

Chapter 6

Planning Your Menu

Now that you have a kitchen, and perhaps a cook, you're probably wondering what you'll find to eat in the Victorian era. The first thing to consider is the foods you *won't* find, including nearly every sort of mix or convenience food we take for granted today. Foods that depend on modern methods of preparation (e.g. a microwave) or packaging (anything that requires plastic) are far in the future. There is nothing instant, no heat-and-serve, no quick mixes, no minute rice, no cold breakfast cereals, and nothing that must be kept frozen. You'll have to live without packaged snacks, such as crisps – in fact, Victorians don't do a great deal of 'snacking'. There are many recipes for international dishes, but you won't find prepared ethnic dishes, and most ethnic restaurants operate for the benefit of their own communities. Dining at a Chinese restaurant would be considered a risky adventure, and it's wise to have someone along who can read the menu. In short, nearly everything you eat will be prepared from scratch, and 'scratch' means the chicken you buy from the poulterer may still have feet and a beak.

Seasonality is a major issue in planning your meals. Today, we can buy any fruit or vegetable at any time of year, even if it's flown in from Nigeria or New Zealand. For Victorians, the time of year affects what foods are available, their quality, and their price. If something is 'out of season', it may be unavailable, available at a higher price, or of poor quality.

Rather than decreasing your choices, however, seasonality actually leads to greater variety in diet. Unless you're inordinately fond of mutton, you're less likely to have the same thing every week if you can't *get* the same thing every week. Victorian cookbooks and articles often include tips on planning menus around seasonal foods, while books like *Beeton's Guide to Household Management*, *Cassell's Dictionary of Cookery*, and *Enquire Within Upon Everything* offer extensive lists of seasonal foods. Phillis Browne's *A Year's*

Cookery (1892) goes farther by providing menus and recipes for every meal of the day, 365 days a year, along with marketing lists for each day.

Here's what you might find in the market in November:

We have game and poultry in abundance and just in their prime ... Rabbits and hares ... hang limply from every available hook, and even the barn-door fowl is a finer specimen than earlier in the season, while geese, turkeys, and Surrey capons tempt their purchase.

Freshwater fish appear among their sea-born brethren ... Of fruits and nuts we have large choice, and the ripe grains and pulse foods are all garnered, while most of the root vegetables are ready too.

[There are] pike and tench among the freshwater fish ... oysters, skate, and gurnet among the ordinary. Grouse, snipe, teal, pheasants, hares, and rabbits, also venison amongst game; while geese and turkeys are rapidly advancing in size and quality.

Celery is fast getting to perfection. Scotch kale is fine, so are savoys [cabbage] and salsify [something like a parsnip].

Chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, figs, and grapes, in addition to the grand autumn wealth of pears, apples, quinces, and golden oranges, not to mention the preserved fruits which are just beginning to be shown in the windows.

Neither is there any lack of material wherewith to make our tables gay. Dahlias and chrysanthemums, rich foliage, hedgerow gleanings and late grasses, will stay with us until close upon Christmas ... 'A table well-set is half spread.' Care in pleasing the eye will [aid] good digestion.¹

As this list suggests, the Victorian market offers many things we no longer see today. Today, we can generally choose between beef, pork, lamb, and mutton; chicken, duck, and turkey and goose during the holidays; and, except in the up-scale markets, perhaps a dozen varieties of fish (many of which are frozen). Our fruits and vegetables, though available year-round, have a certain sameness – a quality that enables every grocer from Land's End to Lerwick (the northernmost Tesco in the UK) to carry exactly the same supplies.

In Victorian markets, you'll find all these, plus a wide variety of game, including capercailzie, dotterel, ducklings, wild ducks, fieldfares, garden warblers, green (young) geese, grouse, guinea-fowl, hares and leverets (young hares), landrails, larks, moor-game, partridges, pea-fowl, pheasants, tame

pigeons, pintails, plovers, ptarmigan, pullets, quail, rabbits (tame and wild), snipe, teal, venison, wheat-ears, widgeons, woodcocks, and wood-pigeons. The fishmonger may offer barbel, brill, carp, chub, cockles, conger eels, cray-feet, dabs, dace, dory, gudgeons, gurnets, hake, lampreys, ling, ruffs, skate, sprats, sturgeon, tench, thornback, and whitebait, to name just a few.

