

# STUDIA

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## THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF SAINT JOHN NEUMANN REDEMPTORIST AND FOURTH BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA

### SUMMARIUM

Biographiae Ioannis N. Neumann CSSR continent valde brevem — nimis brevem — descriptionem eius mortis, exsequiarum et sepulturae. Etiam illa copiosa et locuples biographia Patris M. Curley CSSR (1952) habet tantum tres paginas hoc thema tractantes. In biographiis non omnes notitiae utiles, imo et necessariae ad quaestiones quasdam enodandas includuntur. Finis huius articuli est praesentare descriptionem eius mortis, etc., quae responsum dat his quaestionibus et quae supplet informationem e fontibus exhaustam de rebus quae omittuntur vel quae non tractantur.

Primo datur brevis historia indicans eius aegritudines incipiens anno 1840 quando Neumann, sacerdos adhuc dioeceseos Neo-Eboracensis, correptus erat feбри ex qua per tres menses laboravit. Tunc fit longa investigatio eius mortis (5 I 1860) cum omnibus circumstantiis. Documenta in archivo attestant factum — nunquam publicatum — viz., praesentiam Ep. Wood penes Neumann immediate post mortem. Postea indicantur eventus dierum sequentium a die 6 usque ad 10 Ianuarii. E fontibus discimus quae fiebant per episcopum et archiepiscopum, per clerum et laicos, per eius confratres Redemptoristas, per Sodalitates dioeceseos, per Societates civitatis, per visitatores a longe, et per Gubernium Civile ad honorandum episcopum omnibus dilectissimum. Omnibus his diebus videmus magnos concursus populi venientis eum videre die noctuque per totum tempus quo corpus expositum erat. Die 9 oculares testes sumus solemnis processionis ad ecclesiam S. Ioannis pro-cathedralem et solemnis liturgiae in ea peractae, una cum oratione funebri ab Archiepiscopo Francisco Patricio Kenrick pronuntiata. Pro 9-10 Jan. breviter exponitur factum et problema sepeliendi Neumann penes confratres eius in ecclesia S. Petri et non in pro-cathedrali. Hoc punctum fusiore indiget investigatione, quae perficietur in huius fasciculi subsequenti communicatione. Ultimum thema est « vox populi » quae diversimode auditur, praecipue quando fideles visitationes fecerunt ad sepulchrum Neumann, non ut orarent pro eo sed ut ipse intercederet pro eis ad Dominum. Pro certo est quod fideles 1860 Neumann habebant « Sanctum ».

## I

The news of the sudden death of Bishop Neumann on the Thursday afternoon of January 5, 1860 was more than unexpected; it was a positive shock. His nephew tells us that people were slow to believe the report of his death when they first heard it; they had not heard that he was in any way sick<sup>1</sup>. The shock was even greater when one considers that he was only forty-nine years old<sup>2</sup>. Father Edward Sourin, S.J., who had been close to Neumann, first as his Vicar General and then as a Philadelphia Jesuit, said: « It has been observed that it was strange that he died so suddenly, so strong and robust did he always appear. And indeed he appeared to have an iron

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### Abbreviations

Berger, <i>Leben</i>	John Berger CSSR, <i>Leben und Wirken des hochseligen Johannes Nep. Neumann CSSR</i> , New York 1883.
Berger, <i>Life</i>	John Berger CSSR, <i>Life of Rt. Rev. John N. Neumann CSSR</i> , tr. Eugene Grimm CSSR, New York 1884.
<i>Berichte</i>	<i>Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich.</i>
Curley, <i>Neumann</i>	Michael J. Curley CSSR, <i>Venerable John Neumann CSSR, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia</i> , Washington, D.C. 1952.
<i>Funeral Obsequies</i>	<i>Funeral Obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann</i> , Philadelphia 1860.
RABB	Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, Brooklyn, N.Y.
—, N	Neumann Section of the Archives.
Rush, <i>Neumann Autobiography</i>	The Autobiography of Blessed John Neumann CSSR, translated with an Introduction and Commentary by Alfred C. Rush CSSR. Ms. RABB.
Sampers, <i>Neumann Lebensbeschreibung</i>	Andreas Sampers CSSR, <i>Johannes Nepomucenus Neumann, Kurze Lebensbeschreibung</i> , in <i>Spic. hist. CSSR</i> 11 (1963) 82-104.
Wuest, <i>Annales</i>	Joseph Wuest CSSR, <i>Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae</i> , 5 vols. in 9 pts. Ilchester, Maryland, and Boston 1884-1924.
Wuest, <i>Vita</i>	<i>De Vita Ven. Joannis Nep. Neumann commentariolum</i> , Ilchester, Maryland 1911.

<sup>1</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 382; *Life*, p. 432. For the shock that the news of his death caused his Redemptorist confreres at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, see below, nn. 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> He was born on March 28, 1811. The most thoroughly-researched biography is that by M. Curley that appeared in 1952.

constitution »<sup>3</sup>. It is easy to see how the people would think that Neumann had an « iron constitution ». During his almost eight years as bishop of Philadelphia (1852-1860) he is not known to have had a serious sickness of any kind. He was also known as an indefatigable worker who never spared himself in caring for his vast diocese. The fact is that Neumann's tempo of life, schedule of work and medical history were bringing him to that fatal hour of January 5, 1860.

Neumann did have an « iron constitution » coupled with a will of steel. To use his own phrase, he was « a sturdy mountain boy ». That was the regular reply that Neumann would give Father Alexander Pax, his friend and co-worker on the Buffalo missions, when he would check up on him for working too hard<sup>4</sup>. His first major health crisis occurred in the period of his life, 1836-1840, when he was a diocesan priest of New York. During those years he took care of, or regularly visited, North Bush, Williamsville, Lancaster, Swormville, Tonawanda, Transit, Eden, Pendleton, Niagara Falls, Sheldon and Batavia. These places are from six to thirty-six miles distant from Buffalo. For a period of a year, in 1838-1839, he also traveled to Rochester every two or three months to care for the Germans there. This travel took place in rain and shine, in the freezing storms of winter and the heat waves of summer. Neumann did a great deal of this on foot, carrying on his back all the necessary equipment. His eating habits did not help his health. He was described as a poor cook in the sense that he often did not prepare cooked food to take care of himself<sup>5</sup>.

These are the circumstances in which Neumann took sick. In his autobiography he gives us this one succinct sentence: « About Easter, 1840, I was taken by a very persistent and recurring fever and suffered from it for three months »<sup>6</sup>. Pax tells us: « Finally he showed signs of exhaustion, a feverish condition developed and he

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<sup>3</sup> This is from Sourin's sermon that was preached at St. John's, the Philadelphia Pro Cathedral, on Sunday, January 8, 1860. See *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See his letter, dated March 9, 1872, that appeared in *Christliche Woche*, March 31, 1876; John Byrne CSSR, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; Curley, *Neumann*, pp. 72-73, 78-80. For accounts from Neumann, see RABB, N, Rodler Papers, Neumann to his parents, Sept. 5, 1837, North Bush. This letter is printed in *Berichte* 11 (1838) 56-62; *Der Katholik* 69 (1838) 61-67; Wuest, *Annales*, vol. I, pp. 262-267. See also Neumann to H. Dichtl, May 31, 1839, Tonawanda. This letter is printed in *Berichte* 13 (1840) 63-68; Wuest, *Annales*, vol. I, pp. 278-282.

<sup>6</sup> RABB, N, *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung*; Sampers, *Neumann Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 99; Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, p. 19 (text).

was brought to the verge of collapse »<sup>7</sup>. His nephew remarks that this sickness marks the beginning of the decline of the health of the sturdy mountain boy and that, from that time, Neumann was sickly<sup>8</sup>.

By 1843 Neumann was a Redemptorist and stationed at St. James', Baltimore. Before going back to Europe, Pax visited him and remarks: « Father Neumann was suffering; if I remember rightly, his neck was very much swollen »<sup>9</sup>. From 1844 to 1847 Neumann was the Superior in Pittsburgh. Here he bore the lion's share of the work and worry involved in the building of St. Philomena's. His brief statement about his transfer in 1847 is that « Father Czackert called me to Baltimore because of a prolonged illness »<sup>10</sup>. Actually, he was very sick. In driving himself to complete the work, he developed a persistent cough accompanied by bleeding. He who was so concerned about his confreres' health paid no attention to his own. To their every request that he see a doctor, he would invariably say that he would be all right soon. They then sent a report to Father Czackert who ordered Neumann to see a doctor and come to Baltimore when well enough. As Czackert told Father Joseph Müller, the new Superior in Pittsburgh: « If he continues as he is, he may have to face an early death »<sup>11</sup>.

As previously noted, Neumann did not have a serious sickness in his years as bishop. Nevertheless, the pace he set for himself would tax the strength of one who was never sick, much more so of one with his medical history. Here, one thinks of the vastness of the diocese, the creating of parishes, the building of churches, schools, seminaries, the staffing of them, carrying on the building of the cathedral, and the endless travelling on the visitation of the diocese, even to its most remote out-missions. From his first hand experience Sourin tells us: « I can testify that upon many an occasion he was unable on retiring at midnight to utter a word to anyone, so exhausted was he with the arduous labors of the day »<sup>12</sup>. After remarking that

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<sup>7</sup> See above, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> See above, n. 4. Neumann's sickness in 1843 prevented him from being sent to do some of the pioneer work at St. Peter's, Philadelphia. See Wuest, *Annales*, vol. I, p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> RABB, N, *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 104; Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, p. 25 (text).

<sup>11</sup> RABB, N, *Pittsburgh Years*, Czackert to J. Müller, Jan. 19, 1847, Baltimore. See Berger, *Leben*, p. 256; Curley, *Neumann*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>12</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 8.

Neumann appeared to have an iron constitution, he adds: « Yet, such labors as he underwent would sooner or later weigh down the strongest constitution. It has been eight years since the bishop came among us. From the first day to the moment of his demise the period has been, as he knew, one of labor and suffering... In one word, he spared himself in nothing »<sup>13</sup>. His own Redemptorist confrere, Father Lawrence Holzer, the Rector at St. Peter's, says that he mercilessly overloaded himself with work<sup>14</sup>. Similar statements appear in the Philadelphia papers. *The Press* noted that Neumann was « wholly regardless of self in the prosecution of the duties of his high calling ». *The Catholic Herald and Visitor* describes him as one who lived for others and not for himself<sup>15</sup>.

