Excavation of a moated site at Cranleigh Rectory, 1985

JUDIE ENGLISH

with a major contribution by †PHIL JONES

Minor excavations across the moat and on the island in advance of development of Cranleigh Rectory in 1985 produced evidence of pre-moat occupation throughout the 12th century and of construction of the moat during the early 13th century. It seems likely that the island has been lowered, probably during construction of the Victorian rectory in 1863, and that this, together with 19th century cleaning of the moat, had removed evidence of later medieval or post-medieval occupation. The suggestion is made that this was the site of the manorial caput first of 'Cranleigh' and later of the Rectory Manor.

Background

In 1863 an imposing new rectory in mock Gothic style, possibly designed by Henry Woodyer, was built on the island of a moat to the north of the existing Georgian rectory, which was then demolished (TQ 0594 3919) (fig 1). In 1985 this Victorian construction was considered too large for its original purpose and was scheduled for development as elderly persons' residences by Waverley Borough Council. A new range was constructed across the northern ditch of the moat and that portion of the site was investigated archaeologically, prior to the start of building work, under a Manpower Services Commission (MSC) scheme. The records of this intervention are not now available but no evidence of medieval occupation was found. In the bottom of the moat was a brick-shafted well or drain (Budgen 2008, figs 31 and 32), the top of which had been loosely capped with the footstone of a grave marked with the initials CE and the date 1868; this probably came from the grave of Catherine Elmes, in the adjacent parish churchyard, which lacks a footstone. To the north of this, and bedded into the side of the moat, was a rough revetment of unmortared brick and rubble, and the well or drain (fig 2) was approached by rough steps of limestone slabs and bricks. This feature probably dated to the Victorian period when this area was part of the garden for the new rectory. The moat was depicted on the tithe map for Cranleigh parish dated 1842, but its origins were unknown prior to the work described below.

After the MSC scheme came to an end members of the Surrey Archaeological Society under the direction of the author excavated three small trenches to the south of the Victorian rectory (fig 2) and it is these interventions, and their implications, which are the subject of this report.

Geology and topography

The rectory moat lies at 56m OD, on an area of head deposits at the eastern end of Cranleigh High Street, and *c* 50m north-west of the parish church of St Nicholas (fig 1). Situated on a slight south-west-facing slope the moat was filled by a spring rising close to its north-east corner and drained into one of the several tributaries of the Bramley Wey (locally Cranleigh Waters).

The excavation

Three small trenches were placed in an area of lawn and flower beds to the south of the Victorian rectory, between the standing building and the edge of the moat (fig 2) and were excavated by hand.

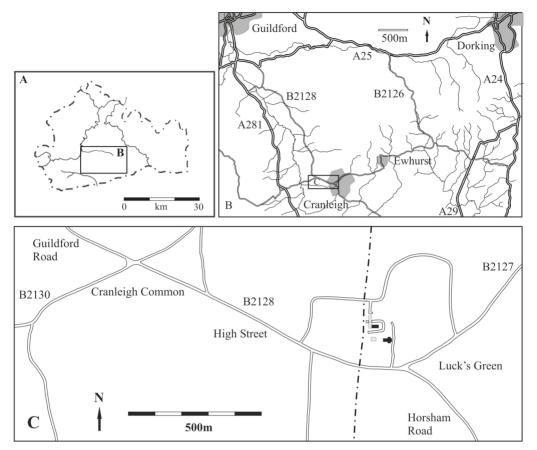


Fig 1 Cranleigh Rectory. Location plan. In figure 1C the black rectangle represents the Victorian rectory and the grey one to its west Moat House, built in 1986. To their south, and outside the moat, is the common site of Rectories built pre-1863 and in 1986. The dot-and-dash line shows the position of the putative boundary between the Bramley and Shere estates.

TRENCH 1 (T1)

A 3 x 2m trench was positioned along the island side of the brick wall that now forms the northern side of the southern ditch of the moat, to the immediate western side of the present entrance bridge. Beneath a garden soil c 15cm deep, which contained only five sherds of 19th and early 20th century pottery, a mixture of loose brick and mortar rubble filled the space between the retaining wall and the sloping side of the moat. In view of the potential dangers in leaving the wall unsupported this trench was not further excavated.