The greengrocer will carry such unfamiliar items as burnet (a salad herb), cardoons (the stems of artichoke thistle), colewort, finochia (fennel), Jerusalem artichokes, nasturtiums, purslane, rape, rocombole (similar to garlic), salsify, savoy, scorzoners (black salsify), sea-kale, skirrets, sorrel, and truffles. Fruits come in a host of 'heirloom' varieties that have vanished from today's orchards. Apple varieties include codlin, golden rennet, jenneting, John apple, nonpareil, Norfolk beaufin, pearmain, russet, and white cavil, to name just a few, while pears include a host of Bergamots, Carmelite, Catherine, Colamar, francreal, green-chisel, jargonell, musque, swan's-egg, winter beurré, and winter green.

These lists offer an interesting summary of what we've lost over the past 150 years – and this isn't just a quaint reminiscence for historians. Today, the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that 75 per cent of the world's food comes from twelve plant and animal species, and many fear that this emphasis on 'monocropping' makes our food supply vulnerable to diseases, pests, and other threats (think potato famine).²

Eggs are less available and more expensive in winter, and most are imported from France (as is much of the rest of Britain's food). Britain imported 400 million eggs in 1870, and over 700 million in 1875.³ Nor are your choices limited to hens' eggs:

Sea-gulls' and ducks' eggs are strong, while those of the common fowl, and especially of the plover, are sweet and full-flavoured ... The weight of eggs varies; that of the goose being from four to six ounces, that of the turkey about four ounces, of the duck from two to three, and of the fowl from one and a half to two ounces.⁴

One thing you won't get is sliced bread! Bread wasn't even wrapped until the 1890s. Sliced bread wasn't introduced commercially until 1928 (when it was billed as the greatest thing since wrapped bread!). Bread comes in unsliced loaves. The baker may wrap it in paper for you – or send it to your door as is!

Tinned Foods

If the food you want isn't in season, you can often buy it tinned or potted. Tinned foods were developed in 1810, but were initially used primarily by the military and exploratory expeditions. In 1851, a manufacturer exhibited them at the Crystal Palace, after which they were more widely used in the home, though few used tinned vegetables if they could get fresh. Tinned foods include meats, vegetables, and fruits. Potted meats, pâtés, relishes, condiments, pickles, jams and jellies are more commonly sold in glass or ceramic pots.

One of the most common tinned meats is Australian beef (though the term is also used for beef imported from South America). Other tinned meats include 'potted beef, potted ham, potted chicken and ham, potted Strasburg meat, potted tongue, and potted turkey and tongues ... devilled pâté of game, and jars of *foie gras*'. More expensive potted meats include 'pâtés composed of larks, woodcock, snipe, quail, partridges, plovers, &c., preserved in tins, to which also truffles have been added'.⁵

Tinned soups include real and mock turtle, 'game, grouse, oyster, hare, chicken-broth, giblet, hodge-podge, mulligatawny, ox-cheek, ox-tail, tomato, cressy, gravy, green pea, Julienne, mutton-broth, Palestine, vegetable, venison, and vermicelli'.⁶ Tinned fish include fresh and preserved herrings, pilchards preserved in oil, salmon, lobster, sprats posing as sardines (by 1890, real sardines were hard to find), and oysters. Tinned vegetables include asparagus, French beans, macédoines (mixed vegetables or fruits), green peas, and more. Fruits include peaches, apricots, pears, cherries, and pineapples, which are much less expensive than fresh pineapples. You can also obtain 'Swiss milk', a sweetened milk (much like today's 'condensed milk') used in cooking. And there's much more...

