the energy we have and that we might use for self improvement is wasted in anxiety about the condition of others. Our convictions are superficial, he continued, and not deep enough to ensure regular devotion and consistent progress. Measuring ourselves by ourselves, or by others, is a poor way to promote spiritual life, he maintained. "Religion was not a drudgery when you first felt it, so why should

\(^{135}\)Preached August 19, 1882. The Philadelphia Methodist, August 24, 1882.
it be a burden to you now?" he asked his hearers. The remedy for shaking faith, he said, is to wait upon the Lord. This brings us into the right attitude, and furnishes us the right equipment for personal enjoyment and tireless religious activity. This also implies patience. To overcome the world we need renewed strength, which can be gotten by prayer and by faith, he reminded his audience. There is strength and confidence in quietness, and prayer is a wonderful helper in a lot of our difficulties. The Christian should go to Christ patiently, said Larew, and the result will be an uplifting power. Prayer and faith are necessary wings, he concluded, to lift us above the world and to give us the strength of soul that we may run and not be weary. "Be a live Christian!" he challenged them.136

Josephus L. Sooy, of Trenton, New Jersey, spoke generally about conversion, saying that a man who is converted is forgiven his sins, and in turn forgives others for their misdeeds against him. Conversion in itself is not enough, however, for one of man's major problems is to stay converted. Lukewarm Christianity results when one gets too content with his spiritual life. The religion of Jesus Christ makes a man content with his situation and the blessings he enjoys, and helps him forget his troubles, but, appreciating only these aspects one does not participate

136Preached August 27, 1885. The Ocean Grove Record, September 12, 1885.
fully in God's plan which demands an active participation.\textsuperscript{137}

An English preacher, J. Jackson Wray, Presbyterian, of London, drew an exotic analogy, comparing Christians with the tall cedar trees of Lebanon, and also with the palm trees of the tropics. There are two classes, and only two classes, recognized among men, he said. All the promises of the Bible are for the one, and all its threatenings for the other. The righteous are like the tall cedars, for they grow in grace, like trees. As long as they grow, they live, the speaker said, but when they cease growing, they die. The palm tree grows straight and tall, and so should the Christian. All parts of it are useful, and so should be the Christian. Palm trees, however, are not deeply rooted, and often blow down in storms. The cedar also grows straight and tall, flourishes anywhere, and withstands the greatest of stress. "Stand your ground in the storm," charged Wray. "You Christians in America are the conservators of your great country. Be cedar trees. Take care of your homes, and shelter your families." In conclusion, this speaker said, "Be like the cedar; grow where you are."\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{137}Preached August 20, 1886. \textit{The Daily Spray}, August 21, 1886.

\textsuperscript{138}Preached August 28, 1887. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, September 17, 1887.
W. C. Snodgrass, of Jersey City, built a discourse around a eulogy of Job, saying that God loves a good man, and holds him up before the world as the true credential of righteousness. We often overlook the fact that there are many reasons for God's bringing upon us suffering, he said, but affliction may be sent to test our faith, to show our character to others, or to make known our quality of Christianity. There are three lessons we can learn from Job, the preacher said. First, trial does not destroy the child of God, for it is clear that Job was brighter and purer after he had passed through his awful ordeal. Second, our virtues reinforce each other. One's religious life will be a grand failure, Snodgrass said, if he spends all his energies strengthening only one of these. Third, religion is not to keep us from trial, but to sanctify us against circumstances; it is not to take away danger, but to strengthen against it. Affliction makes us see God as we ought, concluded the preacher.139

Another British preacher, Benjamin Senior, of London, also took the general inspirational theme of reaffirmation of faith. "Art thou in health, brother?" he asked. This, he said, is the most important question ever asked. Physical health is important, but mental and spiritual health are equally necessary. If health of body and mind are important, he continued, how much more

139Preached August 27, 1890. The Asbury Park Press, August 28, 1890.
important is the health of the soul? We are diseased by sin, and by nature we are not well, but the Great Physician has come and is saying to man's diseased soul, "Wilt thou come?" Senior added that if one is not in spiritual health, there is no excuse for him, for the fountains are open to everyone. God wants a robust church; and therefore the great want in the Christian church at present, he continued, is strong vigorous health. When a man is in perfect physical, mental, and spiritual health, he said, it is a pleasure for him to be at work, to do something. Then he will want to utilize his well being in vigorous strength for service to God. "Now, beloved, what message shall I take back to England? Are you in good health?" the Londoner asked. If we are healthy, vigorous and strong, we will meet in that city where there is no more sickness, sorrow, or death, he charged.140

William Lynch, an eighty-one year old veteran preacher from Pittsburgh, told his audience that all Christian workers belong to Christ, and in that assurance they could assume that the world was theirs, for God is saving the world for the accomplishment of His purpose. Secondly, life itself was theirs, for the Christian has the greatest enjoyment of life, and the nature of every man is immortal until his earthly work is done. Death, too, was theirs, the preacher said, for, to the good man, death is a relief. Things

140Preached August 20, 1889. The Asbury Park Press, August 21, 1889.
to come also belong to the good Christian, for in that state, one will have the eternal mind of God to guide his affairs.  

In 1899, E. J. Gray, of the Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, spoke about reaffirmation of faith by saying that Christians often grow weary and impatient, but that they must have a strong faith in a personal God, in His supervision of all destiny, and in the belief that He always maintains a strong personal interest in each of them. No man can do anything except when he is inspired by the faith that he will succeed. We must plant, and sow, and wait for the harvest, he said, and remember that there is due season for all things. It is God's will, Gray continued, that virtue shall never compromise, but fight its way to the throne of supremacy. Right must antagonize and dominate wrong until the latter goes down and wrongdoers are buried before the onward march of gospel truth, he maintained. Those who stand for God stand secure. "Look God in the face, and defy the devil," Gray charged. Religion has become the dominant power. The nations are coming to Jesus' feet. All enterprises that link earth to hell are going down, whereas all good agencies in the world are permanent, and immortal, he told his hearers. Work and wait for the trumpet of Gabriel, and be assured that success

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141 Preached August 27, 1895. The Ocean Grove Record, August 31, 1895.
is as sure as the throne of the Eternal. God is marching on, he declared. 142

d) Application of Christian principles

The largest single category of inspirational sermons was composed of those which covered an area which can best be described as application of Christian principles. Twenty-four discourses appear in this classification, but they can be divided further into three types: general duties, specific duties, and evangelistic duties. General duties included such abstractions as hope, faith, charity, love, gentleness, sympathy, and spiritual, emotional, and social applications, while specific duties were spelled out in more detail. Evangelistic duties concerned instructions on the part to be played in spreading God's word.

The first of the sermons regarding general duties for Christians was that of Anthony Atwood, of Philadelphia, in 1875. He asked the rhetorical question: "What sort of religion do we need in the present day?", and then answered by way of the four divisions of his discourse. First, he maintained, Christians should be educated, for their religion is based upon fact, not theory, and having these ideas at command, they may present an irresistible defense against attack. Second, he went on, religion must have sympathy in it, for Christians should love their fellow

142Preached August 24, 1899. The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1899.
men. Third, he said, one's religion must be demonstrative, and manifest the joyfulness which is inherent within it. Fourth, we must long for success, he told the camp meeting audience, for Christianity is not a slow movement, but it is quick to draw from the wells of salvation. Go out and find the people to be saved, he urged his hearers; don't be fastidious while there remain any sinners to be converted. Thank God the church is advancing, and then advance with it, he appealed.\textsuperscript{143}

Another sermon in that same year was devoted to general religious instruction. W. H. Russell, of New York, said that the end of all truth is charity. What higher aim, he asked, can we have than to love God and to love man?\textsuperscript{144} Natural human law will not meet the case, he went on, for it has no moral qualities in it. Friendship will not meet it, either. True charity is supernatural, and, therefore, the love must be begotten in us by the Holy Ghost, for it is not natural to love others as we love ourselves. This love, Russell maintained, is immortal, much as is Christ's love for us. It is an all-controlling affection, in that we do it all for Him. Love, then, becomes the predominant

\textsuperscript{143}Preached August 23, 1875. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, August 28, 1875.

