

# FUNERAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL

John Prestwich (1608–1679), Fellow, All Souls College (Oxford)

23 November 1658

His Highness' first illness was at Hampton Court, where he sickened of a bastard tertian, of which he grew very ill, insomuch that after a week's time his disease began to show very desperate symptoms. Whereupon he was removed to Whitehall, Westminster, near London, where his chaplains and others of his family kept private meetings and fastings for his recovery. Continuing in this condition, His Highness died on Friday, the third of September, at three of the clock in the afternoon, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight.

His body presently after his expiration was washed and laid out and, being opened, was embalmed and wrapped in a sere cloth six double, and put into an inner sheet of lead, enclosed in an elegant coffin of the choicest wood. Owing to the disease he died of—which, by-the-by, appeared to be that of poison—his body, although thus bound up and laid in the coffin, swelled and burst, from whence came such filth that raised such a deadly and noisome stink that it was found prudent to bury him immediately, which was done in as private a manner as possible. For the solemnization of the funeral no less than the sum of £60.000 was allotted to defray the expence.

The corpse being thus quickly buried by reason of the great stench thereof, a rich coffin of state was on 26 September, about ten at night, privately removed from Whitehall in a mourning hearse, attended by his domestic servants, to Somerset House in the Strand, where it remained in private for some days, 'till all things were prepared for public view. Which being accomplished, the effigies of His Highness was with great state and magnificence exposed openly, multitudes daily crowding to see this glorious, but mournful, sight, which appeared in the order following.

The first room where the spectators entered was wholly hung and covered with black, and at the upper end of this room was placed a cloth and Chair of State. In the like manner of the first room were two others; namely, the second and third, all having funeral escutcheons very thick upon the walls, and guards of partisans were placed in each room for people to pass through.

The fourth room was completely hung with black velvet, the ceiling being of the same. Here lay the effigy of His Highness with a large canopy of black velvet fringed, which hung over it. The effigy was of wax, fashioned like the Protector and placed lying upon its back. It was appareled in a rich and costly suit of velvet, robed in a little robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, furred with ermine. Upon the kirtle was a large robe of purple velvet, laced and furred as the former, with strings and tassels of gold. The kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered belt, wherein was a sword richly gilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of this effigy. In the right-hand was a sceptre; in the left, a globe. Upon his head was placed a purple velvet cap, furred with ermines suitable to the robes. Behind the head was placed a rich chair of tissued gold, whereon was placed an Imperial crown, which lay high that the people might behold it.

The bed of state whereon he lay was covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, borne up by six stools covered with cloth of gold. About the bed was placed a complete suit of arms, and at the feet of the effigy stood his crest. This bed had fixed about it an ascent of two steps. A little from thence stood eight silver candlesticks, about five foot high, with white wax tapers standing in them of three foot long. All these things were environed with rails and balusters, four square, covered with velvet. At each corner whereof there was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, who held in their paws streamers crowned. On both sides of the bed were set up in sockets, four great standards of the Protector's arms, with banners and banrols in war painted upon taffety. About the bed stood men in mourning, holding in their hands black wands and also standing bare-headed. And without the rails stood others in like manner, whose office it was to receive people in and turn them out again.

When this public wake or funeral had been kept for many weeks together, so that all strangers, etc. had seen it fully, then did the following change take place, and the whole scene become altered. The effigies being removed into another inner room, it was there set up, placed upon an ascent under a cloth of state, being vested as it was before lying. Only now his purple velvet was changed for a crown. In the same manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued until the twenty-third of November, which day was appointed to carry him with all solemnity to Westminster Abbey.

This great funeral was performed with very great majesty in this manner following.

All things being in readiness, the waxen effigies of the Protector, with a crown on his head, a sword by his side, a globe and sceptre in his hands, was taken down from his standings and laid in an open chariot, covered all over with black velvet. The streets from Somerset House to Westminster Abbey were guarded by soldiers, placed without a railing and

clad in new red coats with black buttons, with their ensigns wrapped in cypress. These made a lane to keep off spectators from crowding the procession.