TRENCH 2 (T2)

A 3 x 2m trench was positioned to the west of trench 1 and further away from the moat (figs 2 and 3 [top]). Beneath 15cm of turf (200) and heavily cultivated garden soil (201) a straight-edged layer of hard yellow clay 2.2 x 1.8m and 12–15cm thick occupied the northeast portion of the trench (202). The remainder of the trench at this level comprised what appeared to be broken portions of the same context, mixed with garden soil in its upper level (207) but primarily clay below (208). This may have represented a partially disturbed floor level associated with a building on the island of the moat.

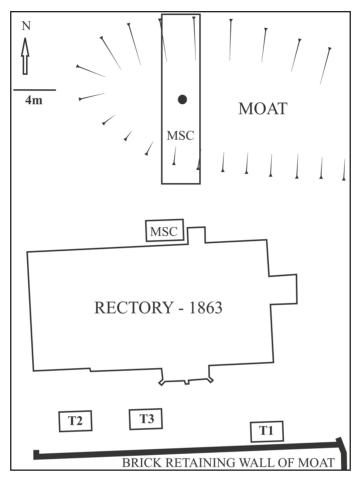


Fig 2 Cranleigh Rectory. Site plan of excavations in 1985. Positions of trenches excavated under the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) scheme are approximate and the well/drain indicated with a black dot.

Below these contexts and to a total depth of 70cm was a layer of yellow clay (203) with dark bands within it that were interpreted as a series of dumping layers (probably from the excavation of the moat) that had been piled onto the island, possibly to raise its level in an area prone to flooding. No finds were recovered from this context. Beneath this clay the premoat deposits, comprising a clayey loam, were removed in three 10cm spits (204, 205 + 209, 206), all of which contained pottery sherds but no other finds. Beneath these lay apparently undisturbed yellow clay (210).

TRENCH 3 (T3)

A further 3 x 2m trench was positioned between T1 and T2 (figs 2 and 3 [bottom]), partly under lawn and partly in a flower bed. Approximately 5cm of turf (300) was removed from part of the trench and then heavily cultivated garden soil (301) to a total depth of 15cm. Contexts 302–305 were small, circular holes about 20–25cm deep within the area of the flower bed and probably represented planting holes. They contained small amounts of post-medieval pottery together with the only two sherds of Surrey Whiteware (see below), suggesting there had been later pottery in superficial layers that had been removed, possibly

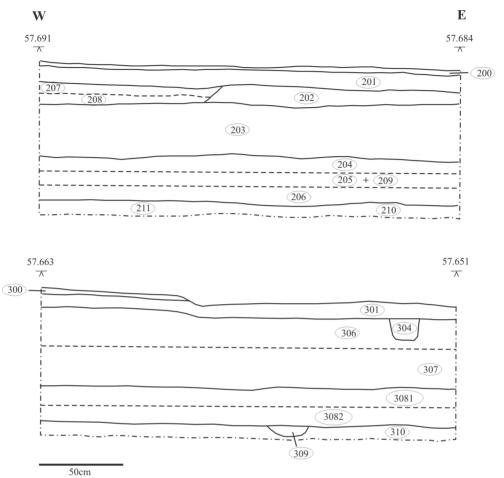


Fig 3 Cranleigh Rectory. South-facing sections of trenches 2 (top) and 3 (bottom).

when the 1863 rectory was built, but garden use prior to that had incorporated this pottery in lower contexts.

Beneath this lay c 50cm of yellow clay with dark soil lenses interpreted as upthrow with dumping lines from construction of the moat and which was excavated in two spits (306 and 307). In contrast to T2 some pottery was recovered from these contexts as were three pieces of Roman tile. Below lay the pre-moat deposits of clayey loam that was removed in two 10cm spits (3081 and 3082). These deposits overlay yellow clay considered to represent 'natural' clay (310) into which a slight ditch, with a clay loam fill (309), had been cut. Pottery from the ditch fill included the only sherd dating from the Romano-British period.