\textsuperscript{144}The speaker was using charity here to mean Christian love, or benevolence, rather than as the term is sometimes popularly interpreted to mean almsgiving. See Alexander Cruden, \textit{Cruden's Complete Concordance of the Old and New Testaments}, (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1930), p. 84.
element in our being. The production of charity through faith constitutes purity of heart, he continued, and this condition elevates the soul. When love flows from a pure heart, toward God and toward man, the speaker said, it helps poor, suffering humanity and lifts one from earth to heaven. 145

Bishop Edward G. Andrews continued the line of general religious instruction, in 1882, saying that true faith in God is a living, practical operation of the mind and the soul, which produces conviction of the existence of God, and which lets this conviction control our daily habits and lives. This faith, he went on, makes God the controller of our whole destiny. Furthermore, it is an act which engages the intellect in part, but which has to do mainly with the moral nature, and thus it brings God into the very center of our being. Faith is both an act and a habit of the soul, he continued, but there are three main obstacles. First, there is intellectual doubt. The Christian should settle the question within himself, remembering that He would not be God, if one could comprehend Him. Further, one must be willing to know Him, the bishop said. The second obstacle to faith lies in disinclination and reluctance, which should be swept away if one desires a real religious experience. The third obstacle, he stated, is the adverse habit of disbelief. To overcome this, one must look to God

145Preached August 26, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, September 4, 1875.
for help in breaking the habit, and he should remember that to see, to hear, and to feel all the soul may experience requires time. "Pray for help and trust in God," Bishop Andrews suggested.146

Another bishop, Matthew Simpson, took a similar vein in 1883. To be filled with God, Simpson told his audience, the first step is the exercise of faith. Repentance and faith are available to all. "I know that when I go out of this world," the bishop said, "He will take me up to Himself, to live with Him in yonder heaven." The Christian should also embrace the idea of love. In fact, he should become thoroughly grounded in it, according to Simpson. Love everyone as you love God, he implored. There is a depth of Christ's love for us which we are unable to understand, but we shall have all eternity to learn more about it, he maintained. We must love God to know Him and to comprehend the exhibition of His love toward us, Simpson concluded.147

Albert Mann, Jr., of Bloomfield, New Jersey, told those who listened to him that although Christ did die that man might be freed from sin, yet He did not destroy it, and it remains powerful. We see that there are men and women who will not be


freed from sin, he said. Sin is a great mystery. The devil still lies to men, and they still believe him, declared the preacher. Iniquity destroys all that is valuable and all that makes life worth living. Sin does not pay, but men continue to live in it, and furthermore, it is active and hard at work, dominated by great intellectuality, and guided by keen leaders. To counteract this condition, the Christian must go to work, said Mann, and he must oppose zeal with counterzeal. "These mysteries of sin are not to capture this world, which is God's footstool!" he exclaimed. It was time, then, he charged, that the children of God should be at work.148

P. S. Henson, Baptist, then of Chicago, spoke on gentleness. In the material world the greatest forces are the most silent and gentle, he said. If one wants to make the most of a man, don't pound him. Learn the lesson from the sunbeam and the dewdrop, and work noiselessly and carefully. Love underlies the law, as well as the gospel of Christ, he said, and one should remember that he cannot scare a man into heaven. Rather than trying to frighten him, attract him with love. If men are not moved in this manner, they cannot be moved, he concluded.149


149 Preached August 25, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 26, 1886.
Bishop Edward Fitzgerald stood before the opening session of the camp meeting of 1888, and told the people to sanctify themselves. He was not speaking in the sense of entire sanctification, but rather in terms of a consecration to God, and a setting apart of the self for holy uses. There is but one way we can serve God, and that is by serving the creatures that he made, which are in need. "Care for the people around you and then you will find evidence of your consecration," he said. "Determine today that you will do something for His creatures, and you will secure God's approval." If one says he has no ability, the bishop went on, he must realize that only God can determine his capacity, and He asks one to bring Him whatever he can. "God can make you a strong instrument to do good if you have faith in Him," Fitzgerald concluded. 150

"May the Lord help us to become fruitful Christians," was the plea of Chauncey Larew in 1888. Any sinner will let you help him, this preacher told his audience. All of our actions should be pregnant with the living principle of helping others, and then we can become fruit-bearing Christians. "Our Methodist Christians are not alone in their closets enough," this divine said. "The Lord wants to instruct you, but if you don't go to your closet, how can He instruct you?" There are those who hear three sermons

150Preached August 21, 1888. The Ocean Grove Record, August 28, 1888.
a day at Ocean Grove, he continued, but who never meditate upon any of them. Methodists send the message of God abroad, he said, but many of them should take hold of the doctrine themselves. Dead Christians are all dried up, Larew said, because there is no spiritual water in them. "Search your secret sins, and may the Lord help you," he concluded.151

Horace A. Cleveland, then of Indianapolis, took a slightly different approach in regard to the application of Christian principles to one's daily living. "We must have open windows in our minds, and look through them, or it would be better to go underground and perish," he said. The windows which he described were those of memory, imagination, Christian faith, and hope. Hope is especially important, Cleveland maintained, for it offers a concept of eternal life and immortality. Man must have great hope himself before he will undertake the job of benefiting the world. "Let us be ever hopeful of unseen spiritual things," Cleveland said. "The best things are not behind you, but ahead of you." There is nothing to be compared with the vision of God which can be seen through the open window, he continued. When spiritual poverty comes to a people, we may be sure that the window of vision is closed. Through the open window of Jerusalem, the

speaker went on, comes the manna by which we can live and be strong, and so through it we shall receive inspiration.\textsuperscript{152}

Joseph Gaskill Reed, of Ocean Grove, maintained that man cannot live by bread alone, but that he has several other elements which compose his larger and better existence. The first of these is thought-life, in which the mind reaches beyond man's greatest effort and lays hold of the truths of God. Shut up with the great and inspiring truths, even with God Himself, we become like those with whom we live in thought, he went on. There is a sense, therefore, in which we think ourselves into godliness. The second element is our social life. The more thoroughly we live in other's lives, Reed said, the larger and better our own lives will become, and the more they will mean to us, for man was not made for solitude, and he loves companionship. Nowhere, however, does the child of God find such pleasing friendships as among those whose life has been filled with the light of God. Emotional life is also important, the preacher suggested, for we must be ever conscious that we are dear to others and that others are dear to us. Love of God, and God's love of us is comforting, he said.

The fourth element is the spiritual life, or the life we live in touch with the spirit of God. Here we find the blessing of communion, and are permitted to make every want and wish made known to Him.

\textsuperscript{152}Preached August 25, 1889. \textit{The Asbury Park Press}, August 26, 1889.
Faith and hope, said Reed, also enter here. What we need most, he concluded, is to realize that the religious life is the best life, and that having it, heaven will not seem a strange place.153

The final sermon concerning the general duties of Christians was that of Lucian Clark, of Washington, D. C., in 1897. "Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord, his God," Clark said. Hope is the inspiration and strength of our lives, and when it expires, life becomes intolerable. The expectations of man, he went on, are confined to objects of an inferior character, but God has provided a better hope for us. One object of that hope is to strive for perfection in our religious life. Another object, he maintained, is that the world can be made better. This world is good, but it is not perpetual, and heaven is infinitely superior. Hope, he said, must rest on a firm foundation to assure any satisfaction. The Christian's hope should be in the Lord, his God, Clark concluded.154

A few sermons spelled out the duties of Christians specifically. John Handley, for instance, in 1886, said that man's first commandment and last duty is to fear God and to keep His commandments. God's commandments are divinely perfect, he continued, by their origin, by their inherent nature, by their great adaptability, and


154 Preached August 21, 1897. The Ocean Grove Record, August 28, 1897.
by their indestructibility. They are universally adaptable to the individual, and to his family, state, nation, and universe. Time has not defaced the divinity of the decalogue, Handley maintained. It is superior to human laws, for, being changeable, these cannot be fully relied upon. God's laws are perfect, but man's laws are unstable. The one cardinal principle in Christianity, then, the preacher suggested, is to obey the ten commandments.  

A. C. Dixon was also specific when he said that certain things are to be laid aside in the Christian life, and paramount among these are malice and worthlessness. Secondly, he told his listeners, if a Christian follows nature's laws he will be rewarded; if he breaks them, and he will be punished. In addition, the Christian should cultivate the laws of spiritual taste to make them keener, rather than to allow them to decline through disuse. Spiritual taste should mean a closer appreciation of God. The one trouble with believers, said Dixon, is that they fail to cultivate spiritual appreciation, and thus they limit the power and mercy of God. One should also study the Bible more. As the soul gravitates toward God, spiritual life increases. The Christian, Dixon went on, is respected according to the life he possesses, and in proportion to this, he is useful. If one has no spiritual life, he is not fit, challenged the preacher. If we follow a law of righteous growth,

we shall be placed in the right relation to Christ, for He is a magnet that pulls us toward Him. "May God bring us each and all into the individual niche that is waiting for us in His temple," was Dixon's final thought.\(^\text{156}\)

Bishop Daniel A. Godsell suggested that the Christian should strive to develop an inquiring mind. He said that the uppermost feeling in the mind of the average American of the day was patriotism, not reverence. Where there is a reverent mind, the bishop continued, there will also be an inquiring mind. Look upward to God and say that you are ready to learn of Him, Godsell suggested. The reverent, inquiring mind will find its expression through prayer; it will obey truth, and obey it forever, and it will be led into a path of usefulness to God. The life of obedience, inspired by this attitude must be a life-work, constantly applied, and not spasmodic.\(^\text{157}\)

G. Campbell Morgan, of Birmingham, England, who preached twice on one Sunday, said in his afternoon discourse that Christians have the duty to walk with God. To do this, he suggested, the mind, life and soul must come into harmony with the divine purposes. Secondly, Morgan told his congregation one must agree with God, and that rebellion and doubts must cease. As a third condition, there must be mutual trust. The Lord trusts us, therefore, we must trust

\(^{156}\)Preached August 22, 1890. *The Ocean Grove Record*, September 6, 1890.