*The Proceeding to the Funeral of the Most Noble and Puissant Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories Thereunto Belonging, from Somerset House in the Strand unto the Abbey Church of Westminster, on Thursday, 23 November 1658.*

- Colonel Biscoe, Knight Marshall, on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipped at both ends with gold.
- Richard Gerald, Deputy Marshall, on horseback, with his black truncheon tipped with silver.
- Marshall's men, 13, on horseback, with the Knight Marshall.
- Two conductors of the poor men of Westminster, with black staves.
- Poor men of Westminster, two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods.
- Two conductors more, with black staves.
- Poor men in gowns, two and two, in number 82.
- Two conductors more, with black staves, in cloaks.
- Servants to gentlemen, esquires, knights, baronets, two and two.
- Two porters of the gate, with their staves.
- Six drums with the Arms of Ireland.
- Six trumpets with banners of Ireland.
- The Standard of Ireland, borne by Colonel le Hunt and Major Crooke, close mourners. One in a cloak, to bear up the train of the Standard.
- A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Tenant, equerry, in a cloak; and a groom in a coat, to attend and lead away the horse.

*Inferior servants*

- The household kitchen, 8; His Highness' kitchen, 7; hall place, 5; scullery, 1.
- Door keepers — James' Park; Committee of the Army; Committee of the Admiralty; the Counting House.
- Under keepers of parks, 2; watermen, 28; Richard Nutt, Master of the Barge; fire-makers, 5; pastry, 2; larder, 2; pantry, 1; buttery, 5; great beer-cellar, 1; wine-cellar, 1; privy cellar, 2; bake house, 4; porters, 2; ale-brewers; cooper; under grooms of the chamber, 5; inferior waiters at the cofferer's table, 2; inferior waiters at the Comptroller's table, 3.
- Three drums, with escutcheons of the Arms of Scotland.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The Standard of Scotland, borne by Major Dawboroon and Major Babington.
- Assistant close mourners. One in a cloak, to bear up the train of the Standard.
- A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Bergawny, an equerry, in a cloak, and a groom in a coat, to attend, etc.
- Inferior officers of the Lord Mayor, 70.
- Marshal's men, 6.
- Servants relating to the Surveyor's Office, 12.
- Servants in his Highness' wardrobe, 4.
- Three drums, with escutcheons of the Standard of the Dragon.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The Standard of the Dragon, borne by Colonel Goodrick and Major Cambridge, assistant.
- Close mourners; one in a cloak to bear the train of the Standard.
- A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes and garnished with a chevron, and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Wilcocks.
- An equerry in a cloak and a groom in a coat, to attend, etc.

*Officers of Better Sort*

- Scullery, 3; larder, 1; hall place, 2; deputy sewer, 1; kitchen, 1; slaughter-house, 1; spicery, 1; cellar, 1; ale-brewers, 2; falconers, 2; huntsman; key-keeper; gardeners, 3; park keepers, 8; bird-keeper; chapel keepers, 4.
- Messengers of the Committee of the Army, 4; of the Committee of the Admiralty, 2; Keepers of the Council Chamber and Privy Lodgings, 5; Messengers of the Council Chamber, 15.
- Serjeant Dendy's men, 3; Grooms of the Chamber, 7.
- Waiters on the cofferer's table, 2; chafe-wax and sealer of the Chancery, 2; tally-cutter; Usher of the Hall; Usher of the Council Chamber; Butler to the Comptroller; household kitchen, 3 cooks; His Highness' kitchen, 1 cook; gunsmith;

shoemaker; hatter; tailor; upholsterer; measurers of cloth, 3; master-carpenter; master-joiner; master-carver; master mason.

