Book Chapter

Castle Rising and the Sea

"Rising was a seaport town, when Lynn was but a marsh, Now Lynn is a seaport town, and Rising fares the worse"

Introduction

Many popular accounts¹ of the history of Castle Rising include the above two line poem of unknown but obviously ancient origin, which suggests that the village's connection with the sea used to be much greater than it is today. At the present time the village is more than 6km from the coastline, but was it previously a port as local folklore suggests? Most recent historians² view this piece of doggerel with scepticism, and although there is no evidence that Rising ever had a large population as the word "town" implies, it is clear that its connection with the sea used to be considerable and has diminished through the years. The word "town" was often used as the appropriate term for Castle Rising in earlier centuries. In this chapter, the changing coastline and its connections with the village are examined, in order to try to understand the influence that the sea has had on the community.

Prehistorically, the valley of the Babingley River had salt marsh stretching well to the east of the present village, as evidenced from the ancient multi-channelled meanders typical of salt marshes which are visible on the aerial photographs of 1946 (See Fig 4)³. Salt manufacture was an extremely important pre-conquest industry around the Wash⁴, including in the parishes of Castle Rising and North Wootton, where irregular topography along the original shoreline produced by salt production are still visible. In late Roman times the sea level was higher than at present and also higher than it had been earlier. Geological evidence shows that the sea had had a major incursion in the Wash region at that time, depositing marine silt, known as the Terrington Beds, over a wide area, and as far

inland as the present villages of Terrington St Clements, the Walpoles and Clenchwarton.⁵. It also affected our region. Figure 1 (*map from p15 Derby book*) illustrates the ring of Saxon-aged villages surrounding the Wash.

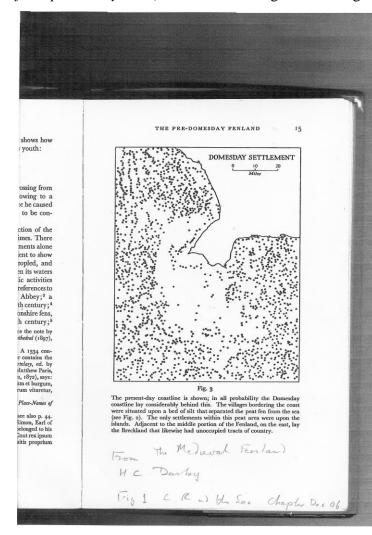


Fig 1 Settlement of Saxon Villages around the Wash in Saxon times.

It seems likely that floods during this marine incursion destroyed earlier settlements, but the villages were established (or reestablished) in early or mid-Saxon times. The shoreline in early Saxon times was probably located just to the seaward side of these villages.

The Sea Bank

The Sea-bank around the Wash, the so-called "Roman Bank" has long intrigued historians and although there is no documentary evidence for its construction, the recent consensus is that it was constructed mainly in the late Saxon Period⁶. This bank which is most conspicuous at the present day just north of the chain of villages between the Rivers Nene and Great Ouse, also extends into our area and is traceable from North Wootton to just south of the Babingley River and again North of the river for a short distance. It is clearly visible from the old railway track west of the parish. Its path is plotted as a blue line on the geological map (Fig 2) and it is defined as the "outer limit of reclamation at the time of Domesday survey (1086)". The area of salt workings is also illustrated. This lies between the early and later banks and suggests that the salt workings were no longer of economic importance when the later bank was built.

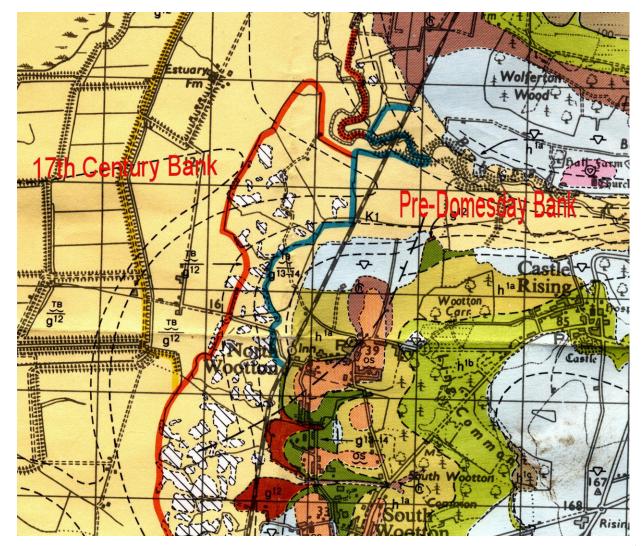


Figure 2. Geological Map of Castle Rising Area showing the Pre-Conquest Sea-bank and the 17th Century Sea-bank.