\(^{157}\)Preached August 20, 1890. *The Ocean Grove Record*, August 30, 1890.
Him, the Englishman continued. A fourth dictum was that one must keep in step, and neither run ahead, nor lag behind God. Walking in God's way continually makes life a benediction and terminates it in everlasting bliss, for the Christian will always triumph over death and the grave, he maintained.\textsuperscript{158}

The third type of inspirational sermon devoted to the application of Christian principles revolved around evangelism. Here the preachers spoke of the believer's duty to save and to help in the salvation of others. Right sermons belong to this category. George Lansing Taylor, of Connecticut, spoke of the vision of the valley of the dry bones, and likened this apparition to the duty of evangelism. The vision of the resurrection of the dry bones, he said, symbolizes the spiritual condition of individuals and nations, and it sets forth the means to be used in their regeneration. It also reveals the certainty of the ultimate triumph of Christ and of humanity, he suggested. The condition of mankind, as seen in the dry bones, looks hopeless, but not so to God, who commands us to preach to them. The effect is the moving together of the skeletons, a process that is going on today among nations, Taylor maintained, particularly those reached by the light and influence of the gospel. What is needed, the preacher said, is a spiritual life, kindled by the breath of the Almighty. The ice

\textsuperscript{158}Preached August 23, 1896. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, August 29, 1896.
needs melting in the church; God can melt it. The church needs lifting, and the power of the Divine Spirit must achieve this. Every converted man, charged Taylor, should at once join Christ's army, disciplined for work, and make up his mind that his Christian life shall be one of working and fighting, rather than of inglorious ease and lifeless activity.159

John P. Newman, of New York, later bishop, told the Ocean Grovors that Christ is sure to save the race through the instrumentality of a consecrated individuality. All great malevolent or benevolent movements, he said, can be traced to individuals. God always employs some one person to accomplish the purpose of His will. This has been true since the days of Moses. Newman said that God calls forth the right man in the nick of time to herald a new era of peace and justice. The faithful employment of one talent, he went on, and that the least one, may bring the grandest results. The question for each individual is: "How may I employ my power?" The answer, the preacher said, is: by allegiance with God. All power is offered to the faithful to accomplish the salvation of men. Three qualifications necessary for the job, he said, are first, we must be living incarnations of Jesus Christ; second, we must have profound sympathy for the

converted; and third, we must have the gift of purity no less than the gift of power. Then, Newman charged, Christ will be crowned the Savior of mankind through a consecrated individuality.

Jacob Todd, of Newark, spoke of the conversion of the Roman, Cornelius, saying that it was true to modern life, for the processes and results of salvation are the same with us as they were with him. Cornelius was a just man, Todd went on, generous, of good reputation, strictly moral, and also deeply religious and God fearing. Yet, he was a heathen, destitute of spiritual life and of salvation. He was earnestly seeking God as a manifestation of his sense of duty. The Lord does not save a man because he is respectable, or moral, the preacher continued, but He does expect everyone who would penitently seek Him to cease to do evil, and to learn to do right. The angel did not convert Cornelius, however, but sent Peter. God has commissioned men to preach the gospel, and He does not convert directly without the aid of human agency. He never converts a soul, said Todd, until it has been brought into contact with the gospel as taught by and as exemplified by one of these human instrumentalities. This salvation of others through an explanation of God's plan, and by setting examples is the crowning

160 Preached August 26, 1883. The Ocean Grove Record, September 8, 1883.

Some of Newman's remarks resembled the arguments used in sermons concerning entire sanctification, but the general pattern of his sermon did not seem to fit that theme.
work of our Christianity, the preacher concluded.\textsuperscript{161}

S. W. Thomas, of Philadelphia, spoke in a similar vein in 1886 when he told the Ocean Grove congregation that the divine authority reaches angelic, human, and satanic agencies, and controls them all, so that every phase of earthly life is subject to His authority. Christ's command to us, Thomas said, is to teach others about the gospel. God's plan is to conquer this world through individual, personal religious life. The revelations made to each man are individual, and never duplicated, he continued. "Your doubts should be yours strictly, and should never pass your lips until you are convinced that you are in error. The only ground you have for action," said the preacher, "is that God commands your cooperation." It is His philosophy that man shall be saved by man, and therefore, the Christian's duty is to teach others through personal example. Cards, progressive euchre, balls, parties, lewdness, levity, gossip, slander, jealousy, dishonesty, loss of self-respect all make the Christian who practices them unfit to teach. "God goes with you to supply you the strength to do what He has commanded," continued Thomas. "Get the knowledge of Christ, live it, die in the harness, and then live forever in the eternal enjoyment of a life spent in service of your Lord and

\textsuperscript{161}Preached August 28, 1884. \textit{The Ocean Grove Record}, September 27, 1884.
Thomas returned two years later, and took essentially the same line of argument. At that time, he said that God proposes to save men through men, and then he went on to discuss this idea through the duties first, of the minister, and second, of the people. He said that the preachers needed the sympathy and support of all Christians. It is the duty of every church to hold up the hands of its pastor. "Help your minister overcome his difficulties. Say all the good things of him that you can. Never condemn him in the presence of your children," Thomas implored his listeners.

There are some divines who do not faithfully carry out all of their duties, the speaker admitted, and these men should resign from their positions. Clergymen, he said, live for mankind; their lives are devoted to relief, counseling, comforting, instruction, reforms, kindness, and the like; they keep a confidence of trust placed in them by their communicants. Thomas next turned to the duties of the people. "The world is the purchased possession of Christ," he told the audience. "You are to conquer it for Him by the clear, convincing statements of this divine philosophy. You are to stand by your convictions, cost you what it may, and you are to create such sentiments as will compel the politicians to heed your voice and to adopt your principles." All that God is

162 Preached August 26, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 27, 1886.
He is to the Christian, and therefore, His people have a divine right to use all of their available resources for His glory, and to manifest Christ to their fellows, Thomas concluded.  

T. DeWitt Talmage delivered a simple message to his listeners in 1891. The famous Brooklyn divine spoke about great exploits which were possible for everyone to achieve. An exploit, he said, is a heroic, brave feat, and a great achievement. "You may never be an important and famous person, renowned for your exploits, but there are three great heroic deeds for every one of you to do," he said. These are to save a man, to save a woman, and to save a child. The great influence one can have through one or all of these feats is inestimable, the speaker maintained, for when one saves an individual, that person may be another Moody, and then there is no telling how many others he might save, just because of this one influence on him.  

Two preachers in 1892 also urged the people to be evangelistic. The first of these, John W. Langley, of Philadelphia, spoke on "lost opportunities." The spendthrift, he said, neglects his opportunities to save until it is too late. The uneducated man is ignorant because he has let his time go by uselessly. The irreligious man neglects


164 Preached August 23, 1881. The Asbury Park Press, August 24, 1881.

The complete text of this sermon appeared in many newspapers, including the one cited.
his soul until life is gone and then it is too late, and the
opportunity is lost, said Langley. Social and religious
opportunities are lost for a lack of thoughtfulness and self-
sacrifice on the part of the Christian, he continued. Family
and domestic relations are also being neglected, with the results
that family circles are being broken up because they are not being
preserved through Christian principles. Idle Christians and
careless sinners both lose golden opportunities which may mean
the life of a soul for all eternity, Langley said. As a consequence,
the Christian should look around him to see whom he might save,
and then try to bring those people into God's fold before it is
too late, he concluded.165

In the same year, Bishop Albert Carman, of the Methodist
Episcopal Church, Canada, spoke of the phrase, "Thy kingdom come."
Man inverts the divine order when he asks for his own temporal
needs and then concludes his prayer with this thought, the bishop
said. Instead, one should work to make the fruition of God's realm
on earth possible. "When God's kingdom comes, we can stop praying,"
he went on. The world, however, is full of anarchy, darkness,
depression, and disorder, and the Christian must conquer the
literature, the commerce, the armies, and navies before he can
conquer the world for Christ. The kingdom will not grow up on