- Three drums, with escutcheons of the Standard of England.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The Standard of the Lion of England, borne by Major Creed and Major Grove.
- Close mourners; one in a cloak, to bear up the train of the Standard.
- A horse, covered with black cloth, adorned with plumes, garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Wallen, equerry, in a cloak, and a groom in a coat to attend, etc.
- Gentlemen attendants on public ministers.
- Barons', Viscounts', Earls' servants.
- Gentlemen attendants upon Ambassadors.
- Clerks in the Surveyor's office, 2; the wardrobe, 2.
- Under clerks to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 2.
- Clerk of the Accounts of the Army.
- Clerk for the Affairs of the Ordnance.
- Clerk of the Commissioners of the Navy.
- Clerk to the Committee of the Army.
- Mr. Malin's clerks, 2.
- Clerks under the Clerks of the Council, 10.
- Cash Keeper.
- Printers, Mr. Henry Hill and Mr. John Field.
- Gentlemen that wait at the Comptroller's table.
- Officers of the Lord Mayor, in gowns.
- Young men, 6;
- Yeomen of the Waterside, 4; Serjeants of the chamber, 3; carvers, 3; esquires belonging to the Lord Mayor, 4; Water Bailiff; common crier; common hunt; Sword-bearer.
- Three drums with escutcheons of the Guidon.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The Guidon borne by Major Knight and Sir John Blackamore.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by Mr. Bagg and Mr. Nelson, two equeries, in cloaks, and one groom in a coat, to attend, etc.
- The poor knights of Windsor — Mr. Richard Pratt, Captain Fanshaw, Cornet Stephens, Captain Beale, Lieutenant Parker, Cornet Olmer, Lieutenant Mayns, Major Wallinger, Lieutenant Bankes, Mr. Grosvenor, Captain Roe, Colonel Herbert, Mr. Day, Captain Cooper, Major Leventhorp, Sir David Hatfield, Captain Burges, Mr. Cary, Colonel Whitecote.
- Two lads brought up to music.
- Musicians — Mr. John Rogers, Mr. Thomas Mallard, Mr. William Howe, Mr. David Mell, Mr. Thomas Blgrave, Mr. William Gregory, Mr. Richard Hudson, Mr. Hinckston, Master of the Music.
- Apothecaries — Mr. Webb, Mr. Phelps, Mr. William Baghurst.
- Chirurgeons — Mr. Fothergail, Mr. Trapham, Mr. Harris.
- Her Highness' butler.
- His Highness' butler.
- Pantry, 2; great beer cellar, 1; privy cellar, 1; scullery, 1; wood yard, 2; pastry, 2; caterer, 1; bake house, 2; larder, 3; slaughter house, 1.
- Three drums with escutcheons of the White Lion.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The banner of the Lion, borne by Colonel Pretty and Colonel Gibbon.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equeries in cloaks, and a groom in a coat, to attend, etc.
- Surveyor of Westminster Abbey.
- Head Bailiff of Westminster, Mr. Jenkin.
- Merchant for timber to His Highness.