The fact is that his schedule of work was catching up with Neumann, that he was conscious of feeling strange symptoms and that others noticed his poor health. On January 4th, the very day before he died, he wrote a letter to Sister Magdalen at Reading, dealing with an affair of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. He told her: « I am not feeling very well these last few days, otherwise I might have gone up to see Mother Theresa »<sup>16</sup>. Speaking of Neumann's health on that same day, Sourin tells us: « The last time I visited him, I noticed he was very unwell. I begged him to let me go and call in the assistance of his physicians. But he answered with a smile and said: « I will be well enough tomorrow ». To this he adds that Neumann went out the next day and never returned<sup>17</sup>.

At first sight, the testimony of Bishop Wood, Neumann's Coadjutor, regarding the latter's health on January 5th strikes a discordant note. After informing Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati about Neumann's sudden death, he goes on to say: « We dined together, chatted together and he seemed to be as well as usual »<sup>18</sup>. Actually,

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>14</sup> RABB, N, Data 1860, Holzer to Father General [Nicholas Mauron], Feb. 1, 1860, Philadelphia, copy.

<sup>15</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 6, 1860; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Jan. 14, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> RABB, N, Letters 1860, Neumann to Sister Magdalen, Jan. 4, 1860, Philadelphia.

<sup>17</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 8. With regard to Neumann's health in his years as bishop, the writer is not implying that Neumann never needed help from a doctor. Sourin, as was seen, speaks of « calling in the assistance of his physicians ». One wonders what is the basis for the statement (*Funeral Obsequies*, p. 3) that, for some time before his death, Neumann was « subject to disease of the heart ».

<sup>18</sup> RABB, N, Data 1860, Wood to Purcell, Jan. 6, 1860. This is a transcribed copy of the letter. The originals of the Wood letters are in the archives of the University of Notre Dame. In RABB, N, there is a section entitled, Wood Letters 1857-1860. These are copies of the letters dealing with the relations between Wood and Neumann.

it is understandable how Wood could write that. To hide the fact that he was not feeling well and to keep the conversation light, Neumann told them about the simplicity of the country folk back home and he illustrated it with a homey anecdote. Berger tells us that he learned this from Wood. This could have been as late as the time when he was preparing Neumann's biography that was published in 1883. In this later oral account Wood states that Neumann was then suffering greatly. He also says that they laughed at his anecdote and never imagined that that would be the last story they would hear from him<sup>19</sup>.

That Neumann was a dying man on January 5th is clear, in retrospect, from the testimony of Father Anthony Urbanczik. A native of Moravia, that is so close to Bohemia, Urbanczik felt close and devoted to Neumann. On January 5th he stopped off at St. Peter's from Pittsburgh on his way to give a mission at the Redemptorist parish of the Most Holy Redeemer, New York. His presence in the city gave him the opportunity to pay a visit to the bishop<sup>20</sup>. He arrived at the bishop's house at the end of the midday meal and was with him for a while between two and three. His first reaction was that Neumann had difficulty recognizing him. As he went closer he saw that his eyes had a glassy look. The bishop mentioned that he had not been well for some days. Urbanczik notes that Neumann, as was his custom, did not pay much attention to this. He then tells us that Neumann said: « I feel so strange today, like I've never felt before in my whole life. I have an errand to do and I expect that the exercise in the fresh air will make me feel better »<sup>21</sup>.

Urbanczik did not leave a written account of this visit. It came down by word of mouth and made its way into contemporary correspondence. We first hear of it in a letter that Father Lawrence Holzer sent to the Provincial, Father John De Dycker. He tells us that he wrote that letter on January 5th at 9:30 in the evening. As will be seen shortly, it was just before that that Holzer received the official notification of Neumann's death. Before writing the letter, he had to have inquired from Urbanczik how he found Neumann that afternoon. Holzer was able to tell the Provincial that Neumann complained about not feeling well for some days, that he did not, as was his way, pay much attention to this, and that he had a strange feel-

<sup>19</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 381.

<sup>20</sup> Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Berger, *Leben*, pp. 381-382.

ing that he never felt before in his whole life. He adds that Urbanczik left and did not give the matter a second thought<sup>22</sup>. Meanwhile, Urbanczik must have been the subject of a great deal of attention among his confreres at St. Peter's. Undoubtedly, he must have told the story many times until he left for New York at four o'clock in the afternoon on the following day.

The next report on the visit is in a letter of January 6th. It was sent to John Berger, the bishop's nephew, who was studying for the priesthood in the Redemptorist seminary at Cumberland, Maryland. We do not know the name of the writer. We know that he was a Redemptorist priest stationed at St. Peter's, Philadelphia. His letter shows him to be a very thoughtful and considerate person. This letter is contained in a letter of January 8 that Berger wrote to his aunt, Sister Caroline, the bishop's sister, Joan. He tells Berger how sad he feels over the death of the bishop, that he did not know what to do with himself all morning, and so he sat down and wrote the letter. It is a letter that gives a detailed account of the bishop's last hour and death. In his report on Urbanczik's visit he mentions the glassy look in the bishop's eyes, the strange feeling he never felt before and the errand that would give him some fresh air and help him feel better<sup>23</sup>. The account in the Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's mentions the glassy eyes, the fact that Neumann did not recognize Urbanczik at once, even though they were close friends. It also refers to the strange feeling that Neumann was experiencing<sup>24</sup>. These reports make up the « Urbanczik Account » that first found its way into print, the publications by Berger in 1883 and by Wuest in 1911 and 1914<sup>25</sup>.

There is another report in the letter of January 15, 1860 from Brother Christopher Froehlich, the brother in charge of the office at

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<sup>22</sup> RABB, N, Data 1860, Holzer to Father Provincial [John De Dycker], Jan. 5, 1860, 9:30 P.M., Philadelphia. Urbanczik shortened his name to Urban. See Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, pp. 257-258; Alfred C. Rush, CSSR, *What's in a Name*, in *The Province Story* 1 (1975) 30-31. Copies of this can be found in RABB.

<sup>23</sup> RABB, *Berger File*, [Anonymous priest at St. Peter's] to Berger, Jan. 6, 1860, Philadelphia. This will be referred to as [Anonymous] to Berger. This is contained in Berger's letter to his aunt, Sister Caroline, written on Jan. 8, 1860 from Cumberland, Maryland. On January 6, 1860 the priests stationed at St. Peter's were: Lawrence Holzer, Henry Giesen, Charles Kuenzer, Joseph Jacobs and Joachim Heymann. See Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 126.

<sup>24</sup> RABB, *Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, Philadelphia* (1860), p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Wuest, *Vita*, p. 59; *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 151; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 381-382; *Life*, pp. 430-431.

St. Peter's, Philadelphia<sup>26</sup>. He wrote this to Father Louis Coudenhove, a former Rector at St. Peter's, who was called to Europe in 1853 to become Rector of Maria Stiegen, the Redemptorist foundation in Vienna. On his visit home in 1855, Neumann stayed at Maria Stiegen when he was in Vienna and Coudenhove accompanied him to Prague where they both had sisters in the Sisters of Mercy of St. Charles Borromeo<sup>27</sup>. This in an extremely long letter with an account of the death, funeral and burial. Christopher makes two boasts: 1) that no one will match the detailed account he sends; 2) that he writes as an eyewitness. When he speaks as an eyewitness his account is very valuable in ever so many details. In his report on Urbanczik's visit he mentions that strange feeling that Neumann was experiencing. Despite this, he says, they had a pleasant and cheerful conversation. In this account Neumann is reported as saying: « One must always be ready because death can come when and where God so pleases ». After leaving, Urbanczik said nothing about the visit because « he knew, like all of us, that it was characteristic of [Neumann] not to be concerned about himself or his health but only about the service of God »<sup>28</sup>. It was only later research that turned up this letter and the details furnished by Christopher find their way into Curley's later account of Neumann's death<sup>29</sup>.

## II

Neumann had two errands that would bring him out into the fresh air. The first was to have a deed for some diocesan property duly registered and notarized. The second was about a chalice and ciborium for the Benedictine, Father Otto Kopf, the pastor of the remote parish of Bellefonte with its far-flung mission stations<sup>30</sup>. Neu-

<sup>26</sup> Brother Christopher, originally from Hesse, was professed on March 2, 1857 and lived on until 1899. See Wuest, *Annales*, vol. III/2, p. 451.

<sup>27</sup> Curley, *Neumann*, pp. 241-242. Coudenhove was dispensed from his vows in 1862 and later became a Canon of the Vienna Cathedral. When Berger began gathering material for Neumann's biography, Coudenhove was among those who sent in a report. See RABB, N, Berger Papers, Coudenhove to Berger, 1872, Vienna. See also Wuest, *Annales*, vol. II, pp. 265, 498.

<sup>28</sup> RABB, N, Leopoldine Transcripts, Brother Christopher [Froehlich] to Father [Coudenhove], Jan. 15, 1860, Philadelphia.

<sup>29</sup> Curley, *Neumann*, p. 394.

<sup>30</sup> *Note Book of Venerable John Neumann CSSR, arranged in alphabetical order with Notes to explain the Text*, in *American Catholic Historical Society, Records*



mann had invited Kopf to stay with him at the bishop's house if he ever were in Philadelphia. He came to Philadelphia with a chalice to be consecrated. Finding that Neumann was out of the city, he simply left the chalice with Bishop Wood. Unfortunately, it was stolen. When Neumann heard about this, he decided that Kopf should not be the loser. He was sending him not only a better chalice, but a ciborium as well<sup>31</sup>.

His first errand completed, Neumann was walking along the north side of Vine Street. A Catholic man, who greeted him at Tenth Street, noticed that he was staggering and very unsteady, like a person with an attack of dizziness. Near Thirteenth Street Neumann collapsed on the steps of the house of a Protestant minister. Two men passing by carried him into the house, laid him on the carpet and placed a pillow under his head. Attempts to revive him were in vain. After a few deep breaths Bishop Neumann expired. A priest was summoned who anointed the bishop. This took place in the afternoon of January 5, 1860. This is the substance of the standard account that has found its way into print<sup>32</sup>.

The archival material contains some very interesting and remarkable details. A study of this, along with the printed data, reveals problems, inconsistencies, contradictions and omissions. The first problem is the time of death. Berger says that Neumann died at three o'clock in the afternoon. Father Holzer's letter of the fifth, the morning *Press* of the sixth, the letter from the anonymous priest at St. Peter's on the same day, the later letter of Brother Christopher place the death at 3:30<sup>33</sup>. There is disagreement with regard to the

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41 (1930) 15. This is his *Visitation Record*. The original is in the archives of the Society, St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia. A copy can be found in RABB.