165Preached August 25, 1892. The Asbury Park Journal,
September 3, 1892.
mere shouting and sentiment, but "Jesus Christ must get hold of
the great forces of this world, of the commerce, art, literature,
or He might as well go back from whence He came," Carman continued.
There is no use in one's praying for the kingdom to come and then
voting to support political corruption. Saying, "I'm justified
and sanctified" is not enough, challenged the bishop, for the
world demands the Christian's services. "Go out, go out with
your talent, your wealth, and your ability and help the kingdom
to come!" he urged. The proof of the baptismal power of the Holy
Ghost is the willingness to do the work. We must save the individual,
but we must first unite against the great evils that are blocking
the coming of the kingdom, he concluded.  

e) Lives of saints

Two inspirational discourses were devoted to the lives of
saints. The venerable Thomas Hanlon discussed Stephen, the martyr,
in 1887, saying that no character in the archives of human history
is as important as he. Stephen was a type that nothing but
Christianity could produce, said Hanlon, for he stands as the
embodiment of peerless greatness and power. All earthly power
sinks into secondary place before his moral power, sanctified by
the Holy Spirit, resisting evil, exposing wrong, and standing
firmly on the side of God, in self-mastery and devotion to the

166Preached August 31, 1892. The Asbury Park Journal,
September 3, 1892.
cause of right. Stephen's character, said the preacher, illustrates all phases of true manliness. First, he had faith in the infinite and the eternal. He believed the cause of God would triumph and he with it. Second, continued the speaker, Stephen had practical wisdom, for his mental power surpassed ordinary endowments of men, and he had moral power under the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Third, he was honest, above reproach, steady, and consistent. When temptation came, Stephen withstood the test, but Hanlon wondered how many of his hearers would be able to do so. As Stephen died, he turned preacher, and as a dying man, he gave his last message. He looked up into heaven as if appealing for help and justice there. This is the natural attitude for the believer to assume, continued Hanlon, and after having received a vision of heaven, what more could Stephen fear? They stoned the martyr, but they could not kill him. He only fell asleep. His spirit mounted up, up, up to be with Christ, said the preacher. The good and faithful servant is received into the joy of its Lord, and so should it be with us, Hanlon stated.

The life of Paul was the theme of a discourse delivered by J. E. Adams, of Morristown, New Jersey. Paul was supposed to

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167 Preached August 29, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 17, 1887.

168 Many preachers utilized the lives of the apostles, and especially that of Paul, to provide a framework for their discussion, but this sermon maintained a eulogistic framework throughout.
have been timid for not going to Rome to preach the gospel before
the time of the writing of his epistle to the Romans, said Adams,
but he was not, for he had challenged Rome's philosophers to meet
it with an equal system. Paul told the truth about Christianity;
for his own life, and his complete identification with the faith
proves that he did, and the boldness and fearlessness with which
he preached the gospel is an additional proof. Paul surpasses
all other historical characters in courage. Though we admire his
career, said Adams, it should not excite our wonder, when we know
what the gospel really is, and how well Paul understood it. The
gospel is power, not of man, but of God, organized for man's
redemption, and exercised for his salvation. In the gospel is
power to ennoble life, to give it victory in death, and to raise
the dead to immortality. In view of this, the preacher maintained,
Paul was neither a fool nor a fanatic. Like the apostle, we ought
to glory in the gospel, and to support it, Adams suggested.\(^{169}\)
f) Regeneration

An additional area of inspirational discourse included three
sermons built generally around regeneration. These referred not
to entire sanctification, but to lower forms of experience, subsequent
to salvation. The same J. E. Adams, referred to above, spoke in
1886 about how the Christian could obtain a better spiritual life.

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\(^{169}\)Preached August 27, 1889. The Asbury Park Press,
August 28, 1889.
If one is destitute of a satisfactory religious experience, he said, it is his own fault, because of his neglect. If we will endeavor to use spiritual things in God's way, he said, our success in life is sure. The first prerequisite of the spiritual life, he maintained, is instruction, which comes by way of the pulpit, the Sunday school, and the religious press. Next is a firm desire for that good. Mental conception of the spiritual good and the desire for that good, are not enough, continued Adams, for there must be an effort or movement toward the attainments in question. This effort, which should be the principal business of every human heart, must be three-fold, said the preacher. First, one must ask, through prayer; second, he must have unconquerable persistence in his search; and third, he must make a definite application to God.  

Robert Van Horn, of Newark, also spoke of Christian experience. There are three assumptions involved in this state, he said. First, that believers in Christ are the sons of God; second, that God is willing to give them the knowledge of their adoption into the family; and third, that God brings our feelings into harmony with our relations with Him. To experience these things, the preacher said, is a common privilege, but it is not generally accepted. There are reasons for this. First, there are a great many who come into the church.

170 Preached August 22, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 23, 1886.
on the waves of great revivals, and, once in the church they think they are all right and do not cherish the blessed influence of the spirit. Second, many come into the church as children. This, in itself, is acceptable, said Van Horn, but these people do not grow spiritually as they grow in years, and also, many have been drawn away by outside influences. Sincerity in religion cannot take the place of regeneration, the preacher charged, nor can one substitute activity for it. If we haven't had this experience, we should secure it at once, maintained the speaker. This feeling comes from God, and, in addition, it consists of an inward manifestation of His spirit speaking with ours, and has no external aspects. Everyone who has the Spirit of the Son of God knows that he is converted and saved. "Those of you who have not had this happy experience, pray long and earnestly for it," the preacher pleaded.171 The third speaker to touch upon regeneration was W. H. Morgan, of Mendham, New Jersey. All men have felt the blighting and tainting power of sin, he said, and therefore, the greatest need of humanity is the power which can reconstruct manhood and enable men to live victorious over sin. Regeneration is the key-word of scripture, and the great aim of the gospel of Jesus Christ, he went on. The church which emphasizes this great doctrine, and which seeks to lead souls into this blessed state is the best friend to the individual.

and also to society at large. The new birth, or experience, is not merely reformation, but a reconstruction from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, said Morgan. The agent of regeneration is the Spirit of God, and He is operating on a human plane. When we are born again through the power of the Spirit, we know it, for the Spirit tells us. This new birth is absolutely essential for entrance into heaven, for the Bible says: "Ye must be born again," argued the speaker. Regeneration operates to bring the soul into harmony with God, and thus brings peace to those who have it, he concluded. 172

g) Miscellaneous lines of argument

No consistent similarities could be found in eleven inspirational sermons. Samuel Merideth, of Troy, New York, maintained that while a simple faith in Christ secures admission to heaven, the degree of reward is in direct proportion to the manner in which one has done God's will on earth. Obedience follows three lines, he said: suffering, doing, and giving. 173 J. R. Westwood, of Philadelphia, charged that it is possible for one to have the mind of Christ, which should be directed toward God, toward others, and inwardly toward one's self. 174 George W. Miller,


173 Preached August 22, 1875. The Ocean Grove Record, August 25, 1875.

also of Philadelphia, spoke on prayer, saying that it is communion with God, and that it shall continue to exist in eternity. Supplication does not supersede the use of our own resources, he said, but one should not hesitate to call on divine assistance in time of genuine need. Duncan McGregor, of New York, told his audience that a great moral tidal wave would come, that would sponge out communism, divorcism, Caesarism, Romanism, and then alcoholism. C. H. McAnney, of Princeton, New Jersey, attacked those who reject the Bible, saying that they hobble about on the crutches of modern thought and are blind. The Holy Scriptures offer an inner sight to the believer, he maintained, and this perspective of heaven is also available to the sinner. Horace A. Cleveland, then of Philadelphia, said that according to the teachings of the Lord's prayer, man is the offspring of God, and not of the monkey, as Darwin teaches. He is not totally depraved, but is still a noble creature and the object of God's love, and he will be lifted to a better life and to the enjoyment of immortality thereafter. Thomas Hanlon, in 1889, spoke of Christ as the light

175 Preached August 25, 1885. The Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Delaware), September 12, 1885.

176 Preached August 26, 1886. The Daily Spray, August 27, 1886.

177 Preached August 23, 1887. The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1887.

178 Preached August 26, 1888. The Philadelphia Methodist, September 8, 1888.
of the world. He is, first, the physical light which ends at death; second, the light of reason; and third, the light of assurance of a spiritual life with God. In order to get the divine light of life, one must show a self-denying obedience, which is the backbone of the Christian religion, Hanlon maintained.\footnote{Preached August 26, 1889. \textit{The Asbury Park Press}, August 27, 1889.}

An American educator, a Canadian educator, and two bishops completed the list of those who gave inspirational sermons which must be classified as miscellaneous. George E. Reed, president of Dickinson College, called for a great, sweeping faith, which would overcome the tides of intemperance and infidelity. This involves a conception of a great God, he said, and each individual should seek his own level of greatness through Him.\footnote{Preached August 28, 1892. \textit{The Asbury Park Journal}, September 3, 1892.}

John Potts, general secretary of education for the Methodist Church, Canada, and one of the most able orators of that body,\footnote{\textit{James W. Lee, Naphtali Luccock, and James Main Dixon, \textit{The Illustrated History of Methodism} (St. Louis and New York: The Methodist Magazine Publishing Company, 1900), p. 584.} discoursed upon the characteristics of the true minister, who must have first, the beauty of personal character as a Christian; second, intellectual ability to interpret the mind of God as revealed in the Bible; and third, he must be the ambassador of the court of the Eternal King. The results of a true ministry, Potts maintained,
are, first, a revival at home; and second, missionary triumphs. Bishop J. W. Hamilton spoke about war at the opening service of the camp meeting of 1900, denouncing it as a rude weapon of a rude people, in a rude state. There is nothing Christian about war, he went on, and nothing was ever settled by it. The greatest battles of the age remain to be fought, he said, and those are to bring the Moslem countries under Christianity, but these will be settled by God, he concluded. Bishop Charles S. Breyfogel, Evangelical Association, of Reading, Pennsylvania, discoursed upon the cross, which, he said, has a two-fold purpose. First, it is an instrument of death by torture, and second, it is a symbol of redemption from sin for all mankind. Justice and mercy form the two arms of the cross, which will eventually annihilate sin. The product of the cross, he went on, is exalted citizenship, and this tide will sweep on. Christians are already forgetting their denominational differences, and asking the greatest question of all: "Do we belong to Christ?" he concluded.

