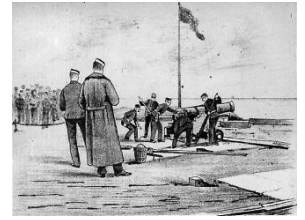




## **The Volunteers Green**

### **Its Place in Kirkcaldy's History**



The Volunteers Green was once part of a wide area of common ground, stretching back to the granting of Royal Burgh status to Kirkcaldy in 1644. Prior to this Kirkcaldy paid dues towards the upkeep of Dunfermline Abbey.

Along with being made a Royal Burgh, King Charles I granted 8.172 acres to the town, as an area for recreation, dying and bleaching. Originally, this ground stretched from Thistle and Market Streets to the shoreline. The East and West boundaries were from George Burn Wynd to John Louden's Wynd (then the boundary between Kirkcaldy and Linktown). At this stage it was known as the Common, Commony, or South Links. Part of this ground was from time to time known as the Volunteers Green, normally when the militia were drilling there. Until 1859 it normally reverted to the South Links. The map shows the original extent of the common land while the portion in green is basically what remains today.

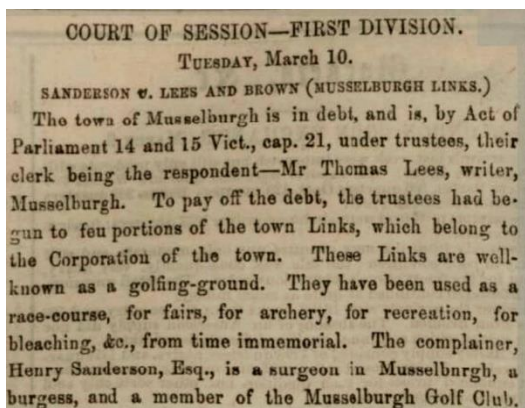
Kirkcaldy is known as the "Lang Toun" as, for many years, it was almost completely contained in an area between the High Street and the shoreline and stretching from the Teil Burn to the harbour. Until 1970 the Green was surrounded on three sides by housing and business premises. It was one of the most densely populated areas in Kirkcaldy, demonstrated by the continual and considerable stream of birth, marriage and death notices carried by the local press.

The Town Council became the trustees for the ground but, as Kirkcaldy expanded, the need for ground to build houses and factories on became more acute. This over the years led to common ground being nibbled away bit by bit. Many battles, if not fought on the Green, were fought over it, with a number only being concluded after recourse to the law.

What is not in doubt is that, had these not taken place, the Green at best would be much reduced and, at worst, possibly only a name in history.

Prior to linoleum becoming the premium industry in Kirkcaldy, pottery, flax spinning and linen weaving were the principal and oldest forms of employment. Very little is known of what was a cottage industry in its earliest days, prior to the coming of factories, but by 1706 the linen industry was expanding. This prompted the Town Council to issue a proclamation “granting liberty to the taxmen of the South Links, in all time coming to extract three pennies for each spyndle of yarn, and one penny for each ell of cloth bleached thereon.” This confirms that cloth was woven and yarn spun from at least 1706 and probably earlier than that. This demonstrates that these were indeed two of the town's foundation industries.

In Musselburgh in the 1850s the Council attempted to sell common land and this led to an extremely lengthy court case aimed at preventing such occurrences. The snippet shown here is from the *Fife Herald* of

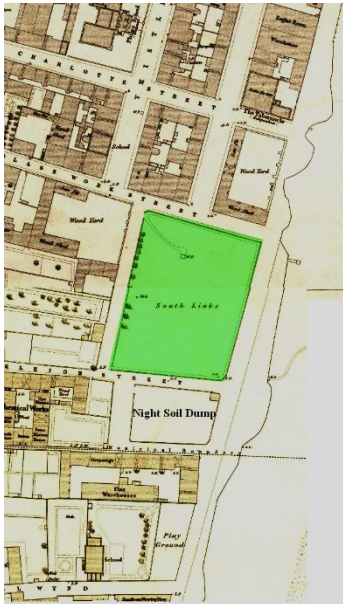
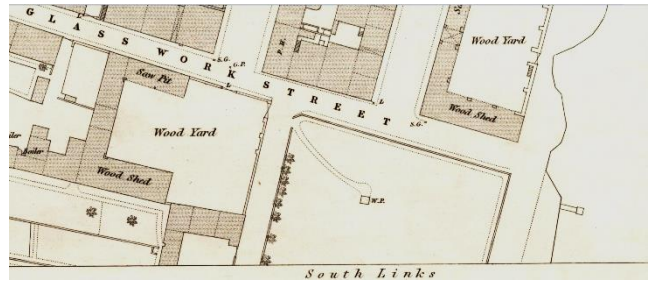