Medieval pottery, by †Phil Jones

INTRODUCTION

(Note: a summary report is printed below. A detailed report with pottery illustrations can be found in the online supplement – see *Endnote*)

A total of 523 sherds (3.92kg; 8.7 estimated vessel equivalents (EVEs), Orton 1975) were recovered, of which c 80% are from pre-moat contexts. Most of these are of mid–late 12th

century types, but with some that are probably earlier, possibly as early as the Conquest. A smaller group of c 15% is from contexts presumed to belong to the early use of the moated enclosure, and included residual material as well as some sherds that could date to the early 13th century. Another c 5% is from post-medieval contexts, although all are of medieval types except for a single sherd of Tudor Brown pottery.

The collection was separated into three ceramic groups that correspond to the main phases of usage of the site:

Group A: Pre-moat contexts (420 sherds; 3.24kg; 1.44 EVEs)

204:	upper horizon of pre-moat deposits (mid–late 12th century)
205	pre-moat deposits below 204 (early 12th century)
206:	pre-moat deposits below 205 and above 'natural' clay (mid-late 12th century).
209:	same as 205
3081/2:	layers of pre-moat deposits overlying 'natural' clay (later 12th century)
309:	ditch fill; below 3081/2 (early 12th century)

Group B: Moat construction and early enclosure contexts (79 sherds; 0.53kg; 0.40 EVEs)
--

202:	possible clay	y floor of ear	rliest enclosure occu	upation (early	13th century)

- 207: soil/clay mix above 208 (early 13th century)
- 208: eroded part of 202 (early 13th century)
- 306: yellow clay with dark soil lens; possibly upthrow from moat digging (late 12th or early 13th century)
- 307: same as 306

Group C: later contexts (24 residual sherds; 0.15kg; 0.03 EVEs)

The assemblage is from contexts 201, 304 and 305, but the post-medieval to pre-19th century material has not been studied in detail for the purposes of this report.

All medieval sherds were separated into fabric types in accordance with the provisional type series for Surrey (Jones 1998) and quantified by count, weight and EVEs.

WARES, FABRICS AND FORMS

Fourteen fabrics of nine ware types were identified, and are described below together with summaries of their respective vessel forms.

S2 Coarse Shell-tempered ware: 114 sherds (0.73kg) representing c 20% of all medieval pottery, and 16, 36 and 42% of A, B and C respectively. The rims of six cooking-pots (cp)/jars appear to have been wheel-thrown although most body sherds seem to have been hand-turned. One of the storage jars has a vertically-applied finger-impressed strip below the neck and two other body sherds bear parts of similar strips.

SNC Saxo-Norman Chalk-tempered fabrics: 185 sherds (1.44kg) representing c 36% of all medieval pottery and c 40% of Group A. The ware is predominantly tempered with amorphous calcareous inclusions that were most probably chalk (they are represented by voids), but also includes increasing quantities of crushed flint and quartz sand grains in each of three variants. Two of these, SNC 1B and SNC 1C, broadly correspond with the fabrics of two variants identified at Bridge Street, Godalming (Jones 1998, 196). Where it is possible to determine, the vessels seem to have been hand-made, but have turned rims.

254 JUDIE ENGLISH

FLQ Saxo-Norman Flint-tempered Ware: five sherds (35g), with four from Group A contexts.

QFL sand and Flint-tempered Ware: seventeen sherds (0.14kg), including eleven from Group A contexts and five from those of Group B.

IQ Ironstone Sandy Ware: 25 sherds (0.13kg) that include abundant quartz sand grains that retain microcrystalline grains of iron on their surfaces of the matrix material: a ferruginous sandstone (Jones 1998, 219). Seven rim sherds, all from cp/jars, including one that is finger-impressed along its top.