Summary

One hundred thirty-seven synopses, covering the years 1872-1900, indicated that the camp meeting preachers at Ocean

182 Preached August 21, 1894. The Peninsula Methodist (Wilmington, Delaware), September 8, 1894.

183 Preached August 19, 1900. The Ocean Grove Times, August 25, 1900.

184 Preached September 2, 1900. The Asbury Park Press, September 3, 1900.
Grove directed their efforts toward the following three basic speech goals: entire sanctification, salvation, and religious inspiration. Twenty-five sermons were devoted to the first, forty-two to the second, and seventy to the third of these objectives. A subsidiary analysis of shorter synopses and reports, where speech purposes, but not lines of argument, could be determined, indicated that this proportion is probably representative of the total of 576 sermons known to have been delivered during the thirty years of the study.

Entire sanctification was regarded as the culminating step in achieving Christian holiness. This phenomenon was conceived to be an annointment, or baptism, of the Holy Ghost upon the individual believer, who could do nothing except to try to make himself humble, contrite, and worthy of the experience God visited upon him. Prolonged, anguished seeking characterized one's preparation to receive this "second blessing." Ocean Grove was founded as the result of the holiness movement, and during the very early years of the enterprise sermons devoted to that doctrine seem to have been numerous. In total, however, those heard at the main sessions of the camp meeting over the period studied were relatively few. Smaller side-meetings, held daily, and devoted specifically to holiness were conducted throughout the entire summer, and these seem to have brought ample attention to holiness at the New Jersey resort. Preaching on this doctrine often brought disagreement from those who were not completely in
accord with its theories, but the small, militant group of Christian perfectionists insisted upon their right to preach it.

Sermons on entire sanctification were based upon five basic premises. The first was that Christianity exists on three levels: salvation, regeneration, and entire sanctification, and that the last of these was the threshold to sinless perfection. The second basic premise was that this experience is vital if one is to achieve the highest religious level. The third premise was that entire sanctification comes as the result of a direct, physically-felt emotional experience patterned after the phenomenon at Pentecost, as revealed in the first chapter of The Acts of the Apostles. Two preachers, however, believed that one might grow into the state of perfection. The fourth basic assumption was that holiness involves many esoteric aspects, and as such reveals, to the sanctified, visions, thoughts, and joys unknown to others, even regenerated Christians. The fifth premise was that sermons on holiness should be devoted directly to believers, and not to those who need salvation from sin.

Holiness sermons had essentially similar lines of argument, and were difficult to differentiate. Six common arguments, however, reveal the methods the preachers used to expound the doctrine: first, that it cleanses one from the effect of Adam's original sin; second, that it tends to keep one from sinning again; third, that it inspires fearlessness; fourth, that it endows the sanctified with special powers; fifth, that scholarly knowledge is not necessary
for a complete understanding of God; and sixth, that the people were lax in seeking the "second blessing."

Salvation was preached from the beginning of the camp meeting as an institution, and also was a feature at Ocean Grove throughout the period studied. In addition to the fact that all preachers at the New Jersey resort believed in the infallibility of the Bible, five basic premises were common to all of the forty-two sermons devoted to salvation: first, that the souls of men are immortal, and that the body is merely the dwelling place of the spirit while it inhabits the earth; second, that sin exists in varying degrees, but it permeates the earthly existence of mankind and, if unforgiven, leads either to the destruction of the soul, or to its eternal punishment in hell; third, that Jesus Christ made atonement for the past, present, and future sins of all men when He died on Calvary, thus offering Himself as a substitute sacrifice to God; fourth, that Christ's salvation is available to all men; and fifth, that this relief from the liability of sin requires a conscious act of belief and acceptance resulting from the free will of man. Five lines of argument supported those assumptions: fifteen sermons were devoted to attacks upon procrastination; six described the rewards of salvation; three revolved around the concept of judgment and punishment; four discussed salvation through faith; and three argued through exposition of the plan of redemption. Eleven preachers took miscellaneous lines of argument devoted to salvation.
A third category of sermons included seventy dedicated to religious inspiration. One broad assumption was common among all of these: that there was a large segment of the Ocean Grove Audience which was composed of already professing Christians who did not need to be saved from their sins, and who were not interested in entire sanctification. Within this broad hypothesis, five specific premises guided the approach of the preachers: first, that Christ is the dominant figure in Christianity; second, that Christianity is the best religion; third, that believers occasionally need reaffirmation of their faith; fourth, that Christianity imposes general and specific duties upon believers; and fifth, that the individual is obligated to work to spread God's plan of salvation among men. Six basic lines of argument appeared in the inspirational sermons: fifteen discourses were devoted to the idea that Christ is dominant; eight were centered around the advance of Christianity, of the Church, and of Methodism; eight treated reaffirmation of faith; and twenty-four dealt with the application of Christian principles, including general and specific religious duties as well as evangelistic obligations; two treated the lives of saints; and three dealt with regeneration. Eleven other sermons were devoted to inspiration, but consistent similarities in their lines of argument could not be found.
CHAPTER VII

GENERAL EVALUATION

Ocean Grove differed from the other vacation camp meeting resorts primarily in the size of its crowds, in the greater number of preachers which attended, and in its unique auditorium, built in 1894. In other respects, it was like most of the others, and therefore, much of what can be said about the Monmouth County ground sheds light upon the whole religious resort movement.

Results of the Preaching

There were few evangelistic results of the preaching at most vacation camp meetings. This fact was recognized as early as 1870, as indicated in the following comment:

Fewer persons are converted at these meetings than formerly; the charm and novelty having passed away, unconverted persons are less powerfully impressed by the animated and direct preaching of the occasion, or by the fervent exercises of the praying circle, both of which may have become somewhat less animated, direct, and fervent than they once were.1

After having completed a tour of camp meetings in the summer of 1876, the editor of The Monthly Messenger (Philadelphia) reported that he "... also visited the camp at Ocean Grove, and found

1The Christian Advocate (New York), July 7, 1870.
the same state of things there — the meetings largely attended, the preaching good, the people of God evidently enjoying themselves and the services; but comparatively few sinners being converted."² In the same year, The Christian Advocate (New York) added that "... the number of conversions there has always been small — the amount of active religious effort and the result, so far as it appears on the surface, not large ... "³ Comment was much the same throughout the remainder of the century. The religious press reflected many shades of opinion, some articles lamenting that sinners no longer came in droves to the altar; some calling for greater manifestation of sanctification and holiness; and others contending that the camp meeting of the day was serving its purpose if it did little more than to provide wholesome, Christian recreation and religious inspiration for those who attended.

President Stokes revealed his philosophy regarding the outcome of the Ocean Grove services, as well as his reluctance to be "pinned down" to specific numbers of converts and sanctified, when he wrote:

One of the most natural things is to ask, "What are the results of these meetings?" My uniform reply is, "No human mind can grasp or tongue reveal!" Indeed, so inadequate are numbers to express the widespread and enduring

²I:7 (September, 1876), p. 4.
³September 7, 1876.
influences exerted, that some have urged the disuse of figures altogether in summing up. But the masses, especially the outside world, will not be satisfied unless we state explicitly that such-and-such things have been done.  