The earlier bank has been reliably dated in places to the 10th century, but whether it is of this date in our area is unknown. The bank continues up the Babingley on both sides of the river for at least 1.5km and stretch almost to Castle Rising. Although recent farming practices have resulted in the disappearance of the bank in places, it is clearly visible for up to 300m, south of the Babingley River and east of the old Hunstanton railway track. There are also sections of the sea-bank visible closer to the village for c.200m, running south-west to Dovehouse Hills and again another 200m section to the north-west of the end of Nightmarsh Lane. There is a waterway, man-made in places running from the village itself to the Babingley River, parallel to but on the seaward side of the sea bank. At the landward end of the sea-bank is a more elevated section which formed the old staithe, perhaps 4 metres in height and still easily visible. Here boats would have tied up to load and unload their produce (Figs 3 & 4). Building material from Caen in France and from Barnack in Northamptonshire would probably have been unloaded here during the construction of D'Albini's castle in the twelfth century.

The same sea-bank on the north side of the Babingley River can be seen parallel to the river at some distance back near the ruined Babingley Church. All these sections are marked on some of the older maps⁷. The antiquity of these banks on the south side of the river is suggested by the fact that there is a ridge and furrow open field clearly visible on 1946 aerial photographs in the Gressinghall collection (see later). The boundary of this field abuts the sea-bank to the north.

At the time of the establishment of Castle Rising's Parish Boundary, there were already two branches of the Babingley River to the north of the present village. The main (northerly) branch was presumably the original stream, but when the Babingley Mill, was constructed, in or before Saxon times, a second channel was dug for approximately 150 metres in length to join with a side stream to the south. This channel was a leat (a diversionary channel usually situated at the bend of a river where a mill was constructed, in order to more effectively control the flow of the water) for the mill. Although the parish boundary ran along the Babingley River for most of

its length, this second, more southerly branch became the parish boundary in this section. It was also the main access between the village and the sea for much of the medieval period (see Fig 3). The staithe mentioned above was situated along this southern branch. A ditch running from the wharf to Havengate Lane in the earlier village allowed closer water access to the village and castle.

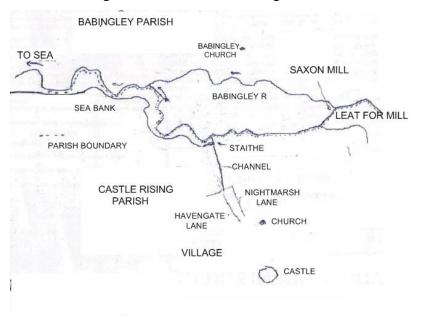


FIG. 3 Showing the double nature of Babingley River and access to the sea.

Even if we do not know for certain who built the sea-bank, its purposes were clear. Firstly it gave the inhabitants a greater security from the occasional high tides, and secondly, it allowed a greater flexibility of agricultural land use for the land inland from the bank. What makes the section of the sea-bank in the Castle Rising area so interesting is that there was evidently a ridge and furrow field

system enclosed within the eastern arms of the bank, clearly visible on aerial photographs taken in 1946 (Fig 4). Presumably the building of the sea bank increased the availability of cultivatable land and the flexibility of the local farming. Land outside the sea bank was mainly salt marsh or land that was occasionally covered by high tides and could only be used for grazing animals and the collection of samphire, as is the salt-marsh on the edge of the Wash at the present day.