- Clerk of the surveys; assistant to the Keeper of the Wardrobe; mews keeper; clerks of the stables, the aviary, the spicery, wine-cellar; purveyor of wine; clerks of the household kitchen; His Highness' kitchen, 2.
- Master of Westminster School — Mr. Busby.
- Usher of the Exchequer — Mr. Bowyer.
- Deputy Chamberlains of the Exchequer.
- Mr. Edward Falconbridge and Mr. Scipio le Squire.
- Clerk for approbation of Ministers — Mr. John Nye, Junior.
- Solicitor of the Admiralty — Mr. Dorislaus.
- Solicitor of the Treasury — Mr. William Swan.
- Secretary of the Army — Captain Kingdom.
- Secretary to the General at sea — Mr. Richard Creed.
- Secretary to the Commissioners of the Admiralty — Mr. Blackborne.
- Marshall of the Admiralty — Solomon Smith.
- His Highness's Proctor in the Admiralty Court — Mr. David Bud.
- Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury — Mr. Sherwin.
- Secretary to the Lords Keepers — Mr. Dove.
- Register of the Admiralty — Mr. Rushworth.
- Master Shipwrights — Mr. John Taylor, Mr. Christopher Pett, Mr. Tinnett.
- Masters' Attendants — Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Charles Thorogood, Mr. William Badley, Mr. Thomas Arkonstall.
- Officers of the Ordnance — Mr. Billers, Major Browne, Mr. Lewis Audley, Mr. John Faulkner, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Elias Palmer.
- Officers of the Mint — Mr. Thomas Symond, chief graver; Mr. James Hoar, clerk for His Highness; Mr. John Reynolds, under assay-master; Mr. Thomas Birch, weigher and teller; Mr. Richard Pitt, surveyor and clerk of the irons; Mr. Samuel Bartlett, assay master, Mr. Thomas Barnardiston, comptroller; Dr. Aaron Gurdon, master of the Mint.
- Clerk of the papers — Mr. Ambrose Randolph.
- Surveyor of the works — Mr. Embree.
- Keeper of the Wardrobe at Whitehall — Mr. Clement Kinnersley.
- The post house — Mr. Clarke.
- Tellers of the Exchequer — Mr. Nicholas Bragg, Mr. George Downing, Mr. Christopher Lyster, Mr. John Stone.
- Auditors of the revenue of His Highness' Exchequer — Mr. William Hill, Mr. Augustin Wingfield, Mr. Henry Broad, Mr. John Brokett, Mr. John Edwards, Mr. Richard Sadler.
- Auditor of the impress — Mr. Bartholomew Beale.
- Counsel attending the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury — Mr. Brereton, Mr. Manby.
- Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of the Union.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The banner of Union, borne by Colonel Grosvenor and Colonel Ashfield.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom in a coat to attend, etc.
- Officers of the Fleet — Captains Ming, Newburg, Nixon, Howard, Earning, Robert Sanders, Eustace Smith, Robert Blague, Whithome Whetstone, Tittman, Blague, Witheridge, Poole, John Copping, Lambert, Anthony Young, Harman, Clarke, Cuttavié, Judge Advocate Fowler, Sir Richard Stainer, Captain Stoaks.
- Officers of the Army — Mr. Nathaniel Eldred, commissary of provisions in Scotland; Mr. Simon White, apothecary; Mr. Rossington, surgeon; Mr. Samuel Barron, physician in Scotland; Mr. Knight, commissary of ammunition; Mr. Thomas Margetts, deputy advocate; Mr. Malin, chief secretary to the army.
- Captains of horse and foot — Captains Henry Creer, Henry Creer, Junior.
- Commissioners for Regulation of the Excise — Mr. Adam Bains, Mr. Price, Mr. Bockett, Mr. John Stone.
- Committee of the Navy — Mr. Henry Hatsell, Mr. George Paler, Mr. Peter Pett, Major Nathaniel Bourne, Mr. Richard Hutchenson, Mr. Wright, Mr. Willoughby, Major Robert Thomson.
- Commissioners of the Army — Mr. John Phillips, Mr. John Hildesley, Mr. Gervais Bennett, Mr. Richard Lucy.
- Mr. Pierce, Lecturer of Margaret's.
- Mr. Sangar, Minister of Martin's.
- Ministers of Westminster — Mr. John Rowe, Mr. Seth Wood.

- Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers — Mr. Holbeach, Mr. John Turner, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. Samuel Fairclough, Mr. John Tombes, Mr. Samuel Slater, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. Joseph Caryl, Mr. William Jessey, Mr. George Griffith, Mr. Thomas Valentine, Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Phillip Nye, Mr. Thankfull Owen, Dr. Horton, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. John Owen.
- Chaplains at Whitehall — Mr. White, Mr. Sterry, Mr. Hooke, Mr. Howe, Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Peters.
- Three drums, with escutcheons of the arms of Ireland.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The banner of Ireland, borne by Colonel Clarke and Colonel Salmon.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Ireland, in cloaks, and a groom in a coat to attend, etc.
- Treasurer of the Contingencies — Mr. Gualter Frost.
- Council's Solicitor — Mr. Beck.
- Secretaries of the French and Latin tongues — Mr. Dradon, Mr. Marvel, Mr. Sterry, Mr. John Milton, Mr. Hartlibbe, Senior.
- Clerks of the Signet — Mr. Samuel Moreland, Mr. James Nutley.
- Clerks of the Privy Seal — Mr. Richard Whitehead, Mr. Miles Fleetwood.
- Clerk of the Council — Mr. Jessop.
- Clerk of the House of Commons — Mr. Smith.
- Clerk of the House of Lords — Mr. Scobell.
- Clerk of the Commonwealth, formerly Clerk of the Crown — Mr. Nathaniel Taylor.
- His Highness's Gentlemen — Majors John Chamberlain, William Farley, Nathaniel Cadwell, John Hill, Eaton, Robert Swallow, Holmes, Creed, John Pittman, Nicholas Andrews, John Grime, Peter Crisp, Abraham Holmes, Cranfield, Greenleaf, Elleatson. Lieutenant-Colonels John Miller, Richard Mope, Henry Flower, William Stile, Francis Allen, Dennis Pepper, William Gough, John Pierson, John Needier, Stevenson, John Clawberry, Arthur Young, Clement Keen.
- Adjutant-General for Scotland — Jeremiah Smith.
- Adjutants-General for England — Captain John Melthorpe, Major George Sedasene,
- Doctors of Physic — Dr. Clarke, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Prujean, Dr. Simcotts, Dr. Bates, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Bathurst.
- Advocate-General for Ireland — Dr. Cartwright.
- His Highness' Advocate — Dr. Walter Walker.
- Clerk Comptroller — Mr. Ewer.
- Clerk of the Green Cloth — Mr. Barrington.
- Steward of the Lands — Mr. Waterhouse.
- Cofferer — Mr. Maidstone.
- Head Officers of the Army — Lieutenant-Colonel Elton, of foot, to the Lord General.
- Treasurers of the Army — Captains Blackwell, Dean, Colonels Smith, Barry, Bridges, Rogers, William Mitchell, Fitch; Dr. William Staines, Commissary-general of Musters.
- Chief Officers of the Fleet — Rear-Admiral Bourne, Vice-Admiral Goodson.
- Knights Bachelors.
- Three drums, with escutcheons of the Arms of Scotland.
- Three trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The Banner of Scotland, borne by Lord Berry and Lord Cooper.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries, in cloaks, and a groom in a coat to attend, etc.
- The Chief Officers and Aldermen of London.
- Solicitor; Auditor; Remembrancer; Comptroller; Town Clerk; Common-Serjeant; Chamberlain; Judge of the Sheriffs Court; Recorder — Sir Lislebone Long; Aldermen, 20.
- Attorney-General of South Wales — Mr. Jones.
- Judges of South and North Wales — Mr. Corbett, Mr. Hagatt, Mr. Bulstrode, Mr. Foxwist, Mr. Hoskins, Serjeant Seys, Serjeant Barnard.
- Masters of the Chancery, 9.

- Mr. Pell, Mr. Bradshaw, Major-General Jephson.