Prior to 1880, the Annual Reports published little more than vague references to the belief that the meetings were increasing in size and in zeal each season. From that date on, however, some reference to results usually appeared, although no great significance seemed to be attached to the figures. Assessment of the outcome of the camp meeting sermons, therefore, is difficult, especially in view of the fact that the statistics which did appear in the Annual Reports generally referred to all of the meetings held throughout the summer, and not specifically to the great ten day campaign. In 1880, for instance, the report claimed that: "... between 150 and 200 have been converted, and at least 500 sanctified, and many thousands quickened in their religious life." In 1885, 1886, and 1887, the results were broken down to indicate the number affected in the auditorium services alone during the season:

1885:
- Conversions: 25
- Reclaimed: 2
- Sanctified: 6
- Specially helped: 2,500

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4Seventeenth Annual Report, p. 65.
5Eleventh Annual Report, p. 47.
The category of "specially helped" was never defined by
1886:
Conversions ............... 61
Reclaimed ................ none
Sanctified ................ 5
Specially helped .......... 5,007

1887:
Conversions ............... 30
Reclaimed ................ none
Sanctified ................ 50
Specially helped .......... 5,008

In 1889, the figures were again combined to cover all the meetings held on the grounds during the season:

Converted ................ 537
Sanctified ................ 425
Specially helped .......... 7,309

From 1890 through 1895, tabulations covered all the various side-meetings individually, as well as the auditorium services. While department heads claimed fairly large numbers of converts, those supposedly saved at the public preaching sessions remained relatively small in number. In 1893, Stokes reported 180 conversions in the auditorium, and in 1895 he estimated that the number had exceeded that of any previous year, crediting Evangelist David W.

the association, but it seems to have meant those who received spiritual assistance at the altar after the services. These were always reported in round numbers, rather than in the specific figures.

7Seventeenth Annual Report, p. 65.
8Eighteenth Annual Report, p. 61.
9Twentieth Annual Report, p. 65.
10Twenty-Fourth Annual Report, p. 67.
Potter, of Chicago, with converting "scores and hundreds." The last enumeration of results appeared in 1896, when the president reverted to a composite evaluation, reporting "... results largely in advance of any previous year, showing, in the aggregate, 889 converted, 1,100 reclaimed, 860 sanctified, and more than 10,000 especially helped in their Christian warfare."

Contemporary reports indicate that the number of converts at any single auditorium preaching service, including the exhortation-filled after meeting, was small. The Asbury Park Press, for instance, revealed in 1889 that: "This revival meeting was the best held so far this year in the auditorium. Three or four persons [italics mine] were converted last night ... ."

Three factors were probably responsible for the lack of evangelistic results: first, the composition of the audiences; second, the setting, or general atmosphere; and third, the aims and the content of the sermons themselves.

Most of those who attended the preaching meetings were already church members and professing Christians, who did not feel the need of being saved from their sins. In the main, they were not interested, either, in a prolonged seeking for the second-blessing of holiness,

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11 Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, p. 95.
12 Twenty-Seventh Annual Report, p. 86.
13 August 28, 1889.
14 Including both conversion and entire sanctification.
despite the fact that a strong, but relatively small, hard core of Christian perfectionists controlled the meetings and greatly influenced the members of the Ocean Grove Association. The visitors probably sought pleasure and social life under the wholesome atmosphere of the religious resort, and they came to hear the preaching as part of their summer vacation. Newspaper comment concerning Ocean Grove reinforces this conclusion. The New York Daily Tribune, which was critical of camp meetings and of religious resorts throughout the last quarter of the century, suggested that salvation was not achieved at the camp meeting because the audiences simply were not receptive to the appeals flung at them. "The most of these elegantly dressed women or owners of handsome cottages have come down not to be converted, but to have a good time," the report said.¹⁵ Even the Reverend Adam Wallace, editor of The Ocean Grove Record, admitted by 1892 that:

Everybody who comes to Ocean Grove is not interested in its last and greatest event of the season — the annual camp meeting. Indeed, it is evident enough that we have hundreds of visitors who are oblivious of anything and everything of an aggressive religious character. Some have perhaps a form of Godliness, with a pew and a preacher at their homes, but coming into a summer resort, they are bent on recreation. Their object is amusement. Pleasure, including a good table or a fast team, is their god.¹⁶

¹⁵July 25, 1880.

¹⁶September 3, 1892.
Considering the evangelistic altar meetings which followed every sermon, one might be led to infer that the discourses themselves brought many converts into the fold, but this was not the true fact, for the altar was crowded traditionally, not with penitents, but with ministers, revivalists, exhorters, and professing Christians who had been fired up.\(^{17}\)

The second cause for the lack of evangelistic results of the preaching can be found in the setting. The vast outdoor auditorium, and later the even larger indoor audience room, were poor places to expect the hesitant and the timid to make a public declaration of their sins. Even during the weekday afternoons, when attendance was not at full capacity, the thousands of onlookers must have acted as powerful depressants to the reticent potential convert, who found a long aisle a terrible gamut, filled with the gaze and the stare of the interested and of the curious. One reporter described the situation in these terms:

One third the number may readily be affected with the promptings and impulses stirred up to obey the call to repentance, but the environment overpowers conviction, and only a few venture to declare themselves subjects of conviction. This looks like a great waste of energy and a disappointment to those who ardently labor for their conviction.\(^{18}\)

The dearth of visible evangelistic results had a third cause, that was found within the sermons themselves. More than half of

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\(^{17}\) The last of these were probably counted as "specially helped" in the reports of results released by the association.

\(^{18}\) The Daily Journal, August 25, 1897.
those for which purposes could be determined were devoted outright to inspirational and doctrinal themes, with an evangelistic appeal "tacked on the end" of the discourse. As a result, they did not, for the most part, even aim at direct persuasion, but at the general ends of stimulation and inspiration. Again, contemporary comments bear out this conclusion. Four references illustrate the fact that certain writers were aware of the situation. As early as 1876, the editor of a Philadelphia church magazine said that:

Owing to the religious character of the majority in attendance, the ministers have modified their mode of preaching, so that now the chief object of a Camp Meeting sermon seems to be to make Christians better and happier, rather than to awaken sinners. So at least it has appeared to us; for among all the sermons we have heard this year [at many places, including Ocean Grove] . . . there have not been a half dozen old-fashioned awakening sermons preached to sinners. 19

Three years afterward, the Reverend Thomas B. Neely, later a bishop in The Methodist Episcopal Church, wrote:

Possibly better results might be gathered at some of our large camp meetings if there was a little more simplicity and directness in the preaching. One cannot but be struck by the great similarity in the nature of the topics and the style of their treatment at many of these great gatherings. Minister after minister takes the same line, and but few preach sermons which are directly calculated to arouse sinners. 20

Speaking of the Ocean Grove meetings, the editor of The Philadelphia Methodist commented:

19 The Monthly Messenger, I:7 (September, 1876), p. 4.

20 Thomas B. Neely, writing in The Christian Advocate (New York), September 18, 1879.
The preaching, on the whole, was very fine — in an intellectual point of view, fully up to anything we have ever heard. The only objection that could possibly be made would be, that some of the sermons were hardly practical enough to secure present results. But they will be remembered by many for years to come, and spoken of as rare specimens of pulpit eloquence. But it will be well for all of us to remember, that while these great sermons are appropriate and useful on these great occasions, the plain practical truths we are in the habit of hearing in our home churches are the kind that in the end will accomplish the most good, since they are adapted to the capacity and wants of the greater number of those composing our congregations.  

Again, in 1890, The Philadelphia Methodist was critical of the failure to win converts, but aware of one of the fundamental reasons for that phenomenon:

Too many camp meetings fail in the desired results because ministers preach on topics pleasing to themselves and likely to be equally pleasing to the membership — preach with the view of having a good time, but in forgetfulness of their duty to the unsaved, whilst the good people to whom they preach waste their time and moral influence upon each other — in holding a kind of sanctified mutual admiration society meeting, instead of going out after the unsaved masses.  

Because a sermon did not win converts, it cannot be said to have been a failure. The fact that the audiences which attended camp meetings were a select group which came deliberately to a religious, rather than to a secular resort, narrowed the potential for evangelism. In addition, many of the preachers, who were, for the most part, experienced public speakers, and who represented a

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21 September 4, 1879.

22 September 13, 1890.
broad segment of American Protestantism, seem to have thought that general religious inspiration was best suited to the needs and the interests of their listeners. By and large, they did not aim at evangelistic results, and they should not have been held to these objectives. The sermons devoted to salvation, it is true, did not generally produce conversions, and these cannot be said to have been successful. This factor seems to add validity to the analysis probably made by those who spoke on general themes: that inspiration, rather than salvation, was needed at Ocean Grove. Entire sanctification, or holiness, was much too esoteric to have been preached continually to masses of hearers, and probably would not have been accepted as daily fare for vacationing Christians, even though they might have been devout believers. The end result of the majority of sermons, then, was a general discussion of inspirational and doctrinal subjects, which reminded the audiences of their Christian beliefs and duties, but which did not necessarily inspire them. In general, however, these discourses seem to have been well received by the congregations.