Grey/Brown Sandy Wares: 169 sherds (1.32kg) of this potting tradition that was commonly employed across Surrey during the 12th and early 13th centuries. As elsewhere in the county, the Cranleigh sherds could be separated into three sub-types according to their mean grain sizes, but three sherds with more iron inclusions than usual constitute a fourth sub-type.

- a GQ2 Coarse variant: 69 sherds (0.58kg) of which over half are from contexts 205 and 209.
- b *Q2 Standard variant:* 80 sherds (0.65kg) of which over three-quarters are from contexts 205 and 209.
- c FQ2 Fine variant: seventeen sherds (0.09kg).
- d *Q2 variant:* with moderate amounts of sub-angular iron mineral inclusions that are buff in colour and range in size between 0.2 and 2mm. Of three sherds, two are from context 202 and one from 207 of Group B.

Grey/Brown Sandy Ware represents between 14 and 17% (weight and count) of Group A (two sherds each of GQ2 and Q2), 32 and 34% (weight and count) or Group B, and 33 and 34% (count and weight) of Group C.

FJW Fine Jug Ware: four sherds (0.3kg): three sherds from Group B contexts include one that is glazed green externally, and the relatively thin walls and small estimated diameters of the others suggest that they are all from jugs or pitchers. None was recovered from Group C contexts and the three of Group B represent 4-5% (count and weight) of that assemblage.

WW1B Surrey Whiteware: two sherds (0.02kg) from two vessels found in separate contexts of Group C. The fabric closely resembles the WW1B variant of the ware that is more commonly, but not exclusively, found on 14th–16th century assemblages in the rest of the county, and which approximates to the Kingston type of the London series.

RWTB 'Tudor Brown' Redware: a single sherd (10g) from context 305 of Group C.

THE GROUP A ASSEMBLAGE

In total there were 419 sherds (3.22kg), excluding the Roman example, of which between 40 and 42% (count and weight) are of SNC fabrics and 35–38% (weight and count) of the Grey/Brown Sandy Ware tradition. There is also between 15 and 18% (weight and count) of S2 shelly ware and c 4/5% of IQ Ironstone Sandy Ware, as well as eleven, four and one sherd respectively, of QFL, FLQ and FJW fine jug ware. This last is the only glazed sherd, and the only jug or pitcher represented, but it is from context 3081 that probably incorporates slightly later debris than most other context assemblages of Group A.

Pre-moat ditch 309: twenty sherds, including eight of SNC fabrics, seven of Grey/Brown Sandy Ware, two of QFL and single sherds of S2 shelly and IQ Ironstone Sandy Wares. There is also a rolled Late Roman greyware sherd.

Pre-moat layers 204–206, 209, 3081/2:

Basal spit 206: Eight sherds, including three of SNC, two of IQ and single examples of S2, GQ2 and Q2 fabrics.

Spit 205/209: 256 sherds (2.21kg), of which 45% (count and weight) are of SNC fabrics, and c 40/41% (count and weight) of the Grey/Brown Sandy Ware tradition. There are also eighteen sherds of S2 shelly ware, ten of IQ Ironstone Sandy Ware, six of QFL and three of FLQ sand and flint-tempered fabrics.

Layer 3081/2: 120 sherds (0.69kg), of which between 42 and 49% (count and weight) is of S2 shelly ware; a disproportionate amount compared to other assemblages of Group A that is the result of 43 sherds (0.31kg) recovered from 3081.

Unlike the other context assemblages considered to date to before the moat digging, both 3081 and 3082 contain medieval roof tile fragments (two and three respectively), suggesting that they may include detritus that dates to the second half of the 12th century. This is because the current consensus has it that roof tiling began to be used in London (Ian Betts, pers comm) and probably also in the Surrey area from its common association with later 12th and early 13th century occupation (cf the various reports in *SyAC* 1998 and Riall 2005 esp 77–9). There is also a fragment of a glazed floor tile from 3081.

Spit 204: sixteen sherds (0.082kg), including seven of SNC, five of S2, three of GQ2/Q2 and one of IQ fabrics.

