

# A LATE MEDIEVAL PARISH GILD: THE GILD OF ST THOMAS THE MARTYR IN CRATFIELD, c.1470–1542

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THE PARISH OF Cratfield, to the west of the town of Halesworth in east Suffolk, is one of the best documented parishes in East Anglia for the 16th century. Among the records are the accounts of the gild of St Thomas the Martyr, but they are, unfortunately, extremely limited, covering only the period from 1533 to 1542.<sup>1</sup> Many deeds relating to land owned by the gild do, however, survive, and together with manorial records, including the court rolls, they help to build up a picture of the gild from its foundation sometime in the mid-to-late 15th century, through to its dissolution in the early 1540s.<sup>2</sup>

This paper will use these three diverse sources to discuss two aspects of the gild, its land endowments and the social standing of its wardens. The evidence reveals a gild largely funded by rents from land, land which subsequently became parish property in the 1530s and 1540s, and which was managed by wardens of the gild of similar status to the guardians of parish property.

The earliest reference to a gild in Cratfield is in 1478, when in his will John Gown left 40s. to the gild for a chalice.<sup>3</sup> Other bequests of money and cattle followed Gown's donation, John Tyzard giving 10s. in 1483, and Geoffrey Baret bequeathing 6s. 8d. in 1489. Further donations were made in the 16th century: in 1501 Simon Smith left 20s. to the gild, and in 1508 Nicholas Stobard made a bequest of two cows, on condition that the town helped set up a dairy for the maintenance of the gild priest.<sup>4</sup> Most gilds of the 16th century employed a priest for at least a few days a year, but the employment of a full-time priest, which it would seem was what Stobard desired, allowed daily Masses to be celebrated for the souls of dead gild members, a valuable asset for any gild.

In 1516, Henry Kebyll left 6s. 8d. to the gild, payable in two instalments of 3s. 4d. at the two next meetings of the gild to be held after his death. In 1519 John Blobow left 3s. 4d., and Robert Bateman left a cow to build up the herd which Stobard had begun. In 1525, however, Robert Rous of Laxfield left £7 to the gild, in order to buy land worth 7s. a year to fund an anniversary for him, to be sung in Lent.<sup>5</sup> His will implies that there was no gild priest at the time, and the gild accounts yield no evidence of a herd of cattle being used to fund a priest. It would seem that Rous's bequest may have been the spur for the gild to find a land endowment for their priest.

A bequest of 3s. 4d. by Isabel Myllys was recorded in the gild accounts in 1538, although in her will of the same year the only recorded bequest of 3s. 4d. was to the church. No receipt of her bequest appears in the churchwardens' accounts, which suggests a close and interesting relationship between the gild and the parish at this time.<sup>6</sup> The blurring of the distinction between gild and parish seems to be a feature of Cratfield's affairs, with the same pattern occurring with the gild tenement called Tonges, and the gildhall, both discussed below. In certain circumstances, the gild and the parish appear to be operating, in effect, as one body.

The land endowments of Cratfield parish came from various sources, but fortunately most are well documented. There are twenty deeds relating to the transfer of land between 1498 and 1556, and all but two of these relate to gild or parish endowments. For those lands within the manor of Cratfield, the surviving manor rolls provide a more complete picture of the exchange of land, but for the lands in the manor of Cratfield Roos the records are less satisfactory, since only a minute book survives from the early 1540s. Cratfield's sources, however, do allow some kind of picture to be drawn of the endowments of land, even if there are some gaps which cannot be filled.

A family which looms large in the history of 15th-century Cratfield also had a substantial presence in Bury St Edmunds. John Baret endowed a chantry chapel in St Mary's church by his

will of 1467 (Tymms 1850, 15–43), and also left property to a nephew, Geoffrey, who lived in Cratfield, and whose land passed to John, Geoffrey's son. It is from this source that a large portion of Cratfield's parish lands came, the lands themselves being known by a variety of names. John Baret married Rose, and two of their children are recorded in the manor records – Thomas Baret, who lived in Harleston, and Elizabeth, who married Richard Roberts of Beccles. John died soon after 1481, and bequeathed his lands to Rose for her lifetime, with remainder to Thomas, their son. Thomas, however, died before Rose, and on her death in 1496, the lands passed to their daughter Elizabeth Roberts.<sup>7</sup>

