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Shoelands

Cyril R. Hart (pp. 6–11)

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For further details or to join the Society, please contact:

Mrs Christine Hickling
English Place-Name Society
School of English
The University of Nottingham
NG7 2RD

Tel: 0115 951 5919

Email: name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk

ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

SHOELANDS¹

Archdeacon Hale was the first to draw attention to the term *solanda* occurring in descriptions of certain twelfth-century estates.² His equation with OE *sulung*, 'ploughland', was accepted by Seebohm and Vinogradoff, but Round disposed of this in a characteristic essay³, in which he demonstrated that the term was applied to a small demesne estate held by a cathedral canon *ad prebendam*; further, Round pointed out that references were restricted to estates held by the canons of St Paul's, London. The topic has since been investigated in some detail by Miss Gibbs⁴, who devoted the years 1933-35 to an intensive study of the St Paul's muniments; more recently R. E. Latham has brought together some additional material⁵, the significance of which will be discussed later in this review.

There is no suggestion in any of these accounts that the word was ever used in other than a purely administrative sense, but in 1918 Sir Norman Moore printed an early thirteenth-century charter which transfers land in London abutting upon a '*viculum que tendit ab aqua de flete usque ad vicum de Scolande.*'⁶ Moore states in a footnote: 'The street of Scolanda (*sic*) is the modern Shoe Lane, which has a winding course from Fleet Street to the east end of the parish church of Holborn Scolanda is a prebendal farm, and the Latin forms which occur in charters show that this is the origin of the name Shoe Lane, and the direction of the street points to Holborn as the particular *solanda*'. Presumably Moore obtained his knowledge

¹ This essay was first published under the title "Place-Names derived from the 'Solandæ' of St Paul's", in *Notes and Queries*, N.S., Vol. 4, 1957, pp. 327-29. The present version is considerably revised and expanded. Abbreviations: ECEE = C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester, 1966; ECEss = C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Essex*, Part I, *Saxon Period*, Part II, *Norman Period*, Leicester, 1957; ECStP = M. Gibbs (ed.), *The Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, London, 1939; LE = E. O. Blake (ed.), *Liber Eliensis*, London, 1962; VCH = Victoria County History Series.

² W. Hale, *The Domesday of St Paul's*, London, 1857, p. xiv; see also pp. lxxviii, 58, 93, 142, 145, 151.

³ J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, London, 1895, pp. 103-9.

⁴ ECStP pp. xx-xxv.

⁵ *English Historical Review*, lxxiv, 1959, pp. 664-5.

⁶ N. Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols., London, 1918; Vol. 1, pp. 246-7.

of the prebendal nature of a *solanda* from Round's essay, but the suggested derivation of Shoe Lane is his own.

Holborn was, in fact, one of the St Paul's prebends,⁷ and Moore supported his identification by supplying a number of intermediate forms: *Scholonde* early 13th cent; *in vico Scholonde* 1246-1269; *in vico de Solaunde* 1283; *Sholane* temp. Hen. VI. It is a measure of Moore's ability, that as an amateur writing before the modern development of place-name studies, he could establish such an identity in a casual footnote, incidental to a much larger work.

Unfortunately, Ekwall did not have available a copy of Moore's book when preparing his account of London street-names. He supplied several additional early forms for Shoe Lane,⁸ and concluded 'that the early ME form was *Sholand* and that *Sholane* is a modification of *Sholand*, perhaps an ellipsis of *Sholand-lane*', but he showed no knowledge of the *solandae* of St Paul's, and did not therefore, arrive at Moore's derivation.

Another of the St Paul's *solandae* which gave rise to a place-name lay outside the walls of Colchester, on the site where the Royal Grammar School now stands.⁹ At the time of Domesday, the land there formed part of the bishop of London's soke. Presumably, some time between 1086 and 1099 a *solanda* was set aside from this part of the soke for the support of one of the cathedral canons. He could not have been left very long in the enjoyment of his endowment, for by some means unknown it fell into the hands of William Rufus, who gave 'the land of *Sollanda*' there to Eudo Dapifer, by a writ which contains the earliest recorded form of the name.¹⁰ The tithes of this land were first used by Eudo to endow the chapel of his castle at Colchester; later they were transferred to his foundation of St John's Abbey there. The earliest mention of the land as a place-name is *S(c)holande* in 1323;¹¹ then we have land '*in cornerio campi vocati le Sholand*' in 1348, a reference which shows that it was a common field divided into strips. Later references include *Great and Little Sholand* in 1357, and again in 1622 on the map of the demesne lands of the castle, now preserved in the borough muniments. *The Sholands* occur several times in

⁷ ECStP p. 250.

⁸ E. Ekwall, *Street-Names of the City of London*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 110-11.

⁹ ECEss, II, pp. 38-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 115, p. 17.