<sup>31</sup> RABB, N, *Wissel Papers*, Otto Kopf to Joseph Wissel, Feb. 27, 1902, Monte Casino, Covington, Kentucky. In all probability that is the chalice sent by Bishop James J. Hogan, the first bishop of Altoona-Johnstown (1966), and by Monsignor Thomas J. O'Shea, the then pastor of Bellefonte, to the Neumann museum that is part of the Neumann Center at St. Peter's.

<sup>32</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 6, 1860; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 380-381; *Life*, p. 431; *Wuest, Vita*, pp. 59-60; *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 151; Curley, *Neumann*, p. 394. The house where he collapsed was at 1218 Vine St. Occupied by the Quayne family, this later became St. John's Infirmary. It was torn down when the street was widened. The Neumann museum has pictures of the outside of the house and the room where Neumann died. It also has the marble slab of the front door step. For more details on the errands of the day, see RABB, N, *Data 1860*, A. Thies to Dear Friend Wickmann, Jan. 6, 1860. This is a letter that appeared in the *Buffalo Aurora*, Jan. 13, 1860. See also A. Stuhl to Dear Friend [Berger], Jan. 14, 1860, Philadelphia. Stuhl became a Redemptorist the following year.

<sup>33</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 382; *Life*, p. 431; *The Press*, Jan. 6, 1860; RABB, N, *Data*

person who called the priest. According to Berger, the man who greeted Neumann at Tenth Street and noticed that he was staggering, saw him collapse near Thirteenth Street and ran the few blocks to the bishop's residence. Brother Christopher tells us that the two men who carried him into the house saw his ring and pectoral cross and then sent word of his collapse<sup>34</sup>. A much more important matter is that not a single printed account mentions the presence of Bishop Wood at the scene. There is mention of a priest, called the bishop's secretary, but there is no mention of Wood. Yet, Wood is mentioned in at least two archival documents. The confrere who wrote to Berger from St. Peter's mentions the presence of a priest and the bishop. Furthermore, we have Wood's own testimony. In a letter to Archbishop Purcell, Wood says that Neumann left the alderman's office, « crossed the street, and dropped and fell and became black in the face, was taken into the nearest house, groaned, sighed and expired. We were informed immediately and hastened to the place scarcely knowing what to believe or expect, and we found life already extinct »<sup>35</sup>.

On that January 5, 1860 Neumann was not yet fifty years old. The last person to be surprised at dying before fifty was Neumann himself. In 1853 he told his confrere, Father Charles Stiessberger, that he would be in his grave before the dome of the cathedral had the roof on it. In 1860 Stiessberger remarked that what he told him seven years previously came true<sup>36</sup>. In the summer of 1857 Neumann was having a walk with his nephew who had come to America that year. Neumann remarked that his father had reached an exceptionally old age, being then in his eightieth year. He then said that he himself would not live to see fifty. His nephew pointed out that not only his father, but that his mother and others in the family had long lives. He then told his uncle that he too would have a long life. Neumann's answer was: « You will see that I will not reach fifty ». To which

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1860, Holzer to De Dycker, Jan. 5, 1860; RABB, Berger File, [Anonymous] to Berger, Jan. 6, 1860; RABB, N, Leopoldine Transcripts, Christopher to Coudenhove, Jan. 15, 1860, Philadelphia.

<sup>34</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 382; *Life*, p. 431; RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>35</sup> RABB, [Anonymous] to Berger; RABB, N, Data 1860, Wood to Purcell, Jan. 6, 1860, transcribed copy.

<sup>36</sup> Excerpts from a letter of Rev. Charles Stiessberger, Feb. 16, 1860, Baltimore, in *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* 28 (1860) 287. Stiessberger understood the remark in the sense that Neumann would be dead before the cathedral was completed. In 1859 the exterior was completed and the ceremony of the placing of the gold cross on the dome took place on Sept. 14. See Curley, *Neumann*, p. 393.

the nephew adds that he lived forty-nine years, nine months and twenty-two days<sup>37</sup>.

The news of the bishop's sudden death spread « like wild-fire », with « lightning speed ». Telegrams from Bishop Wood carried the news to Archbishop Kenrick, the rest of the bishops of the metropolitan province, to other bishops and to the Redemptorist Provincial, Father John De Dycker<sup>38</sup>. Curiously, Neumann's own confreres at St. Peter's were among the last to hear the news officially. They did not get it until later that evening at the community night prayers. One can almost hear the hurt tones of regret from Brother Christopher as he tells Father Coudenhove that the Archbishop and the Provincial, who lived in Baltimore, knew it before the confreres who were living right there in Philadelphia. They were informed at once by a telegram from Wood.

The first report came to St. Peter's towards evening. At that time of the year that would be about 5 P.M. A woman, practically all out of breath, came to Brother Christopher at the office and said: « Brother Christopher, O dear God, the Most Reverend Bishop is dead ». Christopher thought that she had taken leave of her senses. Because the weather was slippery, he thought that the bishop might have fallen. When the woman insisted that he was dead, Christopher replied: « That is certainly not true, for if it were so, we would have known it long before this; actually, right away ». Furthermore, he told her that Father Urbanczik visited with the bishop that very afternoon. The woman left happy and consoled that it was only a rumor. Brother Christopher insists: « For my part I said nothing further about it ». As will be seen shortly, this will turn out to be an important statement.

After supper, in the community recreation room, one of the other brothers asked Christopher whether anyone said anything to him about the rumor of the bishop's death. When he answered yes, the other brother said that two men had told him the same thing. The two, who up to that time had been very close-mouthed about the rumor, now began to talk about it out loud. The result was that others overheard them and soon the general topic of conversation by the whole community was the rumor about the bishop's death. The obvious thing would be to turn to Urbanczik and ask him how he found the bishop that afternoon. They could not do that because he

<sup>37</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 401; *Life*, p. 452.

<sup>38</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 7; RABB, [Anonymous] to Berger.

had gone to bed, being tired and weary from traveling. The confreres were convinced it was a rumor, a rumor made up by women, etc. Christopher remarks that they did not go and wake up Urbanczik because they did not want to believe it. He shrewdly remarks: « We don't want to believe what we don't like ». The Rector, Father Holzer, observed: « There must be something to it; we should send at once, it could be important ». Nothing was done and time was running on. The time came for those hearing confessions to return to church. The others attended night prayers later in the oratory. It was then that the message came from Bishop Wood. In the words of Christopher: « While Father Superior was standing to give us the blessing, the Brother porter came with the official news. Father Giesen was just coming from the confessional into the oratory chapel when Father Superior was saying: 'The Most Reverend Bishop is dead'. In consternation, Father Giesen became white as a sheet. All of us were looking back at the Superior; it was a heavy silent pause. We could not keep back the tears. It was so completely unexpected »<sup>39</sup>.

The account in the Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's states that the Fathers learned about the rumor from Brother Christopher as they were on their way to supper after the afternoon confessions on the eve of the Epiphany. This, obviously, is at variance with the remarks of Christopher who claims that he said nothing further about the rumor at that time. On hearing the report, not a single one gave it the least bit of credence. All were quite unconcerned because it seemed completely incredible. This assured feeling that there was nothing to worry about was shattered by the message that arrived from Wood during night prayers. As the account says: « In the faces of all there was clearly seen the effect that this unexpected news produced »<sup>40</sup>. The lateness of the news in getting to St. Peter's occasioned the first letter on the death of Neumann. It was right after night prayers, at 9:30 in the evening, that Holzer wrote his account to De Dycker.

While that letter was being written the body of Neumann was back at the bishop's house on Logan Square. In fact, it was brought there immediately after death. On the evening of that day a reporter was present at the house. It is from him that we learn that the coroner had not yet held the inquest. He also writes that an eminent physi-

<sup>39</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>40</sup> RABB, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860) p. 15. The account in Wuest (*Annales*, vol. IV/1, pp. 127-130) is based completely on this account of 1860.

cian said that the cause of his death was apoplexy<sup>41</sup>. Later, the undertaker prepared the body for the funeral and burial. Judging by the many remarks about the appearance and the preservation of the body during the very long wake, the undertaker, Mr. Simon Gartland, must have been extremely skilled and capable.

### III

On January 6th, the feast of the Epiphany, Neumann was scheduled to celebrate the High Mass at St. Patrick's. Instead, the people there heard the formal announcement of his death, offered prayers for the eternal repose of his soul and were requested to be mindful of him in their prayers. This took place in all the churches of the diocese; on hearing the formal announcement, many broke out into tears<sup>42</sup>. At St. Peter's Father Holzer had four Masses said for his deceased confrere. This was the beginning of the *suffragia*, the prayers and Masses prescribed by the Redemptorist rule when a confrere dies<sup>43</sup>. These are the *suffragia* about which the bishop's nephew speaks so glowingly in his letters as a means of consoling the family back home in Bohemia on the loss of a son and brother<sup>44</sup>.

On January 6th the remains were laid out in the public chapel of the episcopal residence. In keeping with the prescriptions of the Ritual, the color of the cassock, cincture, tunic, stole, maniple, chasuble and gloves was purple. Neumann wore his ring, pectoral cross and mitre; at his side there lay a richly gilt crozier. Among the first to view the remains were his own confreres. Here, it will be helpful to recall that Neumann's death had repercussions on a mission that was to open on January 8th at the Redemptorist church in New York. As already known, Urbanczik was in Philadelphia on his way there.

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<sup>41</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 6, 1860; *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 6. Christopher notes that they could not remove the body from the house until the coroner arrived. On the other hand, the woman who came to the office to report that he was dead added the later detail that his body was carried away in a box. This seems to imply that the body was removed from the private home. *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 7, 1860 says that Coroner Fenner held the inquest that showed Neumann came to his death by natural causes. See also *The Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 6, 7, 1860.

<sup>42</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> RABB, *Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's* (1860), p. 17; Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 127.

<sup>44</sup> RABB, Berger File, Berger to his aunt [Sister Caroline], Jan. 8, 1860; Berger to his grandfather, mother and aunt Louise, Jan. 12, 1860; Berger to his cousin [Franz Berger], Feb. 8, 1860, Cumberland, Maryland.

Fathers Holzer, Giesen and Jacobs from St. Peter's were to take part in it. When Neumann died, Holzer and Giesen were told to remain in Philadelphia until the funeral was over. Two Baltimore Redemptorists, Fathers Joseph Clauss and Anthony Neyer, stopped off at St. Peter's on their way to that mission on January 6th for a few hours to see the body. We know for sure that these two, along with Giesen and the priest from St. Peter's who wrote to Berger, visited the bishop's chapel to pay their respects<sup>45</sup>. The letter to Berger contains a description of Neumann as he was laid out in the house chapel before the episcopal robes were put on. The writer says that his features were soft and peaceful and that he looked as though he died wrapt up in contemplation. He also informs Berger that a death mask had been made and that they planned to take a picture of Neumann when he was laid out in St. John's all dressed up in his episcopal robes. In the letter to his aunt, Sister Caroline, Berger tells her that he wrote to Wood and asked him for at least two copies of it<sup>46</sup>. This information had lain hidden in the folds of these letters. Of course we do not know if the picture was taken. As far as is known, there is no trace of the death mask.