COURT OF SESSION—FIRST DIVISION.  
TUESDAY, March 10.  
SANDERSON v. LEES AND BROWN (MUSSELBURGH LINKS.)  
The town of Musselburgh is in debt, and is, by Act of Parliament 14 and 15 Vict., cap. 21, under trustees, their clerk being the respondent—Mr Thomas Lees, writer, Musselburgh. To pay off the debt, the trustees had begun to feu portions of the town Links, which belong to the Corporation of the town. These Links are well-known as a golfing-ground. They have been used as a race-course, for fairs, for archery, for recreation, for bleaching, &c., from time immemorial. The complainer, Henry Sanderson, Esq., is a surgeon in Musselburgh, a burgess, and a member of the Musselburgh Golf Club.

the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1857. It took almost the whole decade for a golfing surgeon – Dr. Sanderson - to prevent the bankrupt Musselburgh Town Council raising funds by attempting to sell part of the Links to a speculative builder. The case was eventually lost by the Council and the ongoing saga of this still landmark case was noted in Kirkcaldy. The ruling was

ultimately used in challenges to some of Kirkcaldy Town Council's actions. In fairness to both Musselburgh and Kirkcaldy they were not alone in this practice. Many Councils had adopted this policy often without objections being raised, but this landmark ruling changed things. Inhabitants started to become aware of the loss of what was in reality their ground.

In 1836, clothes poles were erected on the Green for the use of those living in Charlotte, Thistle and Rose Streets. There was also a water point in the centre which is shown on the attached



map. By this stage the Green was split in two by a burn/ditch (Burleigh Burn which ran just to the immediate east of what is now the Arcade and onwards into Sands Road. The smaller western portion was contained between Burleigh Street and John Louden's Wynd. The eastern part was to all intents and purposes what we see today and had been enclosed by its wall in 1836.

In 1838 a practice, which would be forbidden today, came into being and continued until 1848. What happened was that "night soil" from the expanding Newton area started to be dumped on the western part of the Green. When the practice was eventually halted that part of the Green had been rendered unfit for its original purpose, having been covered by human excrement for 10 years. A wall had also been built around this area in 1838, presumably to contain its contents. In Kirkcaldy the area was known as the *muck middens* although we have marked the map with 'night soil dump'.

A large gathering had taken place in late September 1842 and appears to be one of the first large scale events to take place on the now enclosed Green. This meeting was reported on in the *Fifeshire Journal* of the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1842. This was an attempt to form a Kirkcaldy branch of the *Chartists*, a working class movement aimed at securing political reform. The movement has started out in London in 1836 and had six demands. These included universal manhood suffrage, secret ballots and payment of Members of Parliament (allowing working class people to contest seats). The attempt in Kirkcaldy saw a meeting in the Links Hall on the 25<sup>th</sup> September where it was proposed that a Branch be formed and that workers should abstain from their work until the

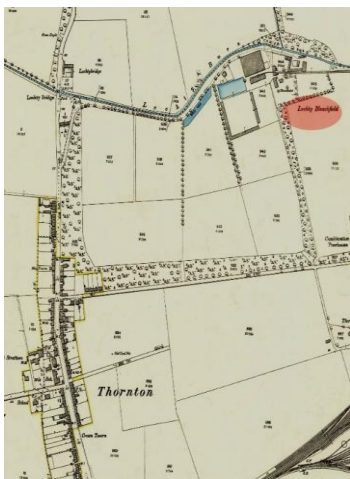
*People's Charter* became Law. A meeting was called for the 27<sup>th</sup> on the Green, which saw a large attendance and where a Mr A. Tod from Dysart managed to get a motion passed that a branch be formed and basically a strike commence. However, the local leader of the movement, Robert Lowrie, would have nothing to do with the decision as he claimed that workers were totally unprepared for such an action and that at least three months planning was required. The newspaper report indicates that he would give the motion his *decisive opposition*. This seems to have brought matters to an end although Mr Lowrie continued apace with sermons on political reform.