¹¹ PN Essex, p. 584.

printed accounts of the siege of Colchester in 1648, but it appears that soon afterwards the name was lost.

In the examples from London and Colchester which have been cited, there is ample evidence to establish the local development of the term *solanda* as a place-name. In the case of an estate at Warley, Essex, known in 1262 as *Warle Scodlaund*, the evidence is less decisive. The bishop of London held land at Warley at the time of Domesday,¹² and it is possible that here, as at Colchester, land was set aside to support a prebend; but the bishop's holding was in Little Warley, and Warley Scodlaund was in Great Warley, and unless we assume a change in the boundary between the two parishes in the medieval period,¹³ the identity between the two properties appears unlikely.

In any case, the history of the Warley place-name is well worth considering with the rest of the series. The Frank *Scodlaund* (I) who held of Geoffrey *Scodlaund* (I) land in Warle Scodlaund in 1262¹⁴ is presumably the Frank de *Scodlaund al. Scottelonde* (II) (or his ancestor) who appears in the Feudal Aid for 1303. That he was also the Frank de *Scoland* (III) who in 1279 leased property in Buttsbury,¹⁵ not so very far from Warley, is suggested by another fine, dated 1356, in which a Frank de *Scolande* (IV) made over to Henry de *Scolande* land in Warlegh Fraunkes,¹⁶ which must be the same estate as Warle Scodlaund above. We may assume, therefore, that Frank (I) = Frank (II), and probably = Frank (III). Further, Frank (IV) is clearly a descendant of Frank (I). Moreover, it is likely that Geoffrey (I) is the Geoffrey de *Scoland* (II) who appears in yet another Essex fine, dated 1257.¹⁷ The family name, therefore, appears in the following forms: *Scoland* 1257, 1279; *Scodlaund* 1262, 1303; *Scottelonde* 1303, *Scolande* 1356. The evidence suggests that a *solanda* at Warley gave rise to a place-name (and thence to a family surname), which became confused at the turn of the thirteenth century with the more common *scotland*, 'land held by payment of a fine or rent.'¹⁸

¹² VCH Essex I, p. 439a.

¹³ This is plausible, see ECEss, II, p. 35.

¹⁴ *Fcet of Fines for Essex*, Vol. I, p. 259.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 111.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 228.

¹⁸ PN Essex, p. 589.

It is clear that the second element of Warle Scodlaund is manorial, but it is not so easy to assume a manorial origin for all of the remaining names of the series. These include:¹⁹ *Scoland* 1177-86 in Wandsworth; *Sholand* 1235, *la Schola(u)nde* 1241-51, *Shooland* 1610 in Puttenham; *Sholand* t.Ed.III, *Showland* t.Ed.VI, in Witley (all in Surrey); *Scholand* early 13th,²⁰ *Schooland* 1384, *Sho(e)lands* 1574 in Hendon, Middlesex; *Scholond* 1478 in Lawford, Essex; lands called *Shoelands* 1599 in Aldenham, Hertfordshire;²¹ and *Scoland'* 1242-3, *de Sholande* 1327, *Sholand* 1337, *-lond* 1346, *Shelond* 1349, Shulland Wood in Kent.²²

All these names come from the south-east of England; with one exception,²³ they are all from counties in which canons of St Paul's held lands. Wandsworth and Hendon, in particular, were very near to prebendal lands; the word *solanda* must have been in common use locally. As for Lawford and Aldenham, the forms are too late to allow of useful discussion. The occurrence of Walter *Scholand* in Tollesbury, Essex, as early as 1253²⁴ suggests that the various *solandae* soon provided surnames for some of their tenants, whose descendants in their turn, having migrated to other parts of the country, could just as readily have given their names to their new holdings, as was the common custom.

Perhaps the most difficult names to account for in the series are those at Witley and Puttenham, which though close to each other are far removed from the remainder. The early form *la Sholande* makes a manorial derivation seem unlikely.

A possible solution to this problem is that the lands in question were the property of some religious community *other* than St Paul's. The likelihood of this has been greatly increased since R. E. Latham in 1959, in a paper already cited, drew attention to references concerning the endowment of Harold's foundation for canons at Waltham Abbey in Essex. The Waltham chronicler, in his history of the house, wrote: "collati

¹⁹ Except where otherwise stated, these forms are taken from the corresponding county volumes of the English Place-Name Society.

²⁰ Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²¹ VCH Hertfordshire, II, p. 83.

²² J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), 288. I thank Mr A. Rumble for this reference.