Richard and Elizabeth Roberts alienated all of their lands in Cratfield for charitable purposes, at first without licence, and then with the consent of the lord of the manor. A feoffment took place on 10 November 1503. The property, called Swan, of three acres and three roods, had already been transferred by Richard Roberts two years earlier, but he had done so without informing the lord of the manor, and the transaction was declared void. In 1503 the legal transfer of the land took place, when the feoffees were John Everard, Robert Coke, John Smyth, Richard Rous, Robert Smith and John Coke.<sup>8</sup> The purpose of the feoffment is not stated, but the manor rolls show that the original transfer in 1501 was to Henry Franceys and Robert Smith, for the use of the gild of St Thomas the Martyr. It remained in the hands of these feoffees until 1539, when John Smith of the hill, the surviving feoffee, placed the land in the hands of Richard Brodbank, John Dowsyng junior, John Newson, John Smith and Simon Smith.<sup>9</sup> By this time over two acres had been added to the endowment, although there is no indication of where this land had come from, or at what stage it had been given. It may simply represent a poor estimation of the extent of the land, or a different measurement of an acre.

A second transaction in November 1503 was far more substantial. A property known as 'Rose Larks', named at least partly after Rose Baret, was alienated to the same feoffees of the gild land as the Swan lands had been.<sup>10</sup> The land comprised thirteen acres and a mill, which, together with six acres and three roods of land in Cratfield manor, yielded over 130s. a year to the gild in rent during the 1530s.<sup>11</sup> Little else is known of Rose Larks, since there are no manor records for Cratfield Roos from the early 16th century, although the gild accounts refer to an indenture which recorded an agreement with Nicholas Heyward, the tenant of Rose Larks, in 1528.<sup>12</sup> In 1538 the surviving feoffee, John Smith, enfeoffed John Stubbard, John Smith junior, Richard Brodbank, William Crispe and John Newson with the land.<sup>13</sup> This was the same year in which the rent for Rose Larks was not recorded in the gild accounts, but the same rent did appear a year later, in 1540, paid by John Batman, in the receipts from the town lands, and thereafter it appears in the churchwardens' accounts. Thus it would appear that the surviving feoffee took advantage of the introduction of new feoffees to change the beneficiary of the land, in order to safeguard it from the Crown. This practice, which the gild had begun in 1537 when it transferred the ownership of the gildhall to John Thurketyll,<sup>14</sup> may have been prompted by the dissolution of the priory at St Neot's, which held the advowson of Cratfield church and owned the manor of Cratfield Roos. The parishioners in Cratfield must therefore have been aware of the changing religious climate of the 1530s.

A property known as Goodchild illustrates how insecurely many parish lands were held. It was sold to the town in 1499 by John Tye and his father, Edomy, when a quitclaim was made.<sup>15</sup> However, the manor rolls indicate that this was done illegally, without either party attending the manor court, thus avoiding the entry fine. In 1524, the bailiff presented that the land, a messuage and one acre, had been illegally transferred, and the lord of the manor, out of kindness, allowed the property to be re-enfeoffed to Robert Russell, John Warne, John Clerk junior and John Smith junior, for the use of the gild.<sup>16</sup> This marked a change in the beneficiary of the land, as well as revealing just how long an illegal feoffment could be concealed from the lord of the manor; in this case twenty-five years.

The most difficult feoffment to understand is that relating to a property called Tonges. The principal difficulty lies in the fact that it was linked in 1528, and possibly earlier, with four acres

of land called Barrets, which was a different endowment to the messuage which shared its name. Further difficulty is caused by the fact that the Tonges tenement lay in the manor of Cratfield Roos, but the Barrets land lay in Cratfield manor. Thus, the feoffees had to use both manor courts for any changes they wished to make in ownership of the land, but no matching deeds have survived for either manor, and so the same group of lands is described differently from deed to deed, depending on which manor was concerned.