THE GROUP B ASSEMBLAGE

Seventy-nine sherds (0.5kg), of which both S2 shelly ware and Grey/Brown Sandy fabrics are represented by 35% of the assemblage by count and weight, and another 15% by those of the SNC fabrics. Since the relevant contexts have been identified as belonging to the construction and earliest phase of the moated enclosure, it is not surprising that the assemblage seems to be dominated by residual sherds.

Layer 306/307: 24 sherds (0.17kg) from the layer thought likely to be upcast from the digging of the moat. Nineteen are of S2 shelly ware; there is also the rim of a cp/jar in FLQ and parts of a Roman tile (from 306) and one tile of medieval type (from 307).

Clay floor? 202/208: 32 sherds (0.25kg), of which nineteen are from the *in-situ* yellow clay layer 202, and the remainder from an eroded part of it. Material among the assemblage of the former includes a Q2 cp/jar rim and part of a finger-impressed ribbon strip in S2 ware. The sherds from context 208 include the rim of a cp/jar in GQ2 and the simple everted rim of another in SNC1C fabric. There are also two glazed body sherds in FJW and three fragments of medieval roof tile.

Layer 207: 23 sherds (0.10kg), from the layer over the possible clay floor. There are rim sherds of cp/jars in GQ2 and SNC1D fabrics and part of a finger-impressed strip in S2 ware.

THE GROUP C ASSEMBLAGE

This assemblage includes 24 sherds (0.14kg) of residual material of which eleven are of S2, four of Grey/Brown Sandy Ware, two of the only medieval whiteware from the site and one of 'Tudor Brown' ware of late 15th or early 16th century date. The remainder are of various post-medieval to 19th century types.

DISCUSSION

The assemblage of Group B is of limited local interest since it largely includes residual material, and whatever pottery had been used during the early occupation of the moated enclosure seems barely represented. However, the pre-moat material is not only the first early medieval collection to be excavated from the village, but may be representative of the range of wares that were in use along this north-western fringe of the Weald during the later 11th and 12th centuries. The site is as far from Winchester and Chichester as it is from London, in an area of pioneering settlements during the early post-Conquest period. That said, the assemblage bears strong similarities with the succession and mix of ware and fabric types identified at Godalming, nearly 10km north-west of Cranleigh. There, the same range of SNC types, S2, FLO and IO wares and Grey/Brown Sandy fabrics have been identified from excavations in Mint Street and Bridge Street (Jones 1998), where they represent the principal pottery types of the post-Conquest period down to the middle of the 13th century. Absent from the Cranleigh collection are the pre-Conquest types that were exceptionally represented at the Bridge Street Co-operative site (ibid, 194) and which are suspected to have spanned the Middle and Late Saxon periods. The Cranleigh Rectory site, therefore, may not have been occupied until after the Conquest. Another significant aspect of the Cranleigh material is the rarity of whiteware, being represented by only two sherds and of a fabric type more usually associated with the later medieval period. There would appear, at least in the area that was excavated, to be an absence of pottery of later 13th and 14th century date, since during this High Medieval period, pottery of the whiteware tradition had increased to such an extent that it virtually monopolised the market throughout Surrey and its neighbouring counties. It may be assumed that since this was the period when the domestic use of the moated enclosure was at its most intense, debris was disposed of by other means than by pits and midden accumulation. Alternatively, given the shallowness of any topsoil, the island may have been levelled and the stratigraphy truncated when the Victorian rectory was built.