²³ The Kentish place-name may be derived from the Essex family of Scolond, cf. *Fcet of Fines for Essex*, I, p. 228.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 196.

sunt . . . unicuique canonicæ redditus xi sol[idos] ad vestimentorum suppletionem, quod Anglice *sruland* vocatur.”²⁵ The OE word was in fact *scrūdland*, literally ‘shroud land’, or land provided for clothing the community; it appears as such in an OE grant to the canons of Canterbury dated 1032.²⁶ This custom of endowing cathedral canons with property to be used specifically for their clothing was evidently of considerable antiquity; as early as 947 canons at Winchester were granted land ‘to *scrūd fultume*.’²⁷

We are further indebted to Mr Latham for pointing out that when in 1177 Henry II refounded Waltham as a Benedictine Abbey, his charter reciting its endowment distinguished between ‘*duas scolandas de Walkfare* (Walter Hall in Boreham, Essex)’, and ‘*duas scrutlandas de Nasinges* (Nazeing, Essex)’.²⁸ The term *s(c)olanda*, then, could be used for an endowment of canons at other foundations than St Paul’s.

Unfortunately, although the Waltham records settle the definition of *scrūdland*, they offer us no enlightenment as to the derivation of its less well-known companion term *s(c)olanda*. Could the first element come from OE *scolu*, ‘a school’, in its secondary sense of ‘a group of persons under a common discipline’ — an interpretation that would fit in well with land held by a community of canons (as I hazarded in 1957) — or could it perhaps derive from OE *scēo*, ‘a shelter’, as suggested by A. H. Smith,²⁹ — or OE *scōh*, ‘a shoe’ (in the sense ‘shoe-shaped piece of land’), as put forward by Ekwall in his book on London street-names? It is satisfying to record that for the solution to our conundrum the etymologist must needs have

²⁵ *Foundation of Waltham Abbey: the tract De inventione Sanctæ Crucis nostræ in Monte Acuto [Montacute, Somerset] et deductione ejusdem apud Waltham*, ed. W. Stubbs, Oxford, 1861, p. 17; cf. VCH Essex II, pp. 166-7.

²⁶ A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1956, No. LXXVI, p. 170. Robertson No. XXV, the OE version of this charter, renders *ad vestimenta* ‘to hregltalæ’. The word *hrægtalu* = ‘clothing store’ is very uncommon; it is found elsewhere only in the OE version of the Rule of St. Benedict. This translation was made by St Æthelwold in the second half of the tenth century, so if the scribe of Robertson XXV took the word *hrægtalu* from the OE Rule, then this section of the charter is a late interpolation.

²⁷ F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents*, Cambridge, 1914, No. 20. An earlier grant to the canons *ad vestimenta*, BCS 705 dated 934, cannot safely be brought into the discussion, as it contains doubtful elements thought to be late interpolations, cf. H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, Leicester, 1964, No. 51.

²⁸ Br.Mus. MS. Cott.Tib. C 9, fol. 52v. The edition in Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, VI, p. 63 gives the erroneous spelling *Walfare*. As late as 1190 the income from Nazeing was still applied *ad vestimenta*; *ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁹ EPN II, pp. 106-7.

recourse to material of a strictly historical nature. The will of Æthelric (of Chedburgh), drawn up in the year 1,000 or thereabouts, is perhaps the most illuminating of all the sources discussed in this essay.³⁰ In providing for his son Æthelmær to become a monk at Ely, he endowed that abbey with *terram calciatoriam* called *Ceaddeberi* (Chedburgh, Suffolk). The will has survived only in a Latin translation, but the Ely record states specifically that the original was in OE, and as Latham has surmised, the word translated as *terram calciatoriam* 'can scarcely have been other than *scōhland*.'

Moreover, any attempt to render *scōhland* as 'land shaped like a shoe' must be ruled out, for the connecting link between the names at Colchester and London is one of tenure, not topography. Evidently *scōhland* is to be contrasted directly with *scrūdland*; the former was an endowment to provide shoes for an ecclesiastical community, the latter was for provision of the religious habit or vestments. The contrast is well brought out in the will of Æthelric's brother Oswig,³¹ by which the monks of Ely were endowed with lands in Cambridgeshire *ad vestimentum*; here the OE term underlying the Latin was undoubtedly *scrūdland*. Oswig having made provision for the monks' clothing, Æthelric provided for their shoes. It could well be that *scrūdland* originally supplied wool from sheep on the estate, and *scōhland* leather from cattle.

To summarise the results of our enquiry, the term 'shoeland', OE *scōhland*, Medieval Latin *solanda*, was first used at the turn of the tenth century for land given to a monastic community to provide it with footwear, as opposed to vestments; after the Norman Conquest it became restricted, first to endowments of canons rather than cloistered monks, and then more specifically to prebends of the canons of St Paul's. Later still, the word gave rise to place-names and surnames. All the surviving forms come from the south-east of England.

C. HART

³⁰ LE pp. 139-40; ECEE No. 81.

³¹ LE p. 139; ECEE No. 62.