The two properties were treated as one unit in 1528, when they were surrendered to Thomas Smith and John Smith, guardians of the gild of St Thomas, by John Coke and John Duke. John Duke never had a genuine claim to the property, but following his marriage to Agnes, widow of Robert Coke, John Coke's mother, he had sold several of her properties which rightly belonged to her son, and in 1528 the manor court was finally asked to settle the rightful ownership. The lands passed to the gild only after John Coke had renounced all claims to them in favour of the parish church, not the gild, in 1526, in return for 38s.<sup>17</sup>

The gildhall was donated by John Rusale, a priest, in 1502, although the wording of the bequest makes it clear that the hall was not for anyone's exclusive use. He wrote: 'I wyll the seyde towne [i.e. parish] have the parte [concern] of my howse soo that they provide for lond with ye mony of the gyld or by the help of other gode men'.<sup>18</sup> Land adjoining the house was purchased by the gild or the church, amounting to one acre and one rood. No use of the hall was ever stated, nor was any rent paid for it, except by the gild itself, which paid 4s. to the lord of the manor.<sup>19</sup> In fact, it is mentioned only when repaired, in 1510 and 1533, both times by the churchwardens.<sup>20</sup> The only deed relating to it was written in 1553, but the recitation of the previous owners of the property is most interesting. The hall, and the house of a former vicar, Sir John Caryell, were treated together from 1537, when they passed from being held in trust by feoffees to ownership by one person, John Thurketyll.<sup>21</sup> The gild also possessed other, smaller plots of land. It owned land in Oldmeadow which was worth 16d. a year, two pieces of land in Heryngfield worth 20d. a year,<sup>22</sup> and one acre of land in Thornsfield worth 1s. a year, which was sold by the gild in 1536.<sup>23</sup>

The income from the gild's two main properties, Rose Larks and Tonges, was just over £8. There were three other properties, in Oldmeadow and Heryngfield, worth 3s. between them. Thus, the gild was already substantially endowed with land by the time its surviving accounts begin in 1533.<sup>24</sup> The method of accounting makes them occasionally difficult to understand, the most notable difficulty being to assess the balance of the gild funds in any one year. It is doubtful whether all payments made by the gild were written down (a persistent problem with all but the most detailed gild accounts; income always received a higher priority). The few instances where a balance was recorded indicate that certain amounts of expenditure, and possibly also income, were routinely left out of the accounts, since the balance stated is not an accurate statement of total income minus total expenditure as written in the account. It may indicate that the written account was simply a record of the land and properties owned by the gild, and was never intended to include routine, smaller, payments made by the gild.

In view of the fact that balancing the account probably does not give an accurate reflection of the real situation, the annual accounts total may not be a useful statistic. But what it does show is a gild frequently in profit in the early 1530s. The loss made in 1533 is the result of receiving the rent of Rose Larks for only half a year, instead of the more usual full year, but this may simply be an omission in the accounts: the written account claims a profit of over £12 in this year. The changes in income over the years relate on the whole to the extent of repairs required on Rose Larks or Tonges, since these sums were deducted from the annual rent. In 1533, the half year rent of 66s. for Rose Larks was reduced to 44s. 3d. because of various rents, fines and repairs (and it is not clear that all of these expenses even relate to Rose Larks). In the same year, 22d. was deducted from the rent for the Tonges tenement for repair work. Such allowances also led, indirectly, to the loss of 3s. 2d. in 1537, despite the receipt of over 27s. from tenants of gild lands for profits from timber sales in that year.

The account for 1538 is extremely unusual. Only 42s. was received, and the gild priest's salary was partly paid by the churchwardens. In this year, 77s. 11d. of rent for Rose Larks appears in the churchwardens' accounts, which may explain their contribution to the priest's salary. It is not clear what happened to the other receipts and payments in this year; the most likely explanation is that the accounts were never written up, or that expenditure and income were not recorded anywhere in the first place.

The next year, the gild's income returned to its earlier levels of over £8, but in 1540 no income is recorded at all, nor were any rents paid to the churchwardens, unless the 15s. paid by Nicholas Heyward to the church is part of the annual rent of 132s. for Rose Larks. Expenditure in 1540 was low because the gild priest was no longer being employed, a fact which explains the profit of about £5 made the next year, 1541, when the account is described as that of the town lands, and not the gild. Despite the fluctuations in income in the second half of the 1530s, over the eight years of the account the gild made a profit, with an income of £54 16s. 2d.