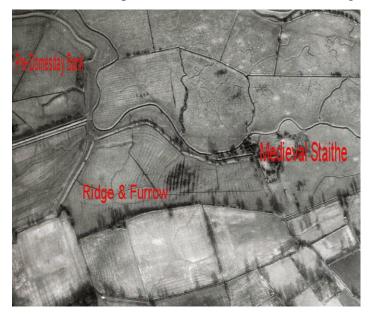


Fig 4. 1946 Aerial photograph showing Ridge and Furrow Field, Medieval Staithe and Pre-Domesday Sea-Bank

At the time of Domesday, the Babingley River was an important part of Castle Rising parish. There were several water-mills and there were several diversions from the main stream, to facilitate these mills. One of the diversions forms the northern boundary of the parish where it deviates from the main channel of the river and this became the major entry point from the sea for the Norman castle. Most of

the material brought into the village probably arrived in this way. The flow of water down the river would have been much greater than at present for at least three reasons. 1) siltation, a natural process in all slow-moving river systems, has occurred continuously since Saxon times. 2) several of the side streams have been lost due to nineteenth century landscaping on the Sandringham estate. Late eighteenth century maps such as Faden's show a well marked stream flowing from the north into the Babingley River where currently the ornamental lake on the Royal estate is now located. 3) precipitation was thought to have been greater in mediaeval times.

Not only was the absolute flow of the Babingley greater than at present, but that of the Great Ouse was much less than today. Between the time of Domesday and 1588 (the date of the map of Castle Rising Chase), there had been major changes in the outflow of the Great Ouse, which flowed through Lynn. In the mid-thirteenth century there had been changes in the drainage system of the Fens. The rivers which had formerly flowed out through the Nene valley, via Wisbech, were diverted by the digging of the Well Creek, (near Upwell and Outwell) into the drainage of the Great Ouse. Prior to this time the catchment area of water which flowed past King's Lynn was relatively small, being fed by the much smaller Great Ouse, the Nar and the Gay⁸ After the diversion much more water passed through King's Lynn into the Wash. All these pieces of evidence suggest that there may not have been too much hyperbole in the old rhyme after all.

Ancient Rights and Privileges

Early charters of the lands owned by the D'Albinis and the Montalts stressed the rights and privileges associated with the sea. Blomefield (1808)⁹ refers to a copy of the ancient Charter of Castle Rising. It gives the Manor jurisdiction over "*wrecks at sea*", from as far away as Titchwell along the Norfolk coast. It also gives part of the revenues from the Tolbooth at Lynn, which proved to be a bone of contention between Lynn and Castle Rising for many years. It granted part of the customs duties from ships arriving in Lynn to the Manor of Rising. There has been speculation as to why this arrangement arose, but it seems likely to have been because the Manor and Chase of Rising, extended to the mouth of the Gaywood River. Thus the probable early point of entry to Lynn was the mouth of the Gaywood River, whose southern bank was in the domain of the Bishops of Norwich¹⁰ and whose northern bank was owned by the Lords of Rising. Bradfer-Lawrence (1932) extends information on the charter with the quotation "*That is to saie Rysing, Northewotton Southwotton and Rydon and...... wreeke of the Sea and Custome and the Tolle of Shippes and Ritalls there applying in the havens* [harbours] *of Rysing*". Note that the word '*havens*' is plural, suggesting that perhaps both the Gaywood and Babingley rivers were involved.

As late as 1846 the then Lord of the Manor of Rising, the Hon Fulk Greville Howard was invoking this clause in the ancient Charter to argue that his Manor stretched into the sea beyond the high water mark during his quarrel with Sir George Bentinck, planner and builder of the Marsh Cut, which led to the establishment of the present-day channel of the Great Ouse. He wrote through his solicitor *"That in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a grant was made* inter alia *of the Toll of Boats and Carrects (ships of burthen) with fish from the sea to the Fairs of Sturbridge passing by the liberties of the Chase of Rising, on attainder of Philip Earl of Arundel. <u>This shows that the boundary of the chase extended to the sea."</u> (His underlining). Through this clause he wished to prove his ownership of the land which would be reclaimed if a new channel of the River Ouse were to be cut. The Marsh Cut was finally completed by the Norfolk Estuary Company in November 1853 and the Castle Rising estate added several hundred acres of cultivatable land to its ownership as a result of the engineering works (see later). Subsequent arbitration as to the ownership of the land below high water mark eventually adjudicated against the Howards, but they still acquired much additional land for a minimal amount of payment. It was "adjudged that 327 acres and 14 perches of land belonging to Hon M[ary] Howard, [widow of the then recently deceased Hon. <i>Fulk Greville Howard (see above)*] have been improved and increased in value by the said company who were therefore awarded £4269. 9s. 9d towards the cost of embankment. A little over £13 per acre even in Victorian days seems to have been a bargain for highly fertile farmland! For the Estuary Company the whole venture was a financial disaster.