Imagine a Scotch haggis tinned! Yet such can be obtained. So also can Irish stew ... as well as tripe and onions. Stewed beef, stewed kidney, stewed rump steak and stewed tripe are also sold in tins, as well as veal collops, veal cutlets, calf's head and bacon, minced and curried veal, and mutton chops ... By way of fish, we can also get filleted sole, fried sole, as well as fried sole in oil, fresh turbot, and even Blackwall whitebait ... In the way of game and poultry ... duck and green peas, boiled and roast fowl, grouse, roast hare, jugged hare,

partridges, pheasants in gravy, rabbit and onions, and hashed and roast venison. We can also have Christmas plum-puddings in tins, as well as tins of mince-meat. Persons living abroad may also be glad to hear that they can get ... sage and onions, onions plain, parsnips, and turnips.⁷

Many of these items were available as early as the 1860s, and tins were widely used to export British favourites to India. An article in *The Leisure Hour* notes that the firm of Crosse & Blackwell even custom-made tins to fit Yorkshire hams!⁸

Despite this enthusiastic summary, many remained concerned about the safety of tinned foods. As late as 1901, *The Girl's Own Paper* warns: 'it may be stated that no tins of meat can be trusted to remain fresh for more than about a year, so that when you buy tins of meat be sure to get fresh ones. You will find ... that the freshness of the tins is in direct proportion to the price you pay for them.'⁹ This is a reminder that Victorian foods don't provide 'sell by' dates; never buy or keep a tin that has begun to bulge from bacterial gases. Never store tinned food at room temperature after it has been opened; use it immediately, or store leftovers in a refrigerator.

While most agree that tinned foods don't compare to fresh, they do have advantages. Some, like pineapples, are less expensive than their fresh counterparts. Tins can be stored for long periods of time, giving you an alternative if the butcher doesn't deliver on schedule. They're also an excellent backup if you have unexpected dinner guests and nothing fresh to serve.

Frozen Meat

By 1890, even though you can't *store* frozen foods, you can buy frozen meat. By 1875, an ammonia-based system for freezing meats was developed for commercial use, making it possible to import meat safely from the Americas and New Zealand, and to keep meat 'fresh' on long voyages. Keeping Britain supplied with meat was a constant struggle; between 1850 and 1851, home meat production remained around 910,000 tonnes a year, while imports increased from 131,000 to 654,000 tonnes – with prices rising accordingly.¹⁰

To get a frozen joint of mutton, you'll visit a public cold meat storage firm. By 1912, only 100 towns had these.

If you ... pick out a leg of frozen mutton, it is to all appearances ... the same as an ordinary leg of mutton ... If you buy it in this state, you must cook it immediately it has thawed ... Unfortunately, as the mutton thaws it ... goes through a change in appearance, resembling first-class meat changing into very bad second-class meat ... [However,] it is *none the worse* for having changed colour, and if you allow it to thaw thoroughly, and make it a nice brown on the outside, not many persons would know the difference.¹¹

Most other frozen foods still lie far in the future – except, of course, for ice cream. As mentioned in Chapter 3, it's easy to make ice cream at home. You can also get it at many restaurants, and by the 1890s you can get an ice cream soda at a soda fountain. In large towns and seaside resorts, you can buy ice cream from pushcarts, but be cautious, as this is often sold in a 'penny lick' – a small glass bowl that is reused from customer to customer. By the 1870s you can get a more sanitary 'hokey pokey', a serving of (usually) Neapolitan ice cream in a paper wrapper. Ice-cream cones were invented in 1896 but wouldn't become common until 1904. But while you can enjoy ice cream, you still can't store it at home!

Going to Market

Victorian marketing is very different from grocery shopping today. Forget the 'supermarket'; in the 1800s, marketing means visiting the butcher, fishmonger, baker, grocer (for non-perishable items), greengrocer (for fruits and vegetables), cheesemonger, confectioner (for sweets), and possibly the poulterer. You might also visit a dairy, but you'll probably have an account with a local dairyman, who will arrive in his horse-drawn cart before dawn to deliver milk, cream, butter, and eggs to your doorstep.

You'll also be doing business with *people*, not companies. When you want cheese, you'll ask John Smith, the cheesemonger, to cut a wedge from a wax-coated wheel or 'truckle'. You'll know the name of your butcher, and he'll know you. If something isn't right, you'll speak directly to the proprietor, not a bored employee at a customer service window. Most shops don't even have a name other than that of the owner.