*His Highness' Learned Counsel*

- Attorney of the Duchy — Mr. Nicholas Lechmere.
- Solicitor-General — Sir William Ellis.
- Attorney-General — Sir Edmund Prideaux.
- His Highness' Serjeants — Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Earle.
- Judges of the Admiralty — Colonel Charles George Cock, Dr. Godolphin.
- Masters of Requests — Mr. Francis Bacon, Mr. Nathaniel Bacon.
- Gentlemen of the Bedchamber — Mr. Charles Harvey, Mr. Underwood.
- Master of the Ceremonies — Sir Oliver Fleming.
- Chief Justice of Chester — Lord Bradshaw
- Barons of the Exchequer — Richard Tomlins, John Parker, Roger Hill, Edmund Nicholas.
- Judges of Both Benches — Hugh Wyndham, Edward Atkins, Peter Warburton, Matthew Hale, Richard Newdigate.
- Lord Chief Baron — Sir Thomas Widdrington.
- Lord Mayor of London — Sir John Ireton.
- Four drums, with escutcheons of the banner of England.
- Four trumpets, with banners of the same.
- The banner of England, borne by Lords Tomlinson and Hewson.
- A horse, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes, and garnished with a chevron and escutcheons of the same, led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom to attend, etc.
- Relations — Lord Dunch; Sir Robert Pye, junior; Thomas Bouchier; John Bouchier, Esquires; John Dunch, Esquire; Captain Fox; Thomas Cromwell, Esquire; Captain Whetstone; Mr. Phillip Loo; Mr. Edward Fleming; Mr. Edward Hooper; Mr. Edmund Phillips; Mr. Hampden; Mr. Thomas Cromwell; Mr. Hughes; Captain Hierome Ingoldsby; Captain Ingoldsby; Mr. John Whalley; Mr. Henry Whalley, major horseman.
- Public ministers of Foreign States, Commonwealths, Princes, and Kings.
- The Black Rod.
- Colonel Willoughby, Gentlemen Usher of the House of Peers, in a cloak, with an usher on his right hand, bare-headed.
- Mr. Secretary Thurloe, one of His Highness' Privy Council.
- Peers — William, Lord Goffe; Edmund, Lord Thomas; John, Lord Hughson; John, Lord Barkstead; Robert, Lord Tichborne; Christopher, Lord Packe; Archibald, Lord Johnson; William, Lord Roberts; Thomas, Lord Honeywood; William, Lord Lockhart; Alexander, Lord Popham; William, Lord Strickland; Richard, Lord Onslow; Sir Arthur Haslerigge; Phillip, Lord Jones, Comptroller of his Highness's Household; Francis, Lord Rouse; Phillip, Lord Skipton; Charles, Lord Wolseley; William Steel, Lord Chamberlain of Ireland; William, Lord Lenthall, Master of the Rolls; John, Lord Glynne, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; George Monke, General in Scotland; Edward, Lord Montague; Lord, John Disbrowe; Roger, Lord Broghill; George, Lord Eure; William, Lord Viscount Say and Seale, Earl of Cassilis; Edward, Earl of Manchester; Henry, Lord Lawrence, President of the Council. All their trains borne.
- The Seal Bearer, supported by a Gentleman Usher, bareheaded, and a Serjeant-at-Arms — Serjeant Middleton.
- The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal — John Lord Lisle, Nathaniel Lord Fiennes. Trains borne.
- Ambassadors of Foreign States, Princes, and Kings.
- Six drums, with escutcheons of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.
- Six trumpets with banners of the same.
- Serjeants-at-Arms — Birkhead, Dendy.
- Rouge Dragon.
- Poursuivant-at-Arms.
- The great banner, borne by John, Lord Fiennes; Francis, Lord Russell; and George, Lord Fleetwood, close mourners. Their trains borne.
- Cheval de Deuil, or the Chief Horse of Mourning, covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes and garnished with a chevron of the same, led by two equerries in cloaks, and a groom in a coat to attend, etc.
- Helm and crest, spurs — Lancaster; Gauntlet — York; Target — Somerset; Sword — Norroy, King of Arms.
- Coat of Arms — Clarencieux, King of Arms, supported on each side by a Gentleman Usher, bareheaded.

- The Lord Chamberlain, in close mourning, with his staff. His train borne.
- Garter Principal King of Arms; on each side a gentleman usher, bareheaded.
- Charles, Lord Fleetwood, chief mourner.
- Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle; Lord Viscount Faulconberg, supporters to the Chief Mourner, their trains borne. Chief Mourner's train borne by Luke Skippon, Fiennes, Samuel Disbrowe, James Disbrowe, Gilbert Pickering, Esquires.
- Assistants to the Chief Mourner, fourteen in number.
- Horse of Honour, ornamented in very rich trappings, embroidered on crimson velvet and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, led by the Master of the Horse. Equerries and grooms to attend.
- The Guard of Halberdiers, 2 and 2.
- Gentlemen Porters of the Tower.
- Warders of the Tower.

The effigies in this manner being brought to the west gate of the Abbey Church of Westminster, it was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, who carried it to the east end of the church and there placed with the wax effigies of the Protector in a most magnificent structure, built in the same form as one before had been on the like occasion for King James, but much more stately and expensive, as the expenses attending the funeral amounted to upwards of £60,000.

This funeral procession was the last ceremony of honour to the most serene and most illustrious Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to whom less could not be performed to the memory of him to whom posterity will pay (when envy is laid asleep by time) more honour than I am able to express.

John Towill Rutt, ed. *Diary of Thomas Burton, Esquire, Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), II:516–529.  
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