A question must be raised regarding the validity of the analysis of the goals of camp meeting preaching that the members of the Ocean Grove Association apparently made. These men seem to have felt that each camp meeting was a distinct battle with the Devil for souls. Annually, on the eve of the opening of the ten day

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23 Except as subsidiary goals.
campaign, they invited a small group of devoted workers to join in a marathon prayer session to ask for an actual, physical visitation of the Holy Ghost upon the meetings. They continually reminded the public that salvation and sanctification were the reasons for the very existence of Ocean Grove, and yet, the majority of the sermons in their auditorium did not aim at that objective. It was true that some persons were converted and sanctified in the side-meetings, but no tangible evidence exists that these states were achieved in significant numbers as the result of the preaching at the auditorium services.

The persistence with which President Stokes held to the narrower ideas of evangelistic goals for the sermons is puzzling. Even as late as 1894, he was taking the same line of argument:

I ardently hope [\textit{that those who run Ocean Grove in the future}] \ldots never let this platform petrify into mere utterances of dogmatic theology. That can be done elsewhere. Here, rather, now, on, and to the end, let this be the place of an aggressive evangelism at white heat with the love of God, aglow with such oratory as flames . . . \textit{\ldots the spirit.}[24]

The president knew well that he dealt with a cosmopolitan audience, and to these people he gave a varied program of preaching. He did not seem to have instructed any minister upon what doctrine to preach,[25]

\textsuperscript{24}Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, p. 78.

\textsuperscript{25}Except for B. Fay Mills who was removed from the schedule, in 1896, after public reaction to his appearance. Mills had appeared at Ocean Grove before, but his writings had indicated that he was not in complete sympathy with certain Methodist doctrines, and public outcry forced cancellation of his appearance.
and seems to have limited them only to broadly orthodox and basically fundamental themes. Yet, according to most of his written and spoken expression upon the subject, he distinctly favored a line of preaching to which he made no one adhere, and to which much less than half of his preachers devoted their sermons. Could he have spoken in this manner "for the record" but actually have realized that a wide variety of good preaching was necessary to keep camp meeting audiences from shunning the auditorium too often for a stroll along the boardwalk, a plunge into the sea, or a round of croquet on the cottage lawn? Probably he realized that the composition of the audiences limited the possibilities for these evangelistic goals, or perhaps he was aware, also, that "notwithstanding its Calvinistic antecedents and numerous revivals which sought to lead sinners back to the straight Gospel, religion [had become] . . . increasingly a social activity rather than a spiritual experience."26

The Impact of Darwinism upon Camp Meeting Preaching

Gaius Glenn Atkins maintains that the 1880's marked "the turning point for inherited Christianity."27 During this period Darwinism began to make slow inroads upon the orthodox, fundamental beliefs, about religion and the Bible, that had been passed on

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from generation to generation unquestioningly since the early
days of the American Republic. Rebuttals to the Darwinists began
to appear in camp meeting sermons during the mid 1880's.

The first mention of the newer religious theories in
connection with camp meeting preaching appeared in an editorial
comment in The Ocean Grove Record in 1886. The editor remarked
that: "... [This year there has been] far less of metaphysical
abstractions, very little of Darwin or Huxley, and but rarely a
Parthian arrow pointed at "Bob" Ingersoll -- but Jesus Christ has
become the thrilling theme of every sermon."28

From 1886 on, references to rebuttals of evolution were
relatively frequent. In 1889, for instance, Horace A. Cleveland,
then of Philadelphia, preached a sermon which:

... was on the whole, a marvelous production, the
result of weeks of reading and study, on all lines
of modern thought and philosophical investigation. ... His aim was to show that, according to the teachings
of ... [the Lord's prayer] man was the offspring of
God, and not of the monkey, as Darwin teaches; that
even in his lapsed condition he is still possessed
of all his original attributes, except his purity,
and he is not that groveling worm that some would
have us believe him, on one hand, nor yet that
totally depraved outcast that he is often represented
to be by others. He is still capable of being lifted
up to a purer, better life here, and to the enjoyment
of immortality hereafter.29

Also in 1889, the Reverend C. H. McAnnay, of New York, was less
antagonistic to contemporary thought:

28 September 4, 1886.

29 The Philadelphia Methodist, September 8, 1889.
I am fully aware that this age of ours would always lead us away from any thoughts scriptural which savor of solving the beauties of scripture. . . . There is and can be no conflict between science and the Bible; science looks upon man as he is; the Bible describes him as he is to be . . . .

In 1892, A. C. Dixon delivered a discourse that "was mainly an excoriation of the would-be infidels. It was the outcome of his recent fight with the Ingersoll absurdities of doubt and derision, and an eloquent defense of truth as it is Jesus; and every noble period the speaker uttered was hailed with the 'credo' of his audience." One of his arguments became the time-worn expression, often used also by William Jennings Bryan: "He said that he thought evolution worked backward, and that there was a greater tendency for men to become monkeys than for monkeys to become men." An article describing the sermon of Alpha J. Kynett, general secretary of the Church Extension Society, in 1894, was headlined: "Simplicity of the Gospel -- The Rev. Dr. Kynett objects to the way scientists look at the Bible." The description read, in part:

The preacher made a pointed attack upon the theories of many of the world's scholars who claim that the plan of salvation must be worked out along the line of scholarly learning and attainments. He acknowledged the vast benefits of science and philosophy to the civilized world, but denounced those who, having

30 The Asbury Park Press, August 26, 1889.
31 The Ocean Grove Record, September 3, 1892.
reached the pinnacle of scientific lore, can comprehend no truth of religion but that embodied within the scope of their mental vision.33

Still others took issue with modern ideas at various points in their sermons. Bishop Willard F. Mallalieu, for example, "rapped the evolutionists and said it was absurd to claim that man descended from wrigglers."34 Another bishop, John P. Newman, said:

Three things belong to the human character -- heredity, responsibility and dependence on divine aid. The scientific teachings of this age in regard to inherited traits is admitted, and evolution in a proper sense may be accepted without our being led to a menagerie instead of the Garden of Eden to seek our ancestors.35

Bishop Charles Breyfogel, of The United Evangelical society, singled out the higher criticism for attack in his sermon in 1899, referring:

... to the inventions of the ... age. The prevalence of the latter [he said] has destroyed many a cherished fiction like the William Tell tradition and the saying of Luther, "Here I stand... I can do no other."

But criticism [he maintained] has invaded sacred precincts, and meddled much with the Bible and its revealed savior.36

Only one sermon, and that distinctly respectful and conciliatory toward religion, dealt at length with the higher criticism.

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33 The New York Times, August 26, 1894.
34 The New York Times, August 26, 1895.
35 The Ocean Grove Record, August 24, 1899.
36 The Ocean Grove Record, August 30, 1899.
In 1894, President Bradford P. Raymond, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, delivered a discourse which drew the following comment from *The Asbury Park Journal*:

Dr. Raymond is evidently in sympathy with the methods of the higher criticism, as appeared from his statement that what we want today, as every day, is a scientific view of the scriptures, based on induction. His tracing of the development of the prophetic partial views of Christ would strengthen this conclusion. The steady stream in the development in the knowledge of God and the preparation of the world for Christ was outlined. The promise to Eve of the seed which would bruise the serpent's head, the germs of the future which were entrusted to Abraham, the continued growth under Moses and the institution of the Levitical symbolisms in which Dr. Raymond sees a profound philosophy, and the various phases of prophecy, were all considered in their bearing upon Christ's coming and the redemption of the world. The continued development of the kingdom through the careers of the martyrs and of Savanarola, Huss, and Luther was set forth. Everything converges to Christ. No one set of conceptions can exhaust this nature. We are coming now-a-days to a more correct view, because we are taking hold of many conceptions and accepting all.37

This seems to have been the only sermon openly to favor advanced thought. The analogies this preacher offered were, of course, not strictly Darwinian, but rather a combination of the views of Spenser and of the higher critics. These concepts were closely related to social Darwinism, which explained the gradual development of society and of religion from the simple to the more complex. Those who accepted the milder forms of the higher criticism did not dispute the divinity of the Scriptures, but looked upon scriptural research

37August 31, 1894.
as contributing to the development through which God was slowly manifesting Himself to mankind. The ideas of the "gospel of wealth" and of the "social gospel" were also somewhat evolutionary in the Spenserian sense, but were endorsed by many of the clergymen of the time.\footnote{Many of the preachers who appeared at Ocean Grove were pastors of institutional churches in the large cities. In addition, some of them, such as Russell H. Conwell, actively supported the concepts of the gospel of wealth.} So long as the divinity of the Bible itself was not challenged, these men accepted the theories of developmental change and "survival of the fittest" in society.