Today, we wheel a trolley through the store, grab what we want from the shelves, and take everything to the checkout. This system, however, was

introduced by the American Piggly Wiggly chain in 1916. In the 1800s, most goods are *behind* the counter; you ask the clerk for what you want, or choose from what is on display, and he gathers your items and wraps them for you. Items are usually wrapped in brown paper and tied with string; there are no shopping totes (though you might carry a basket or string bag for smaller purchases). No lady, however, is expected to carry her own groceries home; the ‘shop boy’ will bring them to your kitchen door in his cart. This is fortunate, as marketing means *walking*. Whether you live in a village or town, you’ll visit the stores that are usually within easy walking distance of your home.

Of course, if you’re of the upper classes, you won’t visit the shops in person; this will be handled by your cook or housekeeper. Even middle-class ladies sometimes prefer to send a servant to do the marketing. You can also do much of your shopping without leaving home; shopkeepers will gladly send their ‘boy’ to your door to take your order. However, this leads to the same problem we have when shopping remotely today: you can’t see what you’re buying. If you order a leg of mutton, you may get the one the butcher can’t sell to any of his walk-in customers, who can view it first-hand. Another reason to visit the shops yourself is to become familiar with what’s available, at the best prices, in different seasons. Of course, you can’t always shop in person, or perhaps you prefer not to go out in bad weather – but if you habitually visit the shops, shopkeepers will know your preferences, and you’re more likely to get what you want when you *do* order.

The best time to visit the shops is about 10.30am. By this time, shopkeepers have returned from the wholesale markets with their supplies for the day, but the shops are not crowded. Mary Pocock writes, ‘I get well attended to, have the first choice, and everything is sent home in good time, whereas if I went ... two hours later, it would take me double the time, I should have to buy what was left by earlier customers,’ and perhaps risk not having the goods sent to the home in time for the day’s meals.¹²

As to what groceries might cost, there’s no simple answer (though just about any food supplies fall in the ‘shillings and pence’ category – see the sidebar). Inflation isn’t a big issue in the 1800s; in fact, improvements in technology, transportation, and food preservation often cause prices to go *down* rather than up. However, other factors cause prices to fluctuate constantly. Some

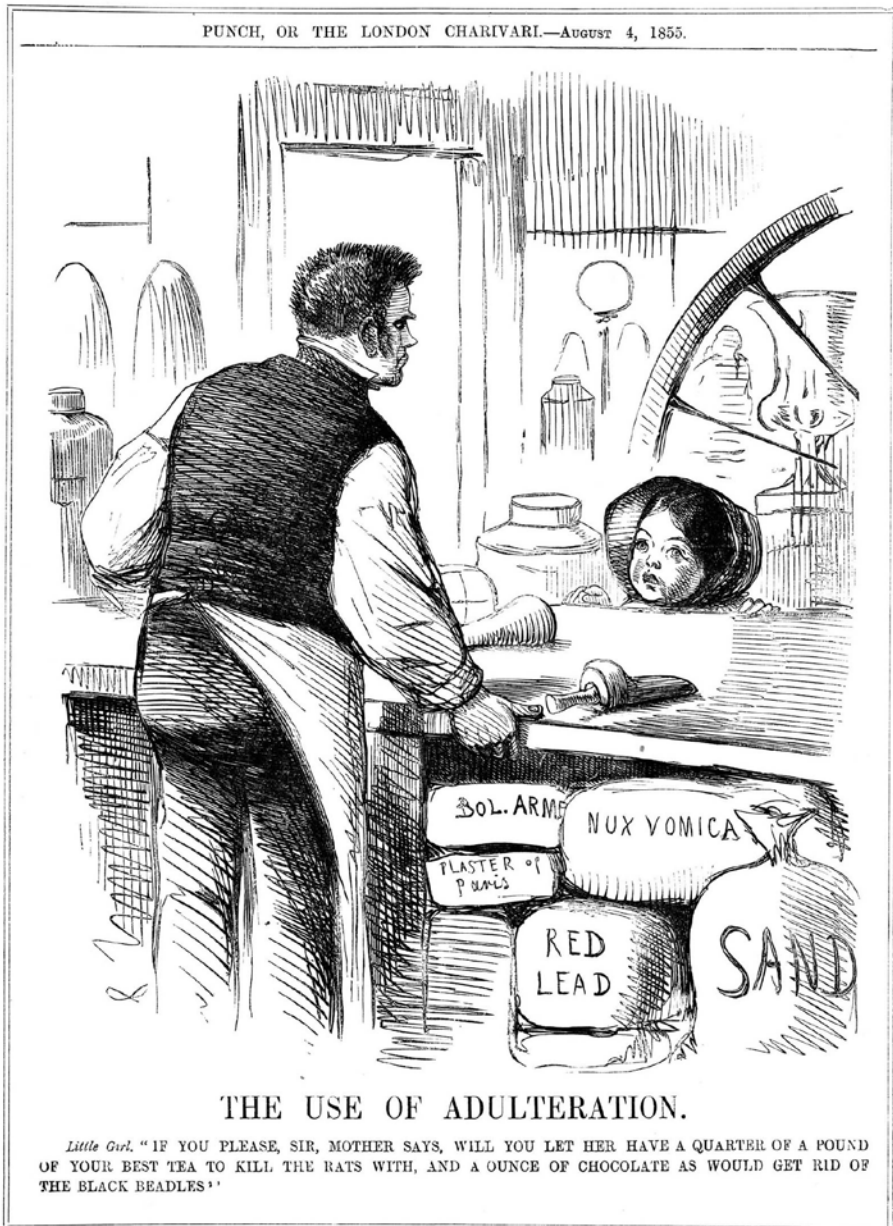
foods are cheaper out of season, when quality may be poorer; others may be cheaper in season, when supply is greater. Prices increase at times of higher demand, such as fish during Lent and turkeys in the Christmas season. Vegetables, coal, and candles are more expensive during the winter; woollen goods are cheaper in the spring and summer. In addition, 'locality has very much to do with the range of prices. There are in London and most large cities what are called dear shops, and dear neighbourhoods.'¹³ This is sometimes due to the distance between the shop and the wholesale market. 'How much' depends entirely on *what* and *when*.

