

introduced the unique thread twisting crafts to Maidstone in the 1560s, were closely involved in the development of the native industries, and although in the 1580s the number of Dutch had reached its maximum of c. 200 adults, soon 8,000 workers were directly or indirectly involved in the industry.<sup>43</sup> By 1616 some of these workers would have been among the estimated 2,000 emigrants who went to west Germany as a result of the restrictive trade measures,<sup>44</sup> and would have included disaffected native English protestants as well as descendants of the early Dutch migrants.

So far we have seen that even in the relatively well-documented communities at Canterbury and Sandwich, it is possible that the scale of integration and onward migration can be difficult to ascertain. With Maidstone the picture becomes unclear very early on. But scattered throughout the secondary literature and folk memory of the County are mentions of smaller settlements, for example at Dover,<sup>45</sup> Chatham, Dartford, Greenwich, Faversham and Hythe,<sup>46</sup> Hollingbourne and Boughton Malherbe,<sup>47</sup> Bridge<sup>48</sup> and Denton.<sup>49</sup>

The last mentioned location is an example of hearsay evidence relating to the allocation of a dwelling, smallholding and workshop to a skilled foreign carpenter in the 1670s which highlights the difficulties of establishing an accurate picture. The detail of the provisions hints that they may have been recorded in official documents but the current lack of definitive evidence must leave this as unproven hearsay only. But the proximity of Denton to Arnold Braems' house at Bridge Place would lend credence to the idea that there would have been small but significant numbers of skilled craftsmen, not associated directly with the major trades and working for short periods in the service of the wealthier and commercial classes of immigrants who had moved on from visitor status to landowners themselves. We know that specialist craftsmen were employed in large projects, for both native and immigrant employers and it is here that the influence of immigrants becomes an issue. These included glassmakers, with their skills in a wide range of products from stained glass to domestic glazing and drinking vessels. The early glass manufacturer Jean Carré, from Arras, established a monopoly in the Weald in the late 1560s,<sup>50</sup> and although little is now made of the descendants of the early textile immigrants in the Weald, yet Carré must have been aware of the importance of the markets and resources there. An inevitable question follows: was he the only master craftsman following earlier economic migrants to the Weald? Gwynne also argues that the contemporary late seventeenth-century persecutions of protestants in France and the English oppositional restrictions led to an underestimation of the immigrant contribution to the early modern

economies.<sup>51</sup> The late twentieth-century attempts to restore an awareness of this contribution may have distorted our understanding too much and created an environment within which to find influences everywhere.

How much influence the immigrants had on the built and cultural landscape of Kent is not a simple question to answer. The example of Dutch gables cited as evidence of immigrant populations and their influence is somewhat simplistic. Many of the so-called immigrant features are in fact ideas brought back from the Continent by English travellers. For example, Quiney claims that the reintroduction of the Roman practice of building in brick may have received a stimulus from the fourteenth-century economic immigrants, but was given authoritative support in major buildings in the reign of Henry VII after the return of Archbishop Morton from exile in Flanders.<sup>52</sup> Again he points out that the so-called Dutch gables probably came to Kent from the Low Countries via Norfolk and was taken up as a practical building method by builders in 'East Kent [who] ... made them its own'.<sup>53</sup> The stepped gable is a simple and easy way of creating greater roof space and while it was used normally in the Low Countries at the front and back of terraces for maximum warehouse storage purposes with minimum technical complexities, its early forms in Kentish buildings were simple replacements for the wide hipped-roofs (for example, *School Farm*, Guilton, Ash) and very quickly tended to become a fashionable status symbol (for example, *Ford Place*, Wrotham, c. 1589 and *Broome Park*, Barham, 1635-9).

The majority of the immigrants were not able to build for themselves until the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and by then they were far more likely to adopt the current English fashions highly influenced, as was much of the post-Restoration English architecture, by the French styles, and adapted to merge with the English style. Their early settlements were in poor houses set aside for them from among the receiving town's stock of uninhabited property. Oakley describes the allocation of housing to the Walloons in Canterbury: 'Generally speaking this was the poorer area of the city where there were many small houses built with narrow frontages to the street'.<sup>54</sup>

Just as it is difficult to trace the majority of the poorer and less successful immigrant families, so it is almost impossible to disentangle their influences. The traders operating at the smaller ports around the Kentish coast from Deptford to the Romney Marsh would have included sailors who interacted with the local population, trading not only in goods, but ideas in a two-way exchange. These influences might be very minor, but they would have been adopted