When the sea was closer to the parish, it presumably provided food in the form of fish, shellfish and wildfowl. Evidence for this comes from the extensive excavations in the Castle grounds in the 1970s and 1980s¹¹. An examination of animal remains shows that,

although many domesticated animals were consumed in the medieval period, there were also many bones of estuarine fish, and coastal wild birds. Among the fish, eel (*Anguilla anguilla*), smelt (*Osmerus eperlanus*), black goby (*Gobius niger*) and flounder (*Platichthys flesus*), all estuarine species, predominated. Wild birds included Teal (*Anas crecca*), Golden Plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*,) Oyster-catcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*), Redshank (*Tringa totanus*), Dunlin (*Calidris alpina*) and Curlew (*Numenius arquata*), all common inhabitants of the salt marsh to this day. Remains of mussels, oysters, cockles and whelks were also commonly in the medieval middens. A large whale vertabra was found in the castle well.

The Seventeenth Century Bank and the Babingley Sluice

The ancient sea-bank was the first major land reclamation project of the Parish, affecting not only Castle Rising, but also North Wootton and Babingley. It added considerably to the acreage available to the owners of the parishes. The next major reclamation took place in the seventeenth century, and is also readily visible today. This new sea-bank abuts the old sea-bank close to the Babingley River and first heads west-north-westwards before turning sharply to the southwards. It then went towards King's Lynn, and formed the east bank of the River Ouse for about two hundred years, until the building of the Marsh Cut. These banks were part of a much wider reclamation sea-bank throughout the Wash and presumably occurred in association with the great draining of the Fens, notably by Vanmuyden and the Dukes of Bedford.

The coastline on the 1588 map is close to where the present day geological map shows the sea-bank enclosing the 17^{th} Century reclamation, but there was no indication of a specific sea-bank there in 1588. It seems more likely that the 17^{th} century reclamation used the existing high water mark for its location. Its position and the place where it was attached to the old sea-bank, are clearly visible on aerial photographs and is illustrated on the Geological Map (Fig 2)¹². In our region it enclosed the former salt working areas of North Wootton marsh, which were presumably no longer productive. This later bank extended the enclosed area up to a kilometre further towards the Wash and also expanded the enclosed area north beyond Wolferton. It is visible to the west of the old King's

Lynn - Hunstanton railway track and is shown as contiguous with the older sea-bank on all subsequent local maps of Castle Rising. The point where this bank met the sea on the south side of the Babingley river and turned southward along the coastline was called Marham (1656, 1679 and 1697) or Marsham Point (1816). It is referred to on the 1732 map as Marsham Point. Both Bradfer-Lawrence (1932) and Dence (1980) wrote that the Babingley River had a sluice across it from the late seventeenth century, but give no reference. It must have been built around the same time as the seventeenth century sea-bank. The perambulations of 1679 and 1697 specifically refer to the river as "ffresh" upstream from Marsham Point. A sketch map drawn in 1700¹³ shows that the lands thus enclosed were leased by the Howards (Thomas and Diana) to a Mr Allison and are described as Hay Pasture and Great Marsh. A new sluice through the sea-bank near Marsham Point is indicated on the sketch, which seems to be across the entire Babingley River and this is presumably the one referred to by Bradfer-Lawrence and Dence. It is presumably the same structure that is present today, although it no longer serves any purpose (Fig 5).



Fig 5. 17th Century Sluice (disused) on Babingley River.