Adulterations

One of the most pervasive problems with Victorian foods was *adulteration* – the fraudulent practice of adding materials to foods to increase their bulk, make them more attractive, or make you believe you're buying something you're not. Some additions are relatively harmless; some are dangerous; all are illegal.

Food adulteration was an issue throughout the 1800s. In 1820, Dr Friedrich Accum aroused public concerns with his book, *Death in the Pot*. Dr Edward Haskell provided examples and analyses of adulterations in his books *Food and Its Adulteration* (1855) and *Adulterations Detected* (1857). In 1861, Dr Edward Lankester claimed that 87 per cent of London's bread and 47 per cent of its milk were adulterated. Various Acts were passed to combat the problem, but most either focused on specific adulterations (e.g. flour or milk), or were difficult to enforce (for example, a consumer might have to run his own chemical tests to 'prove' adulteration). In 1877, a 'family doctor' declared that

the profits to the manufacturer and trader arising from adulteration are so very great, and the risk of detection so small, that the vile work goes on almost as merrily as ever. A more stringent Act ... one the clauses of which shall not be ... less easy to drive a carriage and four through, will require to be brought into force before the middle classes and the poor ... cease to be both pillaged and poisoned.¹⁴



'A Use for Adulterations' by John Leech. (*Punch*, 1855)

The most common adulterations involve adding something cheaper to make a product more profitable, such as water to milk or chalk to flour. As more items became available in tins and jars, manufacturers realised sales increased if items *looked* more attractive, launching the era of artificial colours.

Though Crosse & Blackwell took pains to remove impurities and colouring agents from their anchovy sauce, they found customers preferred the redder appearance and were less likely to buy the purer product.¹⁵

Adulteration can occur at many points along the food chain. Some (such as China's custom of adding leaves of other plants to tea) take place prior to import. Others are done by the manufacturer, such as labelling jam as being made from a particular fruit when, in fact, it's made from a cheaper fruit, or simply from gelatine and flavouring. Others take place at the point of sale, through actions of unscrupulous grocers.

Many articles offer tips on how to detect adulterations, some of which would require a chemistry set, involving substances like muriatic acid, iodine, nitrate of silver, and sulphuric acid. Don't try this at home! Instead, here are some common things to beware of.