The year before Neumann arrived in Philadelphia the first conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society was established by a small group of zealous laymen who met at St. Joseph's in Willing's Alley. As the years went on Neumann rejoiced to see these Conferences established in numerous parishes, including the Cathedral parish, where Neumann acted as its Spiritual Director<sup>47</sup>. As a token of respect from his « parishioners and penitents », the men of the Cathedral Conference held a meeting on January 6th. There they resolved to drape their hall in mourning for three months or until Easter, to attend the funeral in a body and request to be assigned an appropriate place, and « that when we adjourn, we go in a body to the Cathedral Chapel, and watch by his remains through this night and until their removal from us »<sup>48</sup>.

The last remark creates a problem: it takes for granted that,

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<sup>45</sup> For this data, see RABB, N. Data 1860, Holzer to De Dycker, Jan. 5, 1860; RABB, N. Leopoldine Transcripts, Christopher to Coudenrove, Jan. 15, 1860; RABB, Berger File, [Anonymous] to Berger, Jan. 6, 1860. For the mission at Holy Redeemer, see Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, pp. 89-92.

<sup>46</sup> RABB, [Anonymous] to Berger; Berger to Sister Caroline.

<sup>47</sup> Anon., *History of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, in *American Catholic Historical Society, Records* 47 (1936) 198.

<sup>48</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 27-28.

in the evening of January 6th, Neumann was lying in state in the cathedral chapel, the temporary structure erected by Wood in 1857 to serve the neighborhood until the cathedral was completed<sup>49</sup>. The *Funeral Obsequies* state that his remains were brought to the cathedral chapel on Friday morning, January 6th<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, Christopher says that, because of the crowds, the body was brought from the house chapel to the cathedral chapel on Saturday, January 7th, by the men of the St. Vincent de Paul Conference. Berger's account agrees with this. Curley makes the suggestion that the transfer took place after the Masses on Friday, the feast of the Epiphany<sup>51</sup>.

People came in droves to the chapel anxious to pay their respects to their beloved bishop. Nor was the number limited to Catholics; Protestants and Jews came to honor his memory and person. The priests who visited the chapel did not fail to go and offer Bishop Wood any help they could in such a sudden emergency. The chapel was draped in mourning. The remains were placed upon a catafalque where they rested upon a cushion of white satin with purple trimmings. Lighted candles lit up the countenance of the bishop for the viewers. The empty coffin (to be described later) was also surrounded day and night by candles; day and night the St. Vincent de Paul men kept their reverential vigil. At the head of the coffin was the Genoa Ivory Crucifix<sup>52</sup>, the celebrated work of art that Neumann succeeded in obtaining for the cathedral. This was used exclusively at the chapel; it was not used at St. John's or St. Peter's<sup>53</sup>.

Meanwhile, other things connected with the death and burial of the bishop were taking place. Very shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, Neumann was invited by the Philopatrian Institute, a Catholic literary society, to address them. He was at their meeting of April 12, 1852 when he gave his talk and was elected a member. In 1860, on the evening of January 7th, the Philopatians met and

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<sup>49</sup> Curley, *Neumann*, pp. 317, 459, n. 92. The story of the chapel from the planning stage to its completion can be read in *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Aug. 8, 29; Sept. 19; Oct. 17; Nov. 28; Dec. 5, 12, 26, 1857.

<sup>50</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove; Berger, *Leben*, p. 384; *Life*, p. 434; Curley, *Neumann*, p. 395. On Sunday, Jan. 8th, at least during the Masses, it seems that the body was in the chapel of the bishop's residence. See *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 9, 1860; *The Daily News*, Jan. 9, 1860; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>52</sup> For the story of the crucifix, see *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 30-37; *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Feb. 7, 1857; *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 9, 1860; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>53</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 384; *Life*, p. 434; *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 6.

resolved to attend the funeral in a body and to drape their hall in mourning for six months. Similar resolutions were passed by societies in various parishes; these will be identified when the order of the funeral procession is treated<sup>54</sup>. In all probability January 7th is the day when the Redemptorist Provincial, Father De Dycker, arrived in Philadelphia. The Chronicles of St. Peter's speak of him arriving during the night between the sixth and the seventh. Wuest speaks of his arrival on the seventh. His activities on the evening of January 8th preclude the possibility of his arriving then, the time assigned by Christopher<sup>55</sup>.

On Sunday, January 8th, the announcement was made again at all the Masses of the death and funeral Mass to be celebrated the next day at St. John's. In all probability his burial at St. John's was also announced as something taken for granted. Prayers were again offered up at all the Masses. Many a priest took the opportunity to give a sermon on the zeal and holiness of the deceased. Mention has already been made of the sermon given by Father Sourin at St. John's. The church was packed, not only because of Neumann's death, but also because of the rumor that Archbishop Francis Kenrick of Baltimore, Neumann's predecessor in Philadelphia, would be there that Sunday morning to preach. Throughout that day « the bells of St. John's tolled a mournful monotone »<sup>56</sup>.

As the day wore on the rectory at St. Peter's and the two small houses on either side of it began to fill up with visitors. Many of the parish priests from that vast diocese stayed there. From Latrobe, Pennsylvania, there arrived that evening the Benedictine Abbot, Boniface Wimmer of St. Vincent's Abbey, together with his companion Father Odilo. The Redemptorist arrivals were Fathers Giles Smulders and Charles Stiessberger from Baltimore, Fathers Joseph Helmprecht, Henry Fehlings and Michael Rosenbauer from New York. The reporter from the *Public Ledger* praises the Redemptorist hospitality and says that the priests at St. Peter's were taxed to the utmost to care for the visitors. He also mentions that beds had to be set up in « different portions of the basement »<sup>57</sup>. The train from Baltimore

<sup>54</sup> Curley, *Neumann*, p. 198; *The Catholic Instructor*, April 17, 1852; *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>55</sup> RABB, *Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's* (1860), p. 18; Christopher to Coudenhove; Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 128.

<sup>56</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 383; *Life*, p. 432; *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 7; *The Press*, Jan. 9, 1860.

<sup>57</sup> See the references in n. 55. For the abbot (later archabbot), see Otto Kaps-



also carried a large group of men whose presence in Philadelphia was a tremendous mark of reverence for the deceased. Aside from the years 1844 to 1847 when he was Rector in Pittsburgh, Neumann's entire Redemptorist life centered around Baltimore, as parish priest and missionary, as Rector of St. Alphonsus', as the Redemptorist Vicegerent and Vice-Provincial. It was in St. Alphonsus' that he was ordained bishop on March 28, 1852<sup>58</sup>. Neumann was beloved by all, young and old. When Baltimore heard of his death at least one hundred laymen, and possibly one hundred and fifty, traveled up to Philadelphia. These men, delegates and representatives from twelve parish societies, came to pray for the deceased and to proclaim publicly their love and regard by the prominent part they played in the funeral. While in Philadelphia they were guests of various families in St. Peter's<sup>59</sup>.

On the same evening Archbishop Kenrick also arrived on the train from Baltimore. His coming had a very important bearing on the funeral arrangements; he decided where Neumann would be buried. The Redemptorist Provincial, Father De Dycker, went to the station to welcome the archbishop. He then requested permission to have Neumann buried at St. Peter's instead of St. John's. The archbishop agreed. This decision will be treated later<sup>60</sup>.

#### IV

Monday was the day for the Mass at St. John's. In the original plan of Bishop Wood this was supposed to be the burial Mass. In the early hours of the morning there was much activity at St. Peter's. Because of the great number of priests, Masses were begun at four

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ner OSB, *Wimmer, Boniface*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 14 (1967) 953-954; Colman Barry OSB, *Worship and Work. St. John's Abbey and University 1856-1956*, Collegeville 1956, p. 447, s.v. Wimmer. For the newspaper quote, see *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860. When the reporter says that beds were set up in different parts of the basement, he is referring to the basement of the church, the sections not used as the lower chapel. See RABB, Berger to his grandfather, mother and aunt Louise, Jan. 12, 1860, Cumberland, Maryland.

<sup>58</sup> Along with the standard Neumann biographies, one should also consult M. Curley CSSR, *The Provincial Story. A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, New York 1963, pp. 94-104.

<sup>59</sup> See C. Stiessberger's letter in *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* 28 (1860) 288.

<sup>60</sup> See below, § VI. See also the following article.

o'clock. All the altars in the upper church and the lower chapel were occupied with priests saying Mass. Brother Christopher tells us that in the predawn stillness, one could hear the constantly-alternating tinkling of the bells. At seven o'clock all the societies of St. Peter's stood in readiness. They were joined by the twelve societies from Baltimore. Special attention is called to the fact that the men of the senior and junior sections of St. Peter's Holy Family Confraternity made their appearance wearing their distinctive decorations. A military musical corps had been formed at the parish for church processions. With this leading the way, all the societies marched to the cathedral chapel. There they met the other societies and groups and lined up in the order for the funeral procession that had been worked out on January 6th. Meanwhile the Redemptorists stationed at St. Peter's, along with the Redemptorist, Benedictine and diocesan visitors made their way to the bishop's house. The only one left behind to take care of parish affairs was Father Charles Kuenzer<sup>61</sup>.

The rest of the material to be treated in this section is centered about the procession to St. John's and the services held there on January 9th. Without a doubt the best source for this information is found in the copious and informative write-ups in the Philadelphia papers. This material is also found, slightly enlarged for some events, in the *Funeral Obsequies*. Reports in the letter of Christopher to Coudenhove and in the small or large Neumann biographies by Wuest, Berger and Curley repeat this material in a very condensed form. The result is that a great amount of detail and local color is lost. The papers utilized were the *Press*, *Morning Pennsylvanian*, *Evening Bulletin*, *Public Ledger*, *North American*, and *Philadelphia Daily News*. In general, the entire story of these days is found in these write-ups and in the other publications just mentioned. A specific reference will be given to them when a direct quote is given or when one of them contains an item proper to it alone. Although the accounts cover the same events and although the reporters were generously supplied with material<sup>62</sup>, nevertheless, it does happen that one report contains a specific item or piece of information not found in the others. A reference to such items is a service to future Neumann researchers. The same policy will be followed when an item is

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<sup>61</sup> RABB, N. Leopoldine Transcripts, Christopher to Coudenhove, Jan. 15, 1860, Philadelphia; Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), pp. 19-20.