This sluice is also shown on several nineteenth century maps and is referred to as the "Rising Stop". Incidentally the Sea-bank on these sketches is called the "Duke's Bank", probably referring to the Duke of Bedford, even though sometimes the Pre-Domesday bank is being referred to¹⁴. Fig 6 shows an aerial photograph of the outflow of the Babingley River. Both the Saxon Bank, the 17th century sluice and the 17th Century sea-bank are visible and also the former Castle Rising Brook, with the18th Century floodgate at its mouth.

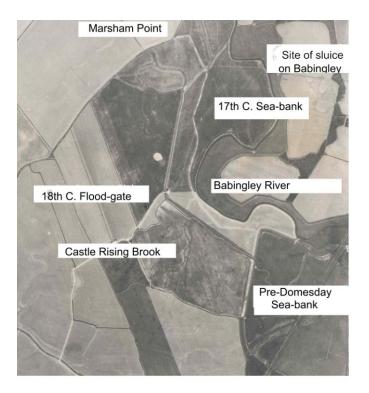


Fig. 6 Showing the Sea-banks and Sluices near Marsham Point.

Discovering the Flood-gates at Castle Rising Brook

An undated eighteenth century sketch map¹⁵ in the NRO showed a plan for constructing a sluice, or flood-gate "to let the fresh water into the Mardie [*meadow*?]". We used the map and walked along the river until we found an old brick and iron sluice on the south bank of the Babingley which allowed a small side stream to pass under the sea-bank, but would have prevented water entering the meadows in case of high water levels in the Babingley River. This floodgate is shown on Fig 7. It comprises a brick tunnel under the sea-bank through which a small stream presumably passed (not present during our visit) and at the downstream side there is a solid square iron plate approximately 50cm. x 50cm., about 1cm. thick and hanging from a chain. This iron plate allowed water to pass through from the Castle Rising Brook but would be pushed against the brickwork when high waters occurred in the Babingley River.



Fig 7 Photo showing the old flood-gate

There was a lengthy correspondence in 1785 between a Mrs Smith, who farmed land in North Wootton, and Mr Jessop, representing the Rising Estate. It gives a good account of the importance of such sluices and how they were constructed. The work involved the Castle Rising Brook, a stream no longer in existence which flowed into the Babingley from the south, close to the seventeenth century coastline. Its course can be seen on the 1946 aerial photographs (Fig 6).¹⁶ It required adding additional banking and the construction of a brick, wood and iron sluice where this brook entered the Babingley. Its purpose was to improve the drainage of the marshes inside the sea-bank, to convert salt marsh to fresh marsh and to provide additional protection from the sea. This work was estimated to cost \$382.1s.0d. Mrs Smith declined to contribute "*Mrs Smith is not inclined to expend any money on the proposed embankment during her Son's Minority- who is about 19 years of age.*"

Floods

Sea-banks were constantly in need of repair, sluices and waterways needed to be cleared, and many of the estate letters record this. Reports of the sea breaking through the sea walls and causing considerable damage and occasional loss of life were frequently reported around the Wash, and Dence (1980) records a case in the Manor in 1781 which may have led to the building of the banks and sluices referred to in the previous paragraph. In fact there were two major floods within two years (1779 and 1781) which so impoverished many of the inhabitants of the Manor that it led to them appealing to the Right Honourable Lady Viscount Andover (*the current Lady of the Manor*) as follows¹⁷: -

"The humble petition of Anthony Eldridge, Edmund Holland, Henry Standbanks, Robert Reeve, Nathaniel Kirby, William Oliver, William Clark, Samuel Booty and Richard Elmer. (These were some of the more prominent members of the village at the time and include a serving mayor)

She we th

That your petitioners and tenants and occupiers of land under your ladyship situate, lying and being near the sea of Lynn Channel in the Parishes of Castle Rising and North Wootton in the County of Norfolk - and that the tide on 1st Jan 1779 swelling to an unusual height overflowed the sea banks fencing your Ladyship's said lands in the tenure of your petitioners and laid the whole level under water. And also drowned and swept away a great number of sheep and cattle belonging to your petitioners.