- **Beer** is often laced with 'hard mulsum', a poisonous concoction of the *Cocculus Indicus* or Indian berry plant, to make it more intoxicating; this is also found in rum. Picric acid (an explosive) is added for colour, as well as salt to make you thirstier and therefore more likely to buy *another* beer. Gin is often cut with water, and cayenne is added to make it taste 'stronger'.
- **Butter** is often adulterated with lard, and in the 1880s it was found to contain Thames mud. 'A sample obtained from the mud at Battersea was of a yellowish tint, very like butter in appearance, taste and smell ... Another heartless and wicked fraud [involves] flint stones ... ground into a soluble substance, which, when dissolved in water, becomes a stiff jelly, which is mixed with butter, to which fresh salt and colouring matter are added'.¹⁶
- **Cocoa** may include extra starch and sugar, bad or musty cocoanuts and their shells, potato starch, old sea biscuits, coarse flour, animal fat, alkali, brick dust, red ochre, peroxide of iron, red lead, and cinnabar. Cheap cocoa is made from cocoa bean husks.
- **Coffee.** People often add chicory to their coffee, but when manufacturers do so, that's fraud. 'Other adulterations are made with raspings of loaves, stale sea biscuits ... roasted wheat, and other corn; acorns, carrots, mangold-wurzel, lupin seeds, oak bark, baked horse- or ox-liver, and ... sawdust ... A preparation called 'coffee colourer' is even sold in tins [to] retail dealers and keepers of coffee-houses'.¹⁷ Machines created artificial coffee beans out of paste.
- **Confections.** To make candy attractive to children, many are coloured with mineral or vegetable substances, many of which include lead and many of

which are poisonous. Be particularly wary of green colours, which may be created with Brunswick green, verdigris, and arsenite of copper. Nontoxic colours include buckthorn berry juice, turmeric, saffron, carmine, logwood, and madder. Candies may also contain chalk, gypsum, flour, starch, and pipe clay.

- **Flour** is often adulterated with plaster of Paris, bone dust, chalk, gypsum, ground barley, vegetable meal, potato flour, and occasionally soapstone (which is mostly talc) or carbonate of magnesia. It may be whitened with alum.
- **Jams, Jellies, and Marmalade** 'are largely made up of gelatin, colored with aniline and other dye-stuffs, and flavored with various essences. Many of these contain not a particle of the fruit after which they are named. A less harmful, but no less fraudulent, form of adulteration is the use of apply jelly flavored to suit the different varieties for which it is sold.'¹⁸ By this time, manufacturers could chemically recreate the flavour of nearly any fruit; the flavour of apple, for example, was made from a combination of sulphuric acid, fusel oil (a type of alcohol), and valerianic acid. Orange marmalade might be simply a mixture of apples and turnips with orange flavouring. Berry jam might contain seeds of millet, or even wood!
- **Milk** is commonly adulterated by adding water or removing cream. These both give it a bluish tint, and 'the "sky blue" of London milk has become proverbial'.¹⁹ To disguise this, a dairyman might add annatto to restore colour, and sugar, treacle, or salt to add flavour.
- **Pickles** are often coloured green with acetate of copper, which is poisonous – and can be done simply by preparing pickles in a copper vessel. Some cookbooks even recommend adding a few copper pennies to your pickle mix to make them greener; don't!
- **Potted Beef** from America has been shown to contain horses' tongues and flanks, which is worth knowing, since Victorian Britain imports much of its tinned beef from America!²⁰
- **Sugar** is easy to adulterate in its granulated form; the most common additives are chalk, sand, bone dust, pipe clay, potato flour, gypsum, marble dust, and glucose. Sugar may also contain live sugar-mites, fungi, and bits of sugar cane. Thus, many housewives prefer to buy loaf sugar.
- **Tea** is perhaps the most commonly adulterated product, as it is one of the most expensive. Common adulterants include 'exhausted tea leaves, leaves of other plants, lie-tea, and the various materials used for colouring the leaf'.²¹ Once, tea was so expensive that householders kept it locked up. Servants sold used tealeaves to dealers, who dried them, mixed them with gum and other noxious things, then rolled them and treated them with black lead to

make them look new. (A good way to detect this is to put the leaves in water; if they disintegrate, they aren't fresh leaves.) Lie-tea, made in Britain and China, consists of 'the dust and sweepings of tea factories, neatly cemented with a solution of starch, and moulded with the fingers to resemble the ordinary leaf'.²² Lie-tea may be coloured with a variety of toxic minerals.