<sup>62</sup> *The Press* for Jan. 10, 1860 speaks of the fullest accommodations provided in the northeast corner of the church and expresses generous thanks for the help given them by Mr. J. J. Sullivan and James Reilly.

mentioned in one or the other but is not common to all the write-ups.

The route to St. John's was down Eighteenth Street to Chestnut, along Chestnut to Thirteenth, up Thirteenth to the corner of Clover just below Market. A theme stressed by every reporter is that of the crowds that came out to do Neumann homage: « At daylight the people began to assemble, every moment adding immense masses to the throng. At this early hour there was a living sea of humanity at Eighteenth and Summer Streets »<sup>63</sup>. Not only was the throng in Logan Square immense, but « the streets adjoining the cathedral were packed with human beings who patiently waited from an early hour »<sup>64</sup>. Dense throngs filled the sidewalks and as the hearse was turning into Thirteenth Street « the crowd was so intense that it required the utmost exertion of a large body of officers and the military to clear a passage for the remains »<sup>65</sup>. By eight o'clock the front of St. John's on Thirteenth Street was « a solid mass of people »<sup>66</sup>. Describing his personal experience, Brother Christopher tells us: « On that same day between seven and eight I had to go to St. John's for some vestments and black draping material. When I got to St. John's it was very hard for me to make my way into the priesthouse ». Describing his departure at a quarter to eight, he goes on to say: « However, when I wanted to go out again — and I had to get back — the crowds were so great that there was hardly any thought of getting through... Finally, after all sorts of pushing, I reached Market Street. I was very anxious to see how the procession had formed, but I could see nothing because all the approaches to the streets were occupied with people »<sup>67</sup>. The reporters keep using terms like large, immense and tremendous to describe the crowds. They do not make an attempt to approximate the number. They do say that the number was « beyond measure »<sup>68</sup>. One who admits that it is « utterly impossible to form any estimate of the number of people in the vicinity » goes on to say that « men, women and children were huddled together in Chestnut, Thirteenth, Market and Clover Streets and so thick was the mass of humanity that the

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<sup>63</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>64</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>67</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>68</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 6, 13.

railroad cars and vehicles of all description were compelled to remain stationary in the neighborhood »<sup>69</sup>.

The newspaper accounts and the *Funeral Obsequies* say that at nine o'clock the Redemptorist Fathers took charge of the body and bore it upon a mattress covered with purple satin to the hearse « amid the slow and plaintive sounds of music and the low chanting of the priests »<sup>70</sup>. This statement of 1860 causes some difficulty for the writer of 1976. There are various reasons for this: 1) the funeral ceremonies at St. John's were held under the auspices of the diocese and of Bishop Wood; 2) Berger says that six venerable priests bore the body to the hearse<sup>71</sup>; if these were Redemptorists, one would expect him to at least mention the fact, if not the names; 3) none of the other Redemptorist accounts mention the fact; 4) we shall see later the names of the official pallbearers who bore the body in and out of St. John's, three of whom were Redemptorists. If the statement in the newspapers and *Funeral Obsequies* is correct, that means that there were special pallbearers, all Redemptorists, for this carrying of the body from the cathedral chapel. Another detail in this paragraph calls for comment to help contemporary readers who know only of the practice of having the body lying in the coffin for the wake. At Neumann's funeral the body was placed in the coffin only before it was lowered into the ground. A later description will show the place for the coffin. While lying in state or being carried about, the remains rested upon a special funeral couch or mattress. The precedent for this arrangement is found in a Mass celebrated at St. John's in 1854. This was a High Mass held in connection with the funeral of Bishop Francis X. Gartland (relative of Neumann's undertaker, Mr. Simon Gartland?). A native of Ireland and a diocesan priest of Philadelphia, he became the first bishop of Savannah, Georgia, four years previously<sup>72</sup>.

The crowd greatly interfered with the formation of the procession. However, with the help of the police, the Chief Marshall succeeded in getting it under way at nine o'clock<sup>73</sup>. The first two groups

<sup>69</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*; *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 11.

<sup>71</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 384; *Life*, p. 434.

<sup>72</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*; *The Press*, Jan. 7, 1860. For Bishop Gartland, see Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy, 1789-1964*, New York 1964, p. 106.

<sup>73</sup> *The Public Ledger*; *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860.

were a detachment of police under Lieutenant Patton and Hoffmann's Brass Band that played a funeral march especially composed for the occasion<sup>74</sup>. The Pennsylvanian Rifle Corps that was composed of German residents took their stand on the right of the other groups making up the cortege<sup>75</sup>. These included Literary and Beneficial Societies, the Philopatrans, St. Francis Xavier Institute, St. Francis Beneficial Society and Literary Societies from the parishes of St. Philip, St. Joseph, St. Peter and St. Paul. Next followed the parish Sodalities of St. Mary, St. James, St. Patrick, St. Joseph, Holy Trinity, St. Alphonsus, St. Michael, St. Theresa, St. Malachy along with its Confraternity, St. Philip, St. Francis, Assumption, St. John, St. Joachim, St. Augustine, St. Peter along with the Holy Family Confraternity. The next group shows the tremendous growth of the St. Vincent de Paul Society: Twelve Conferences marched in the funeral; the year before Neumann came to Philadelphia there was only one. The Conferences came from the parishes of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Joseph, Assumption, St. Patrick, St. Michael, St. Augustine, St. John, Holy Family, St. Alphonsus, St. James and Sts. Peter and Paul (the cathedral). The next group, the group from Baltimore, drew a great deal of comment and praise because of its size, the great distance the members traveled to be present at the funeral and their regalia<sup>76</sup>. These were the twelve Beneficial Societies from the parishes of St. Alphonsus, St. Boniface, St. Matthias, St. Michael, St. James, St. Martin, St. Ludger, St. George, St. Stephen, Sts. Peter and Paul<sup>77</sup>. The next section was led by a group that Neumann loved and on whom he devoted a great deal of time, namely, orphans. These were the orphans from St. John's Home under the charge of the Sisters of Charity. Next came the students from the preparatory Seminary at Glen Riddle (opened by Neumann only a few months previously), the students from St. Charles Seminary, the Jesuit scholastics from St. Joseph's College and Mr. Simon Gartland, the undertaker, along with his assistants. The hearse was richly built, adorned with black feathers, and drawn by four beautiful black horses, all wearing black feathers. It was surrounded on all sides with glass so that the remains could be seen by all<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860; RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>75</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>76</sup> *The Morning Republican*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>77</sup> Only the *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 12 carries the names of the Baltimore parishes.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 18; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

The clergy walked behind the hearse. These included the Redemptorist Provincial, the Benedictine Abbot, three bishops, James Frederick Wood of Philadelphia, John McGill of Richmond and John Loughlin of Brooklyn, one archbishop, Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore. The rest were a group of priests made up of the numerous diocesan clergy, one Franciscan and many Augustinians, Jesuits and Redemptorists. There were approximately one hundred at the funeral. The most detailed list is found in the *Funeral Obsequies*. After giving seventy-six names, it says that there are « a number of others whose names we could not learn »<sup>79</sup>. Only two Redemptorists are listed, De Dycker and Holzer (misspelled Holtzer). Of this group behind the hearse, it is only in the English translation of Berger's biography that we read: « But perhaps the most touching feature of this mournful pageant was that presented by the two imposing figures directly behind the car, Rev. Fathers Giles Smulders and Henry Giesen, C.S.S.R., whose true hearts mourned the loss of him who lay before them with folded hands and peaceful smile »<sup>80</sup>. The last group was the members of the laity who marched four abreast<sup>81</sup>. As the procession wended its way the eyes of all the people along the streets, on all the roofs and at every window were riveted on the body « in full pontifical robes lying in full view »<sup>82</sup>. In the words of *The Press*: « The features were distinctly visible through the glass panels, the expression was calm and natural, although a great deal paler than we have seen him in life »<sup>83</sup>. Berger tells us how moved the people were when they had their view of the bishop and saw the peaceful and calm expression on his face<sup>84</sup>. He also sings the praises of the people because they came out in such numbers on a day when « the weather was unfavorable » to catch a last look at the bishop. By contrast Christopher tells Coudenhove: « The good God seemed to want to bless this day with the most beautiful weather, for the sky was completely clear as it had not been for many

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<sup>79</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 14-16. The newspapers regularly speak of seventy-three priests. From the count just given, this has to be wrong. Father Charles Stiessberger, one of the priests present, says that there were more than one hundred priests there. See *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* 28 (1860) 287.

<sup>80</sup> Berger, *Life*, p. 435.

<sup>81</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>82</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>83</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>84</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 385. The English (p. 435) does not translate this completely.

days before and after ». On January 9th the temperature rose to the upper forties (Fahrenheit) in the afternoon. At seven o'clock in the morning the sky was 8/10% overcast; at two in the afternoon 7/10%. The following day the city was wrapped in a heavy fog that brought back the foggy weather of the 6th, 7th and 8th <sup>85</sup>.

## V

While the procession was on its way, there was much activity at St. John's. The funeral arrangements called for the galleries to be reserved for women. At an early hour they were opened and « in a few moments were crowded to overflowing », those who arrived the earliest being rewarded for « their punctuality and perseverance » <sup>86</sup>. The church was then closed to keep it reserved for the cortege, a few privileged persons, including the committee on arrangements, a group of nuns and reporters from the newspapers. Those inside the church were able to admire the manner in which it had been decorated and draped in mourning. Black streamers hung from the ceiling and adorned the walls. The pillars, gas fixtures and candle stands were overlaid with black. The pictures and windows were covered with black gauze interspersed with rosettes made by the women of St. John's. The decoration pattern in the Mass for Bishop Gartland was used as a precedent for Neumann's Mass. The workers at St. John's had ample time to decorate it in such a way that the beauty of the decorations was a theme in every write-up of the funeral. All this black « gave a somber hue to every thing in the church that heightened the funeral effect of the occasion ». We are also told that, with all this somber black, « the beautiful white marble figure of the Virgin Mary alone [relieved] the sense of solemn grandeur » <sup>87</sup>.

The desire to get into the church was an obsessive compulsion. Some men had recourse to the ruse of posing as reporters. The re-

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<sup>85</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 385; *Life*, p. 434; RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove. For the report on the weather I am indebted to Ms. Dianne Holleman of the Environmental Data Service, a division of the National Climatic Center of the Department of Commerce (Federal Government U.S.A.). The weather chart that I received bears the title: Register of meteorological Observations, under the Direction of the Smithsonian Institution, adopted by the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Annual Report. Place of observation, Philadelphia. For the month of January 1860.