Expenditure over these eight years was £45 15s. 3d., most of which related to the gild priest. The first priest, John Stannard, received his income from the gild, and John Smyth recorded that his payments came from the gild purse up to 1537, after which he referred to payments from the town box.<sup>25</sup> It is not clear whether this means that the gild was no longer paying his wage, or that Smyth himself was unclear, or imprecise, about where his salary came from. But for the greater part of his period of employment, Smyth's salary came from the gild, doubtless funded largely from the rent received for Rose Larks.

The payment of a priest was almost the only regular item of expenditure recorded in the gild accounts. In 1533, John Stannard was being employed for £6 a year, but he disappeared from the accounts in August 1534, and it is possible that he was now dead. The gild took eight months to appoint John Smyth as his successor. Accounts detailing his payments survive from 9 March 1535 to 12 June 1540, although some of his quarterly payments of 30s. in 1539 are missing.

The agreement made between John Smyth and the gild was written into the account of 1535. His annual wage of £6 was about average for the period. The precise duties of the priest were not specified, but that is probably because they were fairly obvious. Priests were employed in great numbers by gilds for two purposes: to sing Masses for their members (both dead and alive), daily if their appointments were full-time; and to assist the parish priest. Concern for the souls of the dead was the fundamental reason for employing a priest, and must be considered a central occupation of the gild of St Thomas in Cratfield.

Smyth was paid a further 20s. by the town in the same year to repair a tenement left to the community by Sir John Caryell, including the repair of a chimney with three fires – it was clearly a substantial dwelling. It also indicates that the gild chaplain was capable of such craftsmanship, or at least of overseeing it. Other accounts show that John Smyth was employed to wind up the clock in the church, and he also wrote some of the accounts.

Other payments shown as made by the gild were few and far between. Certainly some payments regarding an image of the gild patron, or a light before it, would be expected, but no such payments are recorded. There are, though, occasional payments to help fill the 'rowell' light, a stellar wheel containing a number of candles, hung in the church. Two other payments were made to the fraternity of St John, probably the community of Knights Hospitallers in Batsford, near Stowmarket. Two large payments were made in 1533 to John Bateman, one of 55s. (only 36s. of which was spent, and the balance returned to the gild purse), and another of 33s. This relates, most likely, to the purchase of land or repair of a tenement, but no purpose is stated for the expenditure, and there are no further references to it in the accounts.

The gild, like the parish, also lent out money, for example in 1537, when Edmund Myllys was lent 6s. 8d. In 1538 the gild, jointly with the town, agreed to cancel this debt, along with a more substantial and longstanding debt of 4 marks owed since 1534 by John Scherman. William Smith, a cooper who rented the tenement called Tonges, was lent 5s. in 1536, a debt which

remained unpaid in the year of his death in 1542, when he paid 8s. 8d. to cover the loan and part of the rent of 30s. His son, John Smyth, paid the rest of the rent.

The accounts rarely mention the wardens of the gild. Only eight are named, wardens from 1533 to 1536. Others are mentioned in deeds from the 1520s and earlier, but it is not clear whether they refer to gild wardens or feoffees of gild lands. In fact, most of the wardens from this period also served as feoffees of gild and church land, and some of them also served as churchwardens.

John Thurketyll is the first named warden, in 1533.<sup>26</sup> His father, and namesake, had been a central figure in the community as a landholder until his death in 1526, without, however, leaving many traces in the parish records. John, his son, took over the rent of the parish-owned Benselyns tenement which his father had rented, and also rented a piece of gild meadow in Heryngfield for 12d. He did not serve as churchwarden in this period, but he was a feoffee of Barrets, a church property, and the gildhall was transferred to him in 1537.<sup>27</sup>

Thurketyll was active in both manor courts, Cratfield and Cratfield Roos, from 1528, when he began to serve as juror and occupied the lands of his father. He surrendered land on behalf of John Tye in 1530, for William Bloboll in 1532, William Orford in 1535, and Isabel Mellys in 1538. He served as sub-constable once in 1544. Thurketyll was rarely in trouble with either manor, once buying land without licence, in 1541, from William Pantre. On several occasions he presented apologies for those absent from both courts. Whatever influence John Thurketyll enjoyed came from his landholdings. He was frequently asked to fill positions of trust, surrendering land for others, and presenting their apologies in court. The gildhall was transferred to him to avoid confiscation by the Crown; it was handed back in 1553. His influence, however, failed to earn a reprieve for two gild properties in 1542 when, following the termination of the gild's activities, the heirs of the original donor, Robert Coke, came to court to claim their inheritance.