- **Vinegar, Lemon and Lime Juice** are often adulterated with sulphuric acid or oil of vitriol. This is particularly dangerous if you store contaminated lemonade in a zinc container (often used for insulation) as the chemical reaction can produce zinc sulphate, which is toxic.

Horrific as this sounds, it's worth noting that Victorian books and magazines have a tendency to repeat information printed in the past. Many of the substances cited above were first mentioned in Dr Haskell's books, and repeated verbatim for decades. Only a few articles cite more recent research. Haskell himself noted that some of his examples were anecdotal and not scientifically substantiated. Still, it pays to be cautious. Do business only with reputable dealers, and avoid buying the cheapest items. Buy fresh foods whenever possible – and consider making jams, pickles, and relishes at home!

Is Victorian Food Good for You?

The wealthy might serve lavish dinners with dozens of courses, prepared by an army of kitchen staff. The poor and working classes, lacking time and resources to prepare meals requiring many ingredients and hours of cooking time, are more likely to buy prepared foods from street vendors and food carts. Besides fish and chips (invented in 1863), these might include hard-boiled eggs, muffins, bread, oysters, hot-boiled cucumber and gravy, sausages, treacle balls, parched grey peas, fried liver, and hot pickled eels served over mashed potatoes.²³

The middle-class diet, however, is surprisingly healthy, consisting of fresh meats, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products, while breads and bakery items are made from scratch. Meals cooked at home are made, for the most part, from raw ingredients. Victorians ate a wide variety of highly nutritious organ meats. Sugar and salt were expensive and used far less than today. Meals might be larger and higher in calories, but snacking was limited. The only artificial sweetener was saccharine (a coal-tar derivative discovered in 1879).

The host of unpronounceable things we find in our processed foods today had not been invented yet. So the good news is that, as long as one sticks to fresh foods (and avoids the adulterants), a few months on a Victorian diet might do us all some good.

Coin of the Realm

In the 1800s, there are no credit cards, ATMs, Zelle, PayPal, or Venmo. Cheques exist, but few people use them. You're in a society that deals almost entirely in cash.

The British decimal system of 1971 divides a pound into a neat 100 pence. Victorian currency is more complicated. Banknotes, which since 1844 could only be issued by the Bank of England, range from £5 to £1,000 - but a £5 note was a significant chunk of a 'moderate' middle-class annual income of £500, and perhaps a month's wages or more for a servant!

Thus, your wallet isn't going to crinkle, it's going to jingle. Most of your transactions will be handled with about a dozen different coins, ranging from the gold sovereign to the lowly bronze farthing.

Today, a penny is abbreviated as 'p', but Victorians used the Latin abbreviations 'l' (*librum* or pound), 's' (*solidus* or shilling), and 'd' (*denarius* or pence). A Roman *librum* of silver was worth 240 *denarii*; hence, a pound sterling is worth 240 pence. Prices are written as £ s d or £/s/d, or for items of under a pound, just s/d (e.g. 4/6).

Coin	£	s	d	Metal	Nickname
Sovereign	£1	20s	240d	Gold	Quid
Half-sovereign	£1/2	10s	120d	Gold	
Crown	£1/4	5s	60d	Silver	
Half-crown	£1/8	2s/6d	30d	Silver	
Florin	£1/10	2s	24d	Silver	
Shilling	£1/2	1s	12d	Silver	Bob
Penny			1d	Bronze	
Sixpence			6d	Silver	Tanner
Four-pence			4d	Bronze	Groat
Three-pence			3d	Bronze	Thruppence
Two-pence			2d	Bronze	Tuppence
Half-pence			1/2d	Bronze	Ha'penny
Farthing			1/4d	Bronze	

Prices may also be listed in guineas. The guinea coin, discontinued in 1814, was still used throughout the era in Victorian accounting. It was originally valued at £1, but as it contained a quarter ounce of gold, its value increased to 21 shillings.