<sup>86</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* For the Gartland precedent, see *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 7, 1860.

porter from *The Press* was almost refused admission because he was told that there were already « four reporters » from that paper. After being identified he was admitted. The twentieth century reader must smile a little when he reads the reporter's nineteenth century English in describing the men who posed as reporters; he calls them « impudent and domineering fellows ». The reporter from *The Evening Bulletin* had to be passed in « over the heads of screaming women »<sup>88</sup>. The ruse of a few was nothing compared to the demands of the crowd. We read in *The News*: « The desire to gain admission was intense and the best exertions of the police and military were necessary to keep the crowd from taking possession of the building »<sup>89</sup>.

When the procession reached St. John's at twenty-five to ten, the Pennsylvania Rifle Company formed lines outside the main door to allow the participants in the procession to enter. The first group to enter were those preceding the hearse up to and including the Jesuit scholastics, a group that is often overlooked in some write-ups<sup>90</sup>. The body was then brought into the church by the six pallbearers, the two diocesan priests, Fathers Patrick Sheridan of St. Paul's and Nicholas Cantwell of St. Philip's, the Augustinian, Father Patrick Stanton of St. Augustine's, the three Redemptorists, Fathers Lawrence Holzer and Henry Giesen of St. Peter's and Giles Smulders of St. Alphonsus', Baltimore. As the hearse approached and as the body was being carried into the church a profound and reverential silence came over the crowd<sup>91</sup>. The clergy then entered and went to the sacristy to get vested for the ceremonies. Spectators were then allowed in until the church was crowded. Finally, after keeping order through all these procedures, the Rifle Company entered and took up their positions along the middle aisle where they remained throughout the services. It is interesting to see the reaction of the reporter from *The Philadelphia Daily News* to the presence of the Rifle Company. He notes that it is strange to see soldiers present at the funeral of a church bishop, one whose calling is peace. After that, he goes through a process of argumentation that leads to a conclusion that resonates the bias of nineteenth-century American Nativism. He points out the precision of the Company that shows that thirty-six men are so well drilled! This leads him to 1844, the year of the Philadelphia riots,

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<sup>88</sup> *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 9, 1860; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>89</sup> *The Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>90</sup> The reporter from *The Press* mentions them.

<sup>91</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 13.



the year when St. Augustine's and St. Michael's were burned, when churches were surrounded on the plea of seizing the arms concealed there. His conclusion in 1860 was this: « Strange, indeed, but true — no one will have the hardihood to deny now what has been so often asserted that the Catholic Church, in Philadelphia, has paid some attention to the formation of military companies »<sup>92</sup>. Other write-ups stress their role in keeping order and in standing at attention during the services which lasted for hours.

At St. John's the arrangements for the body were extremely elaborate and detailed; these involve the platform, catafalque and coffin. A raised platform was constructed on a line with the communion rail and extended twenty feet out in front of it. It was adorned with black drapery. On the platform was the catafalque with its canopy. The catafalque and canopy were also elegantly adorned with black drapery. The body was set at an inclined plane and placed upon the catafalque. From the top of the canopy there hung a large and beautiful crucifix which was elevated about twenty feet above the floor. The body was elevated twelve feet above the floor and was surrounded by forty-two candles, thirty regular candles immediately around the catafalque and twelve large ones around the platform. The remains could be easily seen by all in the church; every write-up mentions the fact that the features preserved their natural expression. The empty coffin was at the right of the platform slightly below the body and set at an inclined elevation. The coffin was made of fine black walnut covered with costly black cloth and lined with rich purple satin. It was five feet, ten inches in length and twenty-three inches across the chest. It was trimmed with white and black silk fringes and contained a pillow of purple satin with two tassels. There were two rows of silver moulding at the base. On the top there was a silver cross and a silver plate carrying the name and the day of death of the Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia. According to the judgement of

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<sup>92</sup> *The Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1860. The difficulty with the write-up is the innuendo, the hints that the Catholics are up to something sinister. For Nativism and the Philadelphia Riots, see John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*, 2 ed., Milwaukee 1962, pp. 263-265; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860. A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, New York 1938, pp. 220-237; Hugh Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia: 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1948, pp. 288-340. There were rifle companies in some parishes; that was no secret. After St. Augustine's and St. Michael's were burned, the pastor at St. Philip Neri's obtained permission for arms. Later, « the Grand Jury justified the pastor for keeping arms as ordinary law enforcement officials had proven incapable of protecting Catholic property ». See Billington, *op. cit.* p. 236, n. 36; Nolan, *op. cit.* pp. 329-330.

contemporaries « it is said to be the most magnificent ever made in this city »<sup>93</sup>. The 1860 cross and plate are now in the Neumann Museum at the Neumann Center, St. Peter's, Philadelphia. At the first official exhumation of the body in 1902, that was part of the canonization process, the body was placed in a new coffin and then into an outer coffin of zinc. The cross and plate were removed and preserved<sup>94</sup>.

Shortly after ten, when the clergy were gathered in the sanctuary, the services got under way with the recitation of the Office of the Dead. That was followed by the Pontifical Solemn High Mass celebrated by Bishop Wood. Father Charles Carter, of the Assumption and Neumann's Vicar General after Sourin, was archpriest. The deacon of honor was Father John O'Reilly, the founder of St. Joseph's College, Susquehanna, Fathers John Dunn of St. Theresa's and Richard O'Connor of St. James', West Philadelphia, acted as deacon and subdeacon of the Mass<sup>95</sup>. The music for the services was provided by a choir and an orchestra. Singers from St. Peter's joined the St. John's choir; Mr. John A. Janke was at the organ. The orchestra, made up of thirty of the most distinguished musicians from the German Societies of the city, was under the direction of Professor A. Hertel<sup>96</sup>. One will have to await the treatment of the ceremonies at St. Peter's before hearing the review of the press on the music at St. John's.

While these services were going on inside the church, the crowd outside has its own history. One can readily appreciate their overflowing enthusiasm and their pent-up frustrations. It is rather normal that attempts would be made to gain entrance during the long hours of the service. The reporter from *The Public Ledger* tells us: « At times a desperate effort was made by those in the thickest of it [the crowd] to break through the lines in the hope of being able to get into the church. Thousands crowded into the basement but could get no further and had to retire as they entered ». Because of the surging throng, the reporter from *The Evening Bulletin* speaks of the Cathedral as being « really besieged ». It is from him that we

<sup>93</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>94</sup> *The Catholic Standard and Times*, April 26, 1902.

<sup>95</sup> All the write-ups give the names. Greater precision is found in *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 17, 24. For the complementary details given here, the writer consulted Curley, Neumann, and George O'Donnell, *Saint Charles Seminary Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1964.

<sup>96</sup> *The Press; The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 10, 1860. Only the *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 17, says that Father Charles Schroeder of Allentown presided at the organ.

learn that as the hours were dragging on, the crowds gradually diminished because « the eager spectators discovered that all their efforts could not get them even a sight into the inside ». Summing up his own experiences with the crowd of that day he gives a realistic judgment when he writes that their « behavior was as seemly, perhaps, as could have been expected ». By contrast the reporter from *The Daily News* passes a very angry judgement on the crowd at St. John's. To him « the whole affair was more of a disgrace than anything else, when the solemnity of what a funeral ought to be is taken into consideration ». Furthermore he says that « the pushing, pulling, hauling, mauling, screaming, and swaying to and fro...were certainly out of place at a funeral »<sup>97</sup>.

At the end of the Mass, Archbishop Kenrick delivered the sermon over his close friend, his former confessor and spiritual guide, and his successor in Philadelphia whom he was always ready to help and defend. His text was Luke 12: 40-44 that begins with the admonition to be always ready because we know not the hour when the Son of Man will come. It ends with the praise of the servant who is found watching when the Lord returns and who is placed over everything the Master owns. Kenrick told the people that the suddenness of the bishop's death is a warning to be always ready. He then developed the theme of how ready Neumann was for the call of the Lord and stated his conviction about how acceptable he was to God. While admitting human frailty, Kenrick said that we may hope that for Neumann God has reserved the reward that only saints obtain. While stressing that the chief duty is to pray for the departed bishop, he went on to say something for the edification of the people. This was a *curriculum vitae* in which he speaks of Neumann's accomplishments, labors and virtues that brought him to them as their bishop. In a special way he highlighted the eight years when they were witnesses to Neumann's holiness. He then urged them to thank God who gave them such a devoted bishop, to cherish his memory, to imitate him in their walks of life and to hope that he will plead for them before the throne of God<sup>98</sup>. After the sermon the choir sang

<sup>97</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860; *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 9, 1860; *The Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>98</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 18-22. These remarks are based on this version. There are many problems connected with Kenrick's funeral sermon on Neumann. There are discrepancies regarding the time when he found out he was to be the preacher. There are variations in printed versions of the sermon and in a Kenrick manuscript in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. The writer will research the problem at a later date.

the *Dies Irae*. Then the Archbishop, the three bishops and the Abbot officiated at the *Libera* or the rite of the Absolution<sup>99</sup>.

Had the original plans of Bishop Wood been followed, the work of the Chief Marshall and all those involved with the tremendous work and order of the procession would be finished when the service at St. John's came to an end. The change in plans to have the burial at St. Peter's (to be treated shortly) meant that the procession had to go there from St. John's. When the day-long funeral procession was over, it is easy to see how the Chief Marshall breathed a sigh of relief. It is easy to understand his letter of thanks to the Mayor, to the Chief of Police, Samuel Ruggles, to Lieutenant David Henderson, of the reserve corps and to the entire police force for the efficiency in carrying out the admirable arrangements that had been made for the handling of the crowd, the traffic and the procession<sup>100</sup>.

## VI

The permission to bury Neumann in St. Peter's needs a special study which will employ unused or little-used archival documents. Meanwhile, the known published data can be presented here. When Neumann died, Bishop Wood did not first consult the Redemptorists about the funeral arrangements. He made the rather normal decision to bury the bishop in St. John's, the procathedral. As previously seen, the news of the death and the funeral was late in getting to St. Peter's on the evening of January 5th. As soon as he got news from Wood, Holzer then told the Provincial that the funeral Mass would take place the following Monday, January 9th, at nine o'clock in St. John's. The newspapers carried this story with the added detail that the body would lie in state all the day after the Mass and be buried at night in one of the vaults alongside the church. The workers were busy getting the vault ready. The next day Holzer sent Father Giesen to Wood to get some of Neumann's belongings and to ask his permission to bury Neumann at St. Peter's. The main reason for the request was the fact that Neumann was a Redemptorist and that he repeatedly said that he wanted to be buried with his Redemptorist confreres. Wood refused, saying that the burial place for the bishop was St. John's, the procathedral. One document says that the decision was to be left up to the archbishop. Meanwhile, with an instinct for

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22; Berger, *Leben*, p. 386; *Life*, p. 436.