The Ocean Grove Association always stood solidly upon the bedrock of fundamental religion, and thus it is not surprising that no sermon openly advocating a "modernistic" theology could be found. Probably the best statement of the official philosophy of the organization came not from the management itself, but from a preacher who spoke just prior to the camp meeting of 1896. The Reverend Merritt Hulburd, of Wilmington, Delaware, who delivered the anniversary address of that year, reflected their views so accurately that President Stokes inserted long excerpts in the Annual Report. In part, Hulburd said:

Once more: while this place has been broadly catholic in its spirit, and men of every clime and name have been warmly welcomed to this platform . . . it has been held sacredly by all to the Bible and our Divine Lord. None under the guise of higher criticism have been permitted here to air their vagaries, or undermine the faith of any. No man is brilliant enough, learned or eloquent enough,
to command here a hearing who does not accept
the Deity of Christ and the inspiration of the
Holy Scriptures. Some institutions of learning,
Methodist in name, might profit by this example.
Then, too, while cordially catholic, the Associa-
tion has stood for Methodism, and its cardinal
doctrines have been loyally and heartily accepted.
Ours is a reactionary period in theology, and is
one in which checks and safeguards are necessary,
lest we lose the faith once delivered to the saints. 39

The theories of modernism and of evolution, despite the fact
that they were brought up occasionally, made little impact upon
the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting. Whenever they were discussed, they
were attacked if they alluded to a questioning of a strict, fundamental
interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Thus, the preachers raised
a bulwark of conservative defense for inherited, unquestioning,
fundamental religion. No acceptance of the newer theories of
theology was desired or tolerated by the association.

The Vacation Camp Meeting as a Social Force

The leaders who established camp meeting resorts were
entrepreneurs who performed well their function of providing
opportunities for religious and social refreshment. They reasoned
that the people would take recreation anyway, so they sought to
offer their facilities to vacationers and, through this device,
to exercise a wholesome influence upon those who would have been
away from the guidance of their home ministers. Under legally-
protected and shrewd management, their grounds grew into extremely

39 Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, p. 71.
popular family retreats, where permanent summer residents and visitors alike were brought, nominally at least, under religious influence.

The summer-long programs, featuring much public speaking, in combination with relatively strict rules for orderly conduct, differentiated the camp meeting resort from its secular counterpart. Various kinds of religious, educational, reform, and cultural speaking, as well as popular lectures were heard almost nightly throughout the season at the former, making them significant outlets for the discussion of many of the social problems of the day. Camp meeting resorts were centers for summer temperance lecturing, as well as being training and graduation centers for the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles, and numbers of the most popular speakers of the time appeared on their platforms when their camp meetings were not in session. Probably nothing comparable to this large number of outdoor forums had existed before in America. Few, if any, other institutions fostered such a concentration of speakers and listeners in such a short period as did the religious summer resort.

\[40\] Some secular resorts, such as Asbury Park, adjacent to Ocean Grove, did provide occasional summer evening programs, including lectures and band concerts, but these were not held as frequently, and, except for Coney Island, New York, did not draw crowds comparable to those at Ocean Grove.

\[41\] From about 1895, musical programs seem to have assumed a growing importance at Ocean Grove, but for the first twenty-five years studied, public speaking was used almost exclusively for entertainment.
Despite the fact that certain secular newspapers continually editorialized against camp meeting resorts, primarily on the ground that mass purveyance of religion destroyed the individuality of Christianity, and that the operators of these enterprises unwittingly played into the hands of speculators, they rose to a high degree of popularity. They mushroomed in development immediately after the Civil War, and by the turn of the twentieth century their appeal to the masses of the American middle class had not diminished. Although virtually no historical research has been published regarding the religious resort, the sources used in this study reveal that the vacation camp meeting was an important factor in American life for more than a third of a century.

The Methodists were almost alone in advancing the religious resort, for no other denomination attempted to emulate them with similar enterprises, except for the Presbyterians who established the short-lived Sea Grove, Cape May County, New Jersey, in 1875. The fact that President William McKinley addressed a session of The Catholic Summer School of America in 1899, prior to his Ocean Grove visit, indicates that other religious groups were sponsoring activities resembling the Chautauqua, and in a sense, the camp meeting by the end of the century.

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2. The most persistent, and the most vehement of these was The New York Daily Tribune.
General Conclusions

Three broad conclusions are suggested by this investigation. The first concerns the preaching heard at the camp meeting services. The large numbers of ministers who spoke included many of the most famous in Methodism, as well as well known representatives from other denominations and from foreign lands. These men apparently appeared at other camp meetings, but Ocean Grove, which was said to be "the greatest distinctly religious assemblage anywhere in the world..." seems to have attracted more of them than did any other institution, except, perhaps, the mother Chautauqua. Seeing and hearing so many notable religious personalities presented a unique opportunity to the vacationers. Consequently the preaching consistently attracted audiences ranging from two thousand to fourteen thousand persons, three times a day, for ten or more days, for thirty years. The sermons were highly popular, and many could be considered intellectual, within narrow limits of fundamentalist doctrines. The preachers, at least after the mid-1880's, were aware of contemporary religious thought, but their discourses constituted a bulwark of conservative defense against the advance of Darwinism, the higher criticism, and liberal Christianity. In fact, advocacy of contemporary theology was zealously barred from the Ocean Grove pulpit.

43 The New York Daily Tribune, August 24, 1890.
44 The New York Daily Tribune, August 30, 1890.
45 Ocean Grove continued to flourish after 1900, but this study was necessarily limited to the first thirty years of its existence.
A second general conclusion is that Ocean Grove actually had one summer-long camp meeting, rather than an annual one of only ten days. President Stokes readily admitted this fact from the early years, saying in 1875 that the campaign ran "from June to October." The scope of the season's program was summarized in the following newspaper article:

The summer meetings here begin on "the glorious Fourth" and continue till the end of August. They embrace various reform causes and phases of church work, and bring to the front able advocates and representatives of the most important thought of the Christian Church. Ministers of all denominations speak from the platform, and people of many nations and languages take part in the services.

For six weeks there is a steady succession of these educational meetings, devoted to temperance, Sabbath and missionary work, but all partaking of the nature of the camp meeting, which is the Ocean Grove idea and gives the place its distinctive character. Without the religious feature, Ocean Grove would simply be a summer resort.

With holiness meetings held daily, with three main sermons every Sunday, and with lecturing or preaching nearly every night, these

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47 The Summer School of Theology, which existed from 1895 to 1906, brought scholars from many parts of the nation to lecture upon religious and cultural subjects. Lectures and debates on evolution and the higher criticism were presented during the first six years of the school, but in 1900, a conflict arose between the Ocean Grove Association and the director of the school over the discussion of liberal views, causing the director to resign. Although the school continued for five more years, it was greatly diminished in vigor, and the newer theories were barred from presentation.

48 The New York Daily Tribune, August 30, 1890.
claims had some validity. Officially, however, the Ocean Grove Association regarded the camp meeting as a well-defined series of gatherings that climaxed, but that did not close the season.

This investigation has been limited to a consideration of the sermons at the camp meeting, and has made no attempt to analyze the speaking that made up the other activities at Ocean Grove.

A third conclusion to be drawn from the study is that the vacation camp meeting was distinctly different from the religious sessions called by that name in the first half of the nineteenth century. What the vacationer of the post Civil War period attended resembled only faintly the woodland revivals that attracted his forebears. The rusticity had disappeared, along with the urgent messages of the frontier evangelists who had pleaded for the salvation of sinners and for the reclamation of backsliders. Consequently, the sermons were less emotional, and more highly polished, aiming predominantly at general religious inspiration rather than at evangelism. At Ocean Grove, and at Pitman Grove, at least, a small, but strong group of Christian perfectionists controlled the meetings. Although these persons did not insist that every sermon be devoted to their doctrine of holiness, they nevertheless attempted to regulate conduct and to circumscribe thought at the entire resort. Nevertheless, the convenient, comfortable services drew large crowds, and the enterprises flourished, in spite of the fact that easily accessible secular facilities also existed in abundance. Even its severest critics
were led to acknowledge the importance of the vacation camp meeting.

In 1890, The New York Daily Tribune admitted:

The Tribune has given a full and faithful record of all these great gatherings, first of all, because they have become an important part of the news of the day, and secondly, because they are epitomes of what hundreds of thousands of men and women are today thinking in regard to the mighty problems of human life and human destiny. The widespread interest which these reports have excited in all quarters proves conclusively that even in the summer religion is neither forgotten nor ignored by the great mass of people who make up the rank and file of the Christian churches.49

The fact that the camp meeting resort was highly successful in drawing large crowds to hear fundamentalist sermons in the early days of the advance of liberal theology indicates that a significant number of Americans, before 1900, were in sympathy with a resistance to change in their inherited faith. Although they might not practice their religion as devoutly as perhaps they should have, they were willing to listen to preachers who sought to bring them back to the old beliefs. The sessions that they attended, however, had become a sophisticated, ritualized form of the original camp meeting.

49August 24, 1890.
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Date of Examination:

July 10, 1959