Richard Brodbank was churchwarden for three consecutive years, from 1533 to 1535, as well as serving as gild warden in the middle year. He rented the town close from the church for 7s. 2d. a year, which rose to 9s. towards the end of the 1530s. He served as churchwarden again in 1542, and was a feoffee of the gild properties of Goodchild and Swan, and the church lands of Barrets, Benselyns, Rose Larks, and the house of John Caryell.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, then, Brodbank was a man of some influence at a crucial time for the parish. His appearances at the manor court in Cratfield began in 1528, with his election as ale taster, a job he carried out satisfactorily. He was a juror on nineteen occasions between 1535 and 1547, and he presented apologies for John Thurketyll, Robert Mellys, Edmund Mellys, William Ferro, John Dousyng, William Fyske, and John Smith, all of whom had a connection with the parish lands. Like John Thurketyll, he was rarely in trouble with the manor court, having no offence recorded against him. He did not enter his father's lands until 1540, which suggests that he had some property of his own prior to his father's death in 1539. He held some land in Cratfield Roos manor, where he also served as juror in the 1540s.

Other gild wardens, such as Thomas Smith and John Dousing, led similarly law-abiding lives. Neither was accused of failing to maintain properties or carry out manorial offices. John Dousyng was, though, involved in a protracted dispute over eight acres of land, with Nicholas and Johanna Ive, which he eventually won. This pattern of uncontroversial living is very similar to that of the churchwardens of the period, most notably William Crispe, churchwarden in 1541 and 1543, who was involved in one dispute in 1528 but otherwise appeared in the manor court only as a juror. There does not seem to have been any distinction between wardens of the gild and churchwardens in terms of income – few could compete with John Thurketyll's extensive landholdings, and there is evidence of his service as a gild warden only – just as there was little between the feoffees of gild and church land. Indeed, the only marked contrast is between the respectability of the parish officials in the 1530s compared to their predecessors in the 1500s, who showed markedly less appreciation of manorial discipline.

The gild of St Thomas the Martyr ceased to function in 1541, when its properties were transferred to the hands of the town wardens. From 1542, the rent for Rose Larks appears in the churchwardens' accounts, and the tenement called Tonges was handed over by the lord of the manor of Cratfield Roos to the heirs of Robert Coke, despite the wishes of the gild and churchwardens of the parish. The four acres called Barrets and the acre of land in Heryngfield were also presented by the bailiff at court as having no tenant.<sup>29</sup>

The gildhall had been granted, but not sold, in 1537 to John Thurketyll. This apparently inexplicable action probably relates to its vulnerability. Any property held by feoffees, especially gild wardens or churchwardens, could be seized by heirs of the original benefactor, since property could not legally be held by a corporate body without an official licence of foundation, which few gilds possessed. The use of feoffees allowed an unofficial corporate ownership in perpetuity whilst avoiding the penalties of the Statute of Mortmain, but it was not strictly speaking legal. The Statute of Uses of 1536 tightened up the legislation regarding feoffees, and it may have been this that prompted the transfer. By granting away the guildhall to one owner, its safety was assured. In 1553, the gildhall was returned to the parish, to be used as an alms-house, probably the first occasion it was used for this purpose. This transfer was undoubtedly prompted by the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary.