<sup>100</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 11, 1860.

a story that is characteristic of an alert reporter, a writer published the report that the Redemptorists had claimed the body because the bishop was a member of the Order and he said that « there is some difference of opinion as to the proper disposition of the remains of the late bishop ». When Kenrick arrived Sunday night, the very night before the funeral Mass and burial, De Dycker met him at the station and asked permission to have Neumann buried at St. Peter's. Referring to the fact that Neumann had to give up the Redemptorist community life when he became bishop, the archbishop reportedly said: « I gladly agree to have Bishop Neumann find a resting place, in death, in the place where he truly desired it in life but did not find it ». This is the decision that made a change in the original arrangements made by Wood<sup>101</sup>.

The news about Neumann and St. Peter's brought the people out in droves. Four hours before the procession arrived, the church was so full that not only the doors but the iron railings half way up the front steps leading to the doors had to be locked. None of the milling crowd outside could enter; none inside could get out. There at St. Peter's the tolling of the big bell began at one P.M.<sup>102</sup>. In their report on the change of plans the reporters marvel at the people who came out in throngs when they had another opportunity to get another last look at the bishop. St. Peter's was a repeat of St. John's. The crowds lined the route to St. Peter's and put up with the inconvenience of the muddy streets. The muddy weather was the result of the rising temperature and fog of the preceding days following the freezing weather since the beginning of January. Furthermore, in those days the neighborhood of St. Peter's was regarded as quite removed from the center of the city; it was uptown and only in the process of being built up<sup>103</sup>.

After the services at St. John's the pallbearers carried the body to the hearse and the procession got under way to St. Peter's. The archbishop, bishops and abbot did not join in these afternoon services. There is a problem with regard to the route taken. The newspapers say that the route was down Thirteenth to Chestnut, along

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<sup>101</sup> For the standard accounts, see Berger, *Leben*, p. 395; *Life*, p. 445; Wuest, *Annales*, Vol. IV/1, p. 128; Curley, *Neumann*, p. 395. For the newspapers, see *The Press*; *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 7, 1860; *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 9, 10, 1860.

<sup>102</sup> RABB, N, Leopoldine Transcripts, Christopher to Coudenhove, Jan. 15, 1860, Philadelphia; RABB, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), p. 19.

<sup>103</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860. For the weather conditions, see above, n. 85. For the locale of St. Peter's, see *Historical Sketches of the Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1895, pp. 70-73.

Chestnut to Twelfth to Girard Avenue and down Girard to Fifth with a right turn to St. Peter's at the southeast corner of Fifth and Girard. On the other hand, Brother Christopher says that the procession went up Thirteenth Street to Parrisch, down Parrisch to Fifth and along Fifth to the church<sup>104</sup>. There is also a difficulty with regard to the time when the procession arrived. Most agree that it arrived about four o'clock, e.g., the Chronicles at St. Peter's, the *Funeral Obsequies*. Berger says: « The route was long and difficult; this is the reason why the procession only arrived about 4 in the afternoon »<sup>105</sup>.

When the procession turned into Fifth Street all the bells of the church began to ring. The pallbearers carried the body to the church. Father Holzer, vested in cope, accompanied by Fathers Kuenzer and Heymann, vested in dalmatics, received the body at the door of the church. With the police, the military and parish societies keeping order, the people in the procession entered the church. Outside spectators then began to enter but in a short while it was impossible for anyone to get in. For the sake of safety the doors had to be closed. The pews were filled and every inch of standing room occupied<sup>106</sup>. There were at least two thousand people in the church where the seating capacity was 1,200<sup>107</sup>. The body was placed at an elevated position on a catafalque that was three feet from the floor<sup>108</sup>. After the *Dies Irae* and the accompanying orations were sung, some of the clergy left for their rectories in the city. Others and all the visitors at St. Peter's went to the refectory to get something to eat. It was a late hour to be partaking of the « midday meal »<sup>109</sup>.

All the newspaper accounts are lavish in praising St. Peter's for the wonderful funeral arrangements. St. Peter's is much more spacious and commodious than St. John's. This made for orderliness.

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<sup>104</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove; *The Press*, Jan. 10, 1860. Regarding the route taken, it is interesting to note that Christopher tells us that he had the opportunity to go to the tower of the church and see the procession on its way. A. Stuhl also mentions that the procession approached Fifth St. via Parrish St. See RABB, N, Data 1860, A. Stuhl to Berger, Jan. 19, 1860, Philadelphia.

<sup>105</sup> Berger, *Leben*, p. 395; *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 23; RABB, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), p. 19. Father Holzer says that the funeral procession on the ninth was four miles. See RABB, N, Data 1860, Holzer to Mauron, Feb. 1, 1860, copy. It is Christopher's letter that speaks of the arrival at three.

<sup>106</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>107</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 23. For the seating capacity, see J. Byrne, *Redemptorist Centenaries*, p. 179. The spacious aisles could accommodate many standees.

<sup>108</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>109</sup> Aside from the details in nn. 106-108, all this material is found in RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove; Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), p. 19.

The crowds in the church and then the crowds outside came up to view the remains. They could enter the middle door, come up the center aisle, form lines to the left and right of the body and then leave by the side aisles. For the rest of the afternoon and late into the night, except for a church service, there was one continual, unending procession past the corpse. With this arrangement the utmost order was preserved. Its own steady, peaceful momentum took care of the crowd. It was also pointed out that, although a large body of police was present, there was no need for their service<sup>110</sup>.

The reporters' praise of the orderliness and spaciousness at St. Peter's has a bearing on a human-interest story that concerns Brother Christopher. He made their theme his own and expanded on it in his report to Coudenhove. It seems as though the joy over the praise is a compensation for the hurt that came from one criticism of St. Peter's, namely, the decoration of the church. The reporter from *The Evening Bulletin* wrote: « The church was not appropriately draped. No tokens of grief were displayed except in the countenances of the clergy and laity »<sup>111</sup>. Christopher says: « If we were unable to decorate the church as beautifully as St. John's because the time was so short [before finding out about the burial here] nevertheless we had more room for the priests as well as for the laity ». He then describes the amount of room for the catafalque, the procession of people in and out of the church as they viewed the body. He also boasts that the priests could fit comfortably in the sanctuary and that only a few had to go the priests' sacristy. This, obviously, must indicate that both sacristies had to be used by the priests during the services at St. John's<sup>112</sup>.

That evening between seven and nine, fifty priests solemnly chanted the Office of the Dead; Father Giesen acted as Master of Ceremonies<sup>113</sup>. During the service the crowd jammed the church so much that the doors again had to be locked. When the service was over and when those in the church had viewed the body, those outside kept coming in at a steady and orderly pace until it was time to lock the church. Christopher says that the church was locked at half past twelve. The reporter in *The Public Ledger* tells us: « When it

<sup>110</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>111</sup> *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>112</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>113</sup> Brother Christopher, the Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's, *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 11, 1860 say the service was held from seven to nine. Berger says the Office began at eight, the *Funeral Obsequies* put it at nine!

became necessary to close the doors, the people left reluctantly and the officers of the church were obliged to use considerable persuasion to induce many to retire »<sup>114</sup>. In the quiet of the first hours of that Tuesday morning, the men of the St. Vincent de Paul Conference were still keeping watch. They were joined by the societies of the parish and by the Redemptorist priests and brothers<sup>115</sup>.

## VII

As on the previous day, the priests began saying Mass at all the altars in St. Peter's at four o'clock in the morning. When the doors of the church were opened at five o'clock there was a large crowd waiting to get in to pay their respects, many having waited there all through the night<sup>116</sup>. As the morning wore on, the crowds grew. By the time Mass started at nine, there were at least two thousand in the church and the doors were locked. The crowd outside was vast. Even the reporter for *The Daily News* was happy with the crowd in the church. He tells us that « the utmost order prevailed, thereby forming a great contrast with the disgraceful scenes of the day previous »<sup>117</sup>. The reporter from *The Evening Bulletin* gives a write-up that is worthy of being handed on. He tells us a great deal which in turn tells us a great deal about Neumann. After speaking about the spaciousness of the church that allowed 2000 to get in, he says that « the broad aisles were dense and a perfect setting for pickpockets ». He then tells us that the church was jammed with « the ragged outcasts and very humble citizens, with an infusion of colored little ones ». Such a group, obviously, « offered no tempting inducement to the light-fingered »<sup>118</sup>. These were the ones with whom Neumann delighted in working when living; it was their gratitude to come and pay him homage in death. He would have been particularly pleased to see the last group, « the infusion of colored little ones », who made the long walk to St. Peter's to see the bishop

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<sup>114</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>115</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenrove, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), pp. 19-20; Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 129; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 395-396; *Life*, pp. 445-446. For newspapers, see *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 9-10, 1860. For Jan. 11, 1860, see *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, *The Public Ledger*, *The Press*.

<sup>116</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*; *The Press*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>117</sup> *The Philadelphia Daily News*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>118</sup> *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 10, 1860.



who championed their school and who backed and encouraged the proposal of Father Felix Barbelin, S.J., who had been gathering the children every Sunday for Mass and Vespers, to open a school for them. It is known that Neumann followed the scholastic progress of the school and delighted in the musical concerts it held <sup>119</sup>.

The Solemn Pontifical High Mass celebrated by Bishop Wood began at nine o'clock. It is easy to see the setting. The body surrounded by candles lay in simple state in the middle aisle before the sanctuary. The sanctuary, as previously seen, accommodated practically all the priests present, including Abbot Wimmer. The sanctuary was surrounded by the Baltimore Societies. Most reports say that the officers of the Mass were the same as the previous day <sup>120</sup>. On the other hand, the Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's say that the Redemptorist Fathers Michael Rosenbauer and Joachim Heymann were the deacon and subdeacon, while the Press reports that Father William O'Hara, the Rector of the Diocesan Seminary, acted as deacon <sup>121</sup>. In its short history since 1843 St. Peter's had gained a high reputation for its liturgical services and music. It lived up to its reputation for Neumann's funeral. The reporter for *The Press* writes: « The services were performed with the usual solemnity, the accompanying music serving greatly to deepen the effect. The performances by the choir of St. Peter's were far superior to those in the cathedral Monday. Mr. Hertel was the leader and the force, both vocal and instrumental, was strong enough to give grand effect to the *Requiem* — Stoessel's *Missa pro defunctis* » <sup>122</sup>.