That your petitioners not only sustained great damage from the loss of such their stock but the water continuing upon the land for several weeks from its saline quality so much damaged the same that for a considerable time after, it was of very little value to your petitioners that several crops of corn, hay or grass from which they as usual expected much advantage, proving very little. But notwithstanding such losses and the general hardship and inconvenience your petitioners consequently experienced three succeeding summers, yet they would have forborne to trouble your Ladyship thereon. But on Friday 19 Oct last (i.e.1781) a tide nearly equal to that of 1779 again overflowed your Ladyship's banks which second calamity your petitioners finding themselves unable to sustain as the damage that inevitably must accrue to the lands from being again drowned will consequently render them of little or no value for several years to come, have ventured to entreat your Ladyship to take into consideration such their grievances and that your Ladyship may be better able to judge thereof your petitioners have hereunder stated the number of acres overflowed which each of them occupys and also of the stock drowned and Hay and Corn, etc. spoiled.

Your petitioners therefore humbly request that your Ladyship will be pleased to take the premises into consideration and afford them such relief in the abatement of their rents or otherwise as your Ladyship shall seem mete and likewise to take such steps to secure them from further inundation of the sea as your Ladyship shall conceive most effectual."

Each petitioner then summarized his losses in the two floods and assigned some monetary value to the claim. An example is "Robert Reeve 60 sheep drowned and 10 acres of Wheat spoiled 1779 £140."

There is no record of her Ladyship's reply, but probably the building of the banks and sluices in 1785 (and documented above) were in response to the petition. It seems likely that the detailed financial losses provided by the petitioners, suggests that her Ladyship had already indicated a willingness to contribute. The above petition documents the relationship between villagers and the Lords and Ladies of the Manor. To us today the obsequiousness of the petition is hard to accept, but since the decision as to whether to help them by reducing or cancelling their rents was in her hands, it was probably wise not to let their likely true feelings be known. There was however an implication in the petition that maintaining the sea-bank was the responsibility of the Manor, yet we see no hint of blame. **The Marsh Cut 1850-53**

The next major changes in the shoreline adjacent to Castle Rising occurred in the mid-nineteenth century when major engineering works carried out by the Norfolk Estuary Company, mentioned earlier, which altered the courses of both the Great Ouse and the Babingley rivers. The so-called Marsh Cut which was dug in 1850 (Worfolk 1990)¹⁸ through Vinegar Middle, diverted the Great Ouse to the west, exposing much land for reclamation in North and South Wootton parishes (Fig 8)¹⁹.

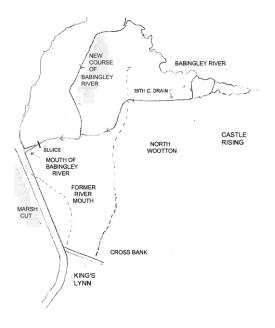


Fig 8. The effect of the 1853 Marsh Cut on the drainage patterns of the Babingley.

Figure 9 shows the course of the Great Ouse prior to the Marsh Cut. It indicates that the sea was much closer to Castle Rising as recently as 1850. The Sand-pit Railway ended at the banks of the old Great Ouse River, prior to construction of the King's Lynn to Hunstanton Railway.

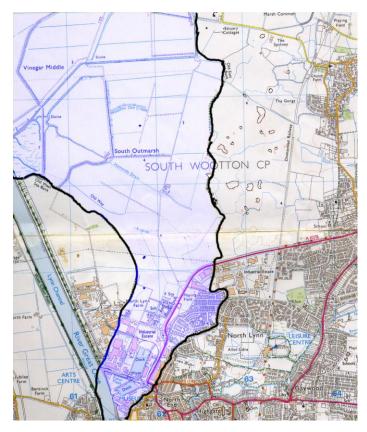


Fig 9. The mouth of the Great Ouse prior to the Marsh Cut.