Concluding discussion

In common with settlements in much of the western Low Weald neither of the two foci around which 'Cranleigh' developed appear to have contained manorial *caputs*. The western end of the present settlement was one of the Wealden outliers of the great Bramley Late Saxon estate (Blair 1991, fig 9D) while the eastern portion, which contains the church and its Rectory, had Shere as its extra-Wealden parent estate. The boundary between these two estates, which was still marked on 19th century maps as a continuous hedge-line, ran to the immediate west of the rectory holding and the churchyard (English & Turner 2004). It seems likely that the church, a lay foundation by the Lord of the Manor of Shere Vachery, was deliberately positioned on that boundary to provide a place of worship for the benefit of populations in both estates. The date of that foundation is uncertain: the earliest known documentary records are from the mid-13th century when in 1235 Master Simon de Bedford, rector of Cranley, was involved in a land dispute (Budgen 2008, 28) and 1244 when the advowson of the rectory was granted by Roger de Clare, Lord of Shere Vachery (VCH, 92). However, the plan of the church has been compared with those of Godalming, Alfold and Hascombe (Blair 1991, fig 31). Alfold is almost certainly the church mentioned in the Domesday Survey as appurtenant to East Shalford and the previous Hascombe church (present church a rebuild of 1864) was a daughter of Godalming minster; both appear to have been constructed late in the pre-Conquest period. The similarity in their plans suggests perhaps a date in the late 11th/early 12th centuries for the founding of Cranleigh church. The necessity for these churches presumably relates to enhanced expansion of settlement into the Low Weald at that time (Blair 1991, 122), but its exact location is likely to have depended more on there being land available on or close to nodal points in the communications network. Both trade routes and markets have been implicated in settlement location and development (Gardiner 1997) but the market charter for Cranleigh, dated 1272 (VCH, 87) appears too late to have been of influence. It should be noted that the earlier charter of 1202 granting the right to hold a market to Michael de Punninges almost certainly refers to Crawley, a Poynings estate, rather than Cranleigh (*contra* Letters 2006). The eastern focus of settlement came to be clustered around an area of common known as Luck's Green, at a junction between north–south and the less usual east–west routes. Although later developments have masked the original boundaries of the common, it is not impossible that the church was built on an area of common ground.

The question then arises of the identity of the site at Cranleigh Rectory. The pottery from pre-moat contexts dates to throughout the 12th century suggesting that the original settlement may well have been contemporary with the construction of the church. If so, and assuming the church was provided with a resident priest, this may represent his house. In 1102 church council stipulated that any newly founded church should be endowed with sufficient land to support the church and a priest (Brett 1975, 125–30). According to an early 17th century terrier the glebe in Cranleigh was exceptionally large, at 170.5a (69ha) (LMA: DW/S/037), possibly a comment on the relative lack of productivity of the Weald Clay, but also a pointer to the likely presence of a priest. It should be noted that the area of the glebe varies between different documents (see below).

There was in addition a Rectory Manor, although no records of this exist from the medieval period and it is not clear that the founding of the manor was contemporary with that of the church. In 1825 the Rectory Manor was valued at 26 best beast heriots, quit rents of £2 7s 6d (£2.38) per annum, manorial rights valued at £5 6s 7d (£5.33) per annum and 210a (85ha) glebe land worth, if rented out, £253 10s (£253.50) (SHC: G125/9/8). Although several of the holdings cannot now be identified the impression is of a manor centred round Luck's Green and the church, but also with scattered holdings some distance away. The manorial lands extensively overlapped, but by the time both entities can be defined in any detail in the 19th century, they were not completely coterminous with the glebe. The status of 'Cranley' in the medieval and post-medieval manorial name 'Shere Vachery with (or and) Cranley' is uncertain, but one suggestion (Budgen 2008, 32–3) is that 'Cranley' was a manor that later became Rectory Manor. If this is correct the site described here could have been the *caput* of that manor.

Apparently in the early 13th century the decision was taken to provide the house with a moat. The impetus for building 'seigneurial' moats has been much discussed and centres on needs for drainage, defence or a wish to emulate aristocratic and ecclesiastic superiors. Placed in an area of Cranleigh known for its potential for flooding into the late 20th century, close to both the Spittledych, the name given to the ditch bounding the western side of the rectory and churchyard and buildings close to it, and a spring point, the need for drainage may have been a strong incentive. However, at this time the manor of Shere Vachery was held by members of the de Clare family (*VCH*, 113), the manorial focus at Vachery, some 2.5km south-south-east of the church, included a moated house and a park, and it may well have been that this association with high status also influenced the provision of a moat at Cranleigh Rectory.