At the end of the Mass Father George Beranek preached the sermon in German. A pioneer at St. Peter's he had come from New York on the evening of January 6th to help with the parish work during the absence of the priests from St. Peter's who were appointed to the mission in New York <sup>123</sup>. He began by pointing out the many bonds between Neumann and St. Peter's, the last being Christmas when he celebrated the Midnight Mass <sup>124</sup>. His main theme was

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<sup>119</sup> *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, Sept. 18, Oct. 30, 1858; *Dunigan's American Catholic Almanac*, 1859; Eleanor Donnelly, *A Memoir of Father Felix Barbelin SJ*, Philadelphia 1886, pp. 201-203.

<sup>120</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 23.

<sup>121</sup> RABB, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860) p. 20; *The Press*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>122</sup> *The Press*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>123</sup> Wuest, *Annales*, vol. IV/1, p. 128.

<sup>124</sup> RABB, N, Visits to St. Peter's. This is a list of the times and dates when

God's blessings upon Neumann and Neumann's response in every phase of his life. In Beranek's words this response was the practice of virtue that was heroic. The homage of the people, the clergy and his confreres during these days was homage given to one they recognized as holy. He pointed out that it seemed as though God Himself was giving His approval to this judgment. This he saw in the marvellous appearance of the body, in the fact that there was not the least sign of decay even though five days had elapsed since his death. Obviously, this last statement is an expression of a popular belief that equates the preservation of the body with holiness <sup>125</sup>.

After the sermon, Bishop Wood and Abbot Wimmer officiated at the *Libera*. During the *Libera* the priests left the sanctuary and lined up in the middle aisle on both sides of the body. They then reentered the sanctuary, went behind the altar and down to the vault. Only the clergy were allowed to be present at the burial <sup>126</sup>. There were two exceptions, namely, the Jesuit scholastics <sup>127</sup> and the reporters. One of the reporters speaks of « the extreme kindness » of someone at St. Peter's who « gave proof of a desire to facilitate the effort of the reporters », the ones who gave us the first write-ups of this service <sup>128</sup>. Father Stiessberger, one of the pallbearers, says that he, Fathers Smulders, Holzer and De Dycker « amid the tears of the whole congregation carried the body from the upper to the lower church » <sup>129</sup>. Normally, the accounts speak of six pallbearers. One reporter gives the detail that the pallbearers carried the body on their shoulders <sup>130</sup>.

Lack of space made it impossible to allow the people into the lower church. Furthermore, if the doors were open, even for some, there would have been a stampede. As one reporter writes: « The curiosity of the spectators to see the body interred was intense and many attempted to gain access to the small chapel, but the doors were

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the bishop went to St. Peter's to make his monthly and yearly retreat, to say Mass, preach, ordain and confirm.

<sup>125</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 24-26. This is also published in German, *Leichen-Feierlichkeiten des hochwürdigsten Johann Nepomuck Neumann*, Philadelphia 1860.

<sup>126</sup> This is the order demanded by the description in RABB, *Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's* (1860), p. 20.

<sup>127</sup> RABB, N, *Leopoldine Transcripts*, Christopher to Coudenhove, Jan. 15, 1860, Philadelphia.

<sup>128</sup> *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 10, 1860.

<sup>129</sup> See *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* 28 (1860) 287-288.

<sup>130</sup> *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 11, 1860.

closed »<sup>131</sup>. Christopher says that the doors and window shutters were closed. If they were left open, he adds, the people would be crushed and the pews and chairs would be broken. He also gives the added detail that a wall had been built to take the place of the old fence that surrounded the garden; the fence would not have been able to hold the people back and would have been completely demolished<sup>132</sup>.

With the doors and shutters closed, the darkness was dispelled by the light of the candles carried by the priests. Bishop Wood, assisted by Father William O'Hara, the Rector of the Seminary, stood at the open vault and conducted the burial service. After the body was sprinkled with holy water and the final *Requiescat in pace* sung, the crozier was removed from the place beside the body and a few articles from the person. The pallbearers then placed the body in the coffin; that in turn was placed in a strong box and lowered into the earth amid the weeping of many of the bystanders<sup>133</sup>.

Even with the burial the funeral arrangements were not completed. It will be recalled that De Dycker received the permission to bury Neumann at St. Peter's only after the archbishop arrived in Philadelphia late Sunday evening. Christopher says that it was midnight before the news reached St. Peter's. That means that January 9th had begun and that they had only one day to start and finish the job. One readily understands when Christopher tells Coudenhove: « That called for work ». It was the work of digging and cementing in order to prepare a special vault for Neumann. Furthermore, they did it themselves without any outside help. One observant reporter was aware of this and he noted how the workers had to work all during the night to complete the job<sup>134</sup>.

Because the time was so short, it was impossible to have the marble slab ready for the time of burial. A board covered with black cloth that was interspersed with white rosettes was placed over the vault. It is interesting to note that the board was decorated with flowers and surrounded with pots and vases filled with flowers, votive offerings that were placed at his tomb since the very day of his burial<sup>135</sup>. As we learn from a letter of Father Holzer to Father

<sup>131</sup> *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 11, 1860.

<sup>132</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

<sup>133</sup> *The Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 10, 1860; *The Press*; *The Morning Pennsylvanian*, Jan. 11, 1860; RABB, Domestic Chronicles of St. Peter's (1860), p. 20.

<sup>134</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove; *The Public Ledger*, Jan. 10, 1860; *Funeral Obsequies*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>135</sup> RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove.

Nicholas Mauron, the Redemptorist Superior General in Rome, the marble slab was installed on February 1, 1860. This story is linked with the report on the marvellous preservation of the body and on a reputed miracle. Holzer describes the vault in the sanctuary between the altar and the communion rail and explains the need of first using a board as a covering for the vault. He then tells him that everyone marvelled how Neumann's body was so preserved during the five days between his death and burial. With this as background he goes on to say:

When I returned from New York, where we had a mission in our church from the 8th to the 22nd and where we had 5,000 communions, the first thing I wanted to look into was the condition of the body, because the marble slab was not yet ready. Since none of us noticed the slightest trace of the odor of death, I had the temporary board lifted up and the vault opened. Even then, there was no sign of an odor. I then had the outer coffin of cedar wood opened. Since the situation was exactly the same, we opened the inner coffin. Our beloved bishop lay there exactly as he was on the day of burial without the least odor of death. The flesh on his face was very natural, his feet were supple and mobile. And yet, twenty-six days have passed since his death. Furthermore, the days of the funeral were warm and the church (the chapel, St. John's and ours) was very warm because there were so many people who wanted to see him one more time. Moreover, the basement where he is buried is heated every day in winter. No one can give a natural explanation for this. All look upon it as the finger of God pointing out to us the holiness of His humble servant.

Holzer tells Mauron about a reported miracle. He then says: « I explained the entire matter to our present Bishop Wood yesterday. However, he did not say a word and so today I had the permanent marble slab put on the vault. The bishop's coat of arms is on the top of the marble slab, the coat of arms of the Redemptorists is at the bottom. In between is the inscription: John Nepomucene Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia, Born in Bohemia March 28, 1811, Professed as a Redemptorist Jan. 16, 1842, Consecrated Bishop March 28, 1852, Died Jan. 5, 1860 »<sup>136</sup>.

A canonization is a long and involved process that goes through many stages up to the Congregation of Rites, a consistory, and the

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<sup>136</sup> RABB, N, Data 1860, Holzer to Father General [Nicholas Mauron], Feb. 1, 1860, Philadelphia. — The original of Holzer's letter (in German) is in the General Archives of the Redemptorists in Rome, Provincia Americana, V 3, Personalia, Neumann.

Holy Father himself<sup>137</sup>. Because this usually covers years measured by the hundred, there is often a tendency to forget the beginning of the process, the process at grass root level. If the process goes up, we must never forget the demands from below that set it on its way. This is the *vox populi*, the voice of the people, that unique phenomenon in the history of the Church that is both spiritual and psychological. If the pope speaks in 1976, we dare not forget that the people were speaking in 1860 and down the years; both voices are part of the one process. The voice of the people is so important because, with the help of the Spirit, they have a sixth sense, a sense for holiness.

Hardly was Neumann dead when the « voice of the people » was heard throughout Philadelphia. It was heard in the profound sorrow, the stunned disbelief and the repeated requests for assurance that the news was true. It was evidenced in the crowds at St. John's and St. Peter's, both inside and outside, in the thousands who filled every inch of space along the procession route in the determination to get another last look when the funeral plans were changed and the people learned that there would be another lying-in-state and Mass at St. Peter's where the burial was to take place. As we read in the *Funeral Obsequies*:

Did we need any evidence of the appreciation in which the distinguished prelate was held by the laity and clergy, as well as by all who knew him, we have certainly witnessed it in the manner in which they collected together, on the occasion of the funeral obsequies, to do honor to his memory and to attest the love which they bore him<sup>138</sup>.

The « voice of the people » was manifested in the reverence with which they approached the body, kissed the hand or foot and applied some object to the body to keep it as a memento or relic. It was seen in the votive offerings of flowers that constantly decorated his grave. Another manifestation of the « voice of the people » is seen in the conversion of heart that his death occasioned; for some it was a conversion from sin to virtue; for others it was a conversion to a more fervent practice of the Christian life. A very important aspect of the « voice of the people » is seen in the growth of the Neumann legend. This grew right out of the lives of the people. People began to talk of Neumann from their own experiences.

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<sup>137</sup> P. Molinari SJ, *Saints. Their Place in the Church*, New York 1965.

<sup>138</sup> *Funeral Obsequies*, p. 5.

One told this story of Neumann's goodness, generosity, charity, self-sacrifice; one told another story. In this way there emerged a composite picture that portrayed a holy person. The « voice of the people » is heard most of all in the people who came to his tomb to pray, not for him, but to him. They prayed that he would intercede for them with the Lord. People came on their own and they brought the sick and needy. It was not long before there were reports of reputed cures, prayers answered and favors granted. Neumann was buried at St. Peter's on January 10, 1860. Less than a month later, on February 1st, Holzer could say to Mauron: « Our church has truly become a pilgrimage church. Indeed, everyone looks upon the deceased bishop as a saint »<sup>139</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> RABB, Holzer to Mauron. For more references dealing with the material in this last section, see RABB, Christopher to Coudenhove; Berger, *Leben*, pp. 398-405; *Life*, pp. 450-457; Curley, *Neumann*, 397-398.