Its purpose was to improve navigation into the Port of Lynn and to reduce the silting of the river, which continued to be a major problem. Although reclamation was not a major objective of the Marsh Cut, it was envisaged that lands reclaimed would at least defray some of the costs the engineering works. As with most major schemes, this plan generated a host of local opponents, and in 1840 "*The Committee, appointed by Persons interested in the projected EMBANKMENT of the GREAT ESTUARY of the WASH……*" met and passed a Resolution "*announcing its intention of opposing the scheme of the Company as calculated to prejudice materially*

the enjoyment and exercise of their highly valuable private rights, ..." One of the signatories of this resolution was the Hon Colonel Fulk Greville Howard, Lord of the Manor of Castle Rising. Despite these objections the scheme went ahead, although not as completely as the original proposal had envisaged. The Marsh Cut was completed in November 1853, but only one mile of the Cut into Vinegar Middle was constructed. Nevertheless this resulted in the addition of what had formerly been the estuary of the Great Ouse into an additional 20 square kilometres of reclaimed land adjacent to the Parish of North Wootton, in the Manor of Rising. This addition posed two immediate problems. 1) What effect would this have on the Babingley River? and 2) How would the reclaimed land be used? The Babingley River had had many alterations to its flow during recorded history. By the time of Domesday, there were two lateral channels dug in order to accommodate water mills. The lower one formed the boundary of the Parish and was also part of the main entry point to the village during the medieval period²⁰. At the time of the Marsh Cut, the Babingley meandered slowly to the Wash and formed the parish boundary between North Wootton and Wolferton. It was probably diverted to the south along the then sea wall around the time of the alterations which led to the Marsh Cut (i.e. c.1867). On the 1901 OS map the original outlet to the sea is labelled Babingley CREEK, but there is also an unlabelled watercourse on the landward side of the outermost seawall at the time in the same location where the modern river flows. It is shown there also on the 1923 OS map but the Babingley Creek is no longer marked. The 1923 map still shows that much of the southern part of the marsh was still not reclaimed. By the time of the second world war according to local wildfowlers, the Babingley still had the route shown on the 1923 map but the river mouth was south of its present location and only in 1948 was it finally diverted to its present course where it enters the Ouse at Lynn Point protected by a major sluice nearby which keeps out the sea-water. The older river channel is still detectable. At some time in the midtwentieth century (post-1923) a second major ditch was dug between the south branch of the Babingley, due west to join the southerly diversion of the Babingley River. It too had a sluice and pumping station. Fig 10 shows the changes in land use from salt marsh to agricultural land since 1858 with dates recorded²¹ The last extension was in 1966, and given present day attitudes and threats of sea level rises, it seems likely that if there are further changes it might be in the reverse direction with some reclamation of salt marsh. Much of this land is now no longer in the ownership of the Howards, but is owned by Trinity College Cambridge and the Crown.

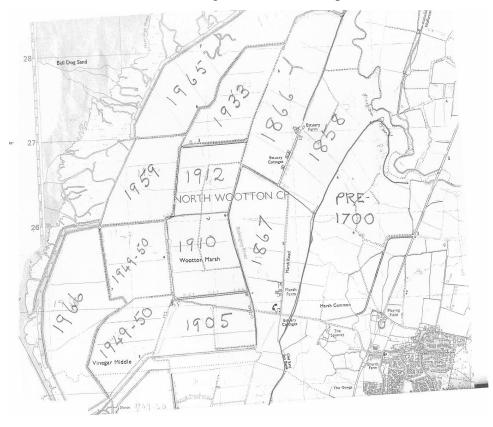


Fig 10 Showing the reclamation of land, occurring since 1858.

As we see above there were several sea-ward extensions. These were partly necessitated by the need for more land and increased protection of the sea, but were also an inevitable result in the gradual rise in the land relative to the sea. This occurred because of the natural geographic process of siltation, the deposit of silty material brought from southerly coastal flow and down the rivers. It then accumulated in the Wash. As Sir Henry Spelman, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century historian who lived in nearby Congham, noted "*It* (Castle Rising) *had been a famous port, but being stopped up with sands, was the cause of great decay*".

Maintaining the rivers and dykes was a continuing pre-occupation of the residents of the Manor. An eighteenth century account of an agreement between Henry Howard and Henry Cornish Henley (who owned land on the north side of the river) is preserved in the Norfolk record Office²². It allowed on May 14th 1771 for:-

"The length of so much of Babingley River wanting to be thrown out (presumably dredged) as is to be done at the equal joint charge between the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire and Henry Cornish Henley Esq.