The reasons for the dissolution of the gild seem to have originated in the attack on the monasteries and priories. The transfer of the gildhall to John Thurketyll predated the attack on St Thomas in the 1538 injunctions, but the latter may have introduced more urgency to the process of transferring other gild lands. The fact that the priory of St Neot's held the lordship of the manor of Cratfield Roos would have ensured that Cratfield's parishioners were aware of the 1536 act to dissolve the monasteries, because it resulted in a change in lordship of the manor. Thenceforth, the gild sought to transfer as much property as possible to the parish or to individuals, evidently fearing that the gilds would be the next religious bodies to be attacked by the Crown. But the gild was dissolved before all of its lands could be saved, which may indicate a sudden decision early in the 1540s prompted by local opinion or circumstances, since no government legislation at that precise time could have caused the dissolution.

In funding a priest, the gild of St Thomas the Martyr achieved what numerous gilds across the country aspired to, and the substantial investment this required shows the high level of commitment made to the gild by its benefactors. Such support reveals the extent to which Catholic beliefs and practices, such as Mass and Purgatory, penetrated parish religion, and prompted the closely guarded endowments which parishes throughout the country sought to protect from the Crown.

## NOTES

(All MSS cited are in the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, unless otherwise stated.)

- 1 Cratfield accounts, FC 62/E1/1 (1490-1502), FC 62/E1/2 (1507-15), FC62/E1/3 (1533-1709); inventory (1528), FC 62/E4/1.
- 2 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/1-15, FC 62/N1/1-5; manorial records, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS, Cratfield manor (1402-1652) and Cratfield Roos manor (1538-1600).
- 3 Will of John Gown, N.R.O., N.C.C., 215-6 Gelour.
- 4 Will of Simon Smith, N.R.O., N.C.C., 93 Popy; will of Nicholas Stobard, A.S., IC/AA2/5/68.
- 5 Will of Henry Kebyll, A.S., IC/AA2/7/237; will of John Bloboll, A.S., IC/AA2/8/119; will of Robert Bateman, A.S., IC/AA2/8/87; will of Robert Rous, A.S., IC/AA2/9/134.
- 6 Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, p. 102; will of Isabel Myllys, A.S., IC/AA2/13/85.
- 7 Death of John Baret recorded in Cratfield manor rolls, 21 Edw. IV, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS; rehearsal of inheritance in Cratfield deeds, esp. FC 62/C1/1.
- 8 Illegal transfer in Cratfield manor rolls, 15 Hen. VII, Tuesday in Pentecost, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS; legal transfer in Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/4/1.
- 9 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/4/2.
- 10 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/3.

- 11 Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, p. 93ff.
- 12 Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, p. 98.
- 13 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/N1/4.
- 14 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/15.
- 15 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/1.
- 16 Cratfield manor rolls, 31 Hen. VIII, Wednesday after Exaltation of Holy Cross, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS.
- 17 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/11, FC 62/L1/6.
- 18 Will of John Rusale, N.R.O., N.C.C., 113–14 Popy.
- 19 Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, p. 93ff.
- 20 Cratfield accounts, FC 62/E1/2, p. 7 (1510), FC 62/E1/3 (1533).
- 21 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/15.
- 22 Cratfield accounts, FC 62/E1/3, p. 93ff.
- 23 Cratfield accounts, FC 62/E1/3, p. 1.
- 24 For what follows, see Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, pp. 93–104.
- 25 Most information on Smith's wage comes from the final page of the Town Book, FC 62/E1/3.
- 26 For biographical information on Thurketyll, Richard Brodbank, Thomas Smith, John Dousyng and William Crispe, see Cratfield Town Book, FC 62/E1/3, *passim*; Cratfield manor rolls and Cratfield Roos minute book, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS.
- 27 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/7 and FC 62/L1/15.
- 28 Cratfield deeds, FC 62/L1/4/2, FC 62/L1/4/3, FC 62/L1/7, FC 62/N1/1, FC 62/N1/4, FC 62/L1/15.
- 29 Cratfield Roos minute book, 32 Hen. VIII, and Cratfield manor court roll, 32 Hen. VIII, C.U.L., Vanneck MSS.

#### REFERENCES

Tymms, S., 1850. *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St Edmunds*. Camden Soc., XLIX. London.

#### *Abbreviations*

- A.S. Archdeaconry of Suffolk will registers, Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.  
 C.U.L. Cambridge University Library.  
 N.C.C. Norwich Consistory Court will registers.  
 N.R.O. Norfolk Record Office.