Local legend records a late 13th century destruction of Cranleigh Rectory – 'in the year 1296, when James de Dalileye was Rector of Cranley, some of de Boteler's wild Irish servants picked a quarrel with the local men, and as a result broke into the Rector's house, smashed his furniture and burnt the house to the ground' (Mann 1930, 12). Certainly there may have been Irish servants, wild or not, in the area when Shere Vachery passed to James Butler, Earl of Ormond, but this did not occur until 1327. James de Dalileye was rector of Cranley 1295–c 1307 (Colverson 1977, front cover). As Archdeacon of Glasgow and the King's escheator for Scotland he was responsible in 1307 for finding and provisioning ships in the wars against the Scots under Robert the Bruce (*CalPR*, 490). Unfortunately no contemporary record has

258 JUDIE ENGLISH

been found to confirm this colourful story and no evidence of burning was located during the excavation.

The relative lack of evidence of activity on the site after the early 13th century and the shallow depth below the surface of the medieval stratigraphy strongly suggests that the level of the island has been lowered, possibly when the Victorian rectory was built in 1863. The duration of occupation on the moated site into the late medieval and post-medieval periods, whether or not rectorial, is therefore uncertain.

Endnote

The detailed pottery report and illustrations are available on the Archaeology Data Service website: https://doi.org/10.5284/1000221

Select *Surrey Archaeological Collections* volume 100 and the files are listed as supplementary material under the title of the article.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavation was facilitated by the late Canon and Mrs Jack Roundhill and this report has benefitted from discussions with Chris Budgen, Roger Ellaby and the late Dennis Turner

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript sources

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives

DW/S/037^Diocese of Winchester, Archdeaconry of Surrey, terriers and related papers (17th century) SHC: Surrey History Centre, Woking

G125/9/8 Printed sale particulars of the advowson and next presentation to Cranleigh rectory, also the Rectory Manor and the great and small tithes, 1 July 1825

Published and secondary sources

Blair, J, 1991 Early medieval Surrey: landholding, church and settlement before 1300, Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing & SyAS

Brett, M, 1975 The English church under Henry I, Oxford: University Press

Budgen, C, 2008 Cranleigh - a history, Chichester: Phillimore

- CalPR: Calendar of Patent Rolls of Edward I 1272-1307, vol 4, HMSO 1893
- Colverson, W, 1977 Cranleigh: the story of the church and parish of St Nicolas, privately published
- English, J. & Turner, D, 2004 Medieval settlement in the Blackheath Hundred, in J Cotton, G Crocker & A Graham (eds), Aspects of archaeology and history in Surrey: towards a research framework for the county, Guildford: SyAS, 103–18
- Gardiner, M, 1997 Trade, rural industry and the origin of villages: some evidence from south-east England, Rural settlements in medieval Europe papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 conference, **6**, 63–73
- Jones, P, 1998 Towards a type series of medieval pottery in Surrey, SyAC, 85, 211-38
- Letters, S, 2006 Online gazetteer of markets and fairs in England and Wales to 1516 (http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html [Surrey] (last updated 16 December 2013)
- Mann, S, 1930 Cranley in ye olden days and Cranleigh today, Cranleigh: David Mann & Sons

Orton, C R, 1975 Quantitative pottery studies: some progress, problems and prospects, Sci Archaeol, 16, 30-5

- Poulton, R, 1998 Excavations on the Co-operative Wholesale Society premises at Bridge Street, Godalming, SyAC, 85, 187-206
- Riall, N, 2005 The medieval ceramic roofing materials and the tile kiln, in R Poulton, A medieval royal complex at Guildford: excavations at the castle and palace, Guildford: SyAS, 77–102
- SyAC 1998 Archaeological investigation of historic Surrey towns: Chertsey, Dorking, Farnham and Godalming, SyAC, 85
- VCH: The Victoria history of the county of Surrey, 3, Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co, 1911. British History Online (http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3 (accessed 3 July 2016)