5 Furlongs and $\frac{1}{2}$ West from the Stop = 220 Rods

9 Furlongs East from the Stop = 360 Rods

The 9 furlongs last mentioned continued 5 Furlongs – 25 Rods farther reaching to the partable trunk which may be done at a lower rate. Total in joint expense 805 Rods"

The Stop is presumably the "Rising Stop" the sluice across the Babingley River near Marsham Point and concerned only that part of the river where the parish boundary stood. Some of the eighteenth century records refer to a Dikereeve, presumably appointed by the Manor to maintain the ditches of the parish.

One of the problems associated with land reclamation was the fact that soil erosion and peat shrinkage occurred with the elimination of the water covering. This resulted in a drop in the level of the land and considerable problems for the engineers who drained the Fens. Rivers at a higher level than nearby roads are a common feature of the Fen landscape, and lead to a continual threat of flooding. A similar occurrence is evident in the Babingley Valley. The earlier reclaimed fields are at a lower elevation than more recently

drained ones, such that the fields closer to the Wash are of higher elevation than those further up the valley. The floods which devastated communities around the Wash in 1953 destroyed the old brick bridge over the Babingley River which carried a footpath between Castle Rising and Babingley Church, an event remembered by several of the older residents of the village. Future sea-level rise may present the parish with more serious flooding problems if global warming continues.

In summary, it appears that the sea was formerly much closer to the village than it is at present. The first sea defences occurred before Domesday, but in response to continuing siltation and the relative fall in the sea level more and more reclamation has taken place with major activities in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The early village was highly dependent upon the sea for salt, access and food. It was dependent on the Babingley River for transportation and water power. However the sea and the river could also be destructive and flooding was an ever present worry. As land was reclaimed, the threat of flooding decreased, the value of the agricultural land was enhanced and Castle Rising became a community with little sense of the proximity of the sea. As sea level rise continues, the community may once again become more aware of its maritime connections.

¹ E.g. Dutt. W.A. (1923) *Highways and Byways in East Anglia* p 263. MacMillan and Co. London

² Dence (1980), Bradfer-Lawrence (1932).

³ Gressinghall Air-photo collection 16 Apr 1946 (need more details)

⁴ Darby H. C. (1952) The Domesday Geography of Eastern England. Pp134-36. Cambridge U.P.;

Owen D.M. () Records of Social and Economic History. New Series IV. The Making of King's Lynn O.U.P.

⁵ Darby H.C. (1974) *The Medieval Fenland* David & Charles; Newton Abbot.

⁶ Although opinions varied widely; from the claim by J. Wentworth Day that it was built by the Romans using "wretched Ancient Britons as the slave labour" to H.C. Darby who ascribes it without evidence to the mediaeval period.

⁷ Add appropriate maps.

¹² Gressinghall Air-photo collection 16 Apr 1946 (need more details)

¹³ NRO How 554.

¹⁴ However it is the older pre-Domesday bank that is indicated. It may have been a confusion or may indicate that during the seventeenth century the older bank was also considerably altered.

¹⁵ NRO How 555.

¹⁶ Gressinghall Air-photo collection 16 Apr 1946 (need more details)

¹⁷ NRO How 581.

¹⁸ Worfolk S. (1990). *The Making of the Marsh Cut 1850-53*. True's Yard Publication King's Lynn.

¹⁹ Map produced by Norfolk Estuary Company, showing proposed Cut 1851 (I need to find out where this map came from.).

²⁰ Liddiard R. (nd) Castle Rising King's Lynn – Norfolk, A Short History of Castle Rising and its owners. Publication of the Castle

²¹ Gray A.J. (1976) The Ouse washes and the Wash p126. In Nature in Norfolk. A Heritage in Trust (Jarrold and Son Ltd. Norwich)

²² NRO How 577 & 578/2

⁸ Clarke from Excavations from King's Lynn 1963-70 Society of Medaeval Archeology. *Gaywood Library*). Also Matthew Paris map mid thirteenth century.

⁹ Blomefield's Norfolk Vol 9.

 ¹⁰ Hillen H.J. (1907). *History of the Borough of King's Lynn* ¹¹ East Anglian Archaeology Report No 81.(1997). *Castle Rising Castle Norfolk* Field Archaeology division, Norfolk Museum Services, Gressinghall, Norfolk.