In 1846 *The Corn Laws* were repealed. The local celebrations of that event clearly demonstrated the stature of the Green as the major outdoor meeting place when significant numbers were involved - and this event proved just what significant numbers could amount to! As well as being a large area, the Green had the advantage of being within easy walking distance for all those living within the Burgh boundaries. These were the days before Linktown, Pathhead, Sinclairtown and Gallatown were absorbed into Kirkcaldy. Some years later the building of the new Corn Exchange in Market Street created a substantial indoor meeting place for large gatherings and entertainments.

*The Corn Laws* were designed to keep grain prices high to favour domestic producers. They blocked the importing of cheap grain, simply by forbidding importation below a set price. This had the effect of enhancing the profits and political power associated with land ownership, but conversely raised food prices and the cost of living for the general public. It hampered growth in other areas, for example manufacturing, as food prices were reducing disposable income. It was for this reason that many Kirkcaldy merchants and manufacturers gave financial support to *the Anti-Corn Law League*. In fact, it was Richard Cobden, one of the leaders of the League who was the first recipient of the award of *the Freedom of The Burgh* when he spoke on the subject in Bethelfield Church in 1842.

Friday, the 10th July 1846, was, according to the *Fifeshire Journal* of the 16th, “a general holiday in Kirkcaldy with the shops closed and public works stopt (stopped) in order to celebrate the principle of cheap food. A procession had been agreed on and arrangements made for the different bodies that were to walk to meet at the Volunteers Green at 11.00am. The morning was cloudy and threatened rain but by noon, the sun dispelled the clouds and the day proved delightful. When the various bodies had assembled; about 12 o’clock the whole moved off to the music of two instrumental bands and when extended in line, stretched for three quarters of a mile and was studded with sixty banners floating in the breeze, presenting a grand and imposing spectacle. About 1600 marched in regular rank and the irregular pedestrians young and old could not have numbered less than 9000. The vessels in the harbour had all their colours flying, and the brig “Adam Smith” the property of Messrs Lockhart, was gaily decked all over her rigging with flags and streamers waving in the wind. At the topmast was a splendid new flag with the motto “Adam Smith the founder of free trade.” A salute from her gun was fired as the procession passed the harbour head.”

**KIRKALDY.**  
**JUBILEE.**—Friday last the 10th July was a general holiday here; the shops were closed and the public works stopt, in order to celebrate the triumph of the principle of cheap food. A procession had been agreed on, and arrangements made for the different bodies that were to walk to meet at the Volunteers' Green at 11 o'clock. The morning was cloudy and threatened rain, but by noon the sun dispelled the clouds, and the day proved delightful. When the various bodies had assembled, about 12 o'clock the whole moved off to the music of two instrumental bands; and when extended in line stretching upwards of three quarters of a mile, and studded with sixty banners floating in the breeze—presented a grand and imposing spectacle. About 1600 walked in regular rank, and the irregular pedestrians, young and old could not be less than 9000.



Many groups and bodies were represented in the procession; bleachers, weavers, potters, iron workers and bakers, were some of the occupations represented. “Mr Landale’s bleachers from Lochtyfield arrived with a piper at their head to great applause”. The map shown here illustrates the length of walk they had even before joining the procession! “At Dysart in the evening, although the night was not quite dark, a display of fireworks, with rockets shooting up to a great height took place. These and other pyrotechnical exhibitions had a fine effect.”

Yet another example of 'togetherness for social justice' stemmed from a meeting on the Green which was reported on in *The Fifeshire Journal* of the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1848. One manufacturer, a Mr J., had determined that he would reduce the rates paid for weaving with the result that a meeting was held to determine what action should be taken by the weavers. A deputation was elected to visit the manufacturer in Nicol Street to plead their case. Mr J. refused to meet them. We can only assume that this would be Mr. Jeffrey as he was a significant player in the trade and was then based in Nicol Street. On Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> April, another meeting was held and this time the leaders produced a letter from all the other manufacturers stating they did not plan to reduce rates or see any need for such action. This time, at 3.00pm, the whole body of the meeting marched in well behaved order from the Green to his warehouses. This time Mr J. did speak but refused to reconsider his decision. The report stated that there were 700/800 men, women and children in the parade which was led by music. The body returned to the Green and agreed no work would be undertaken at these reduced rates. Interestingly, the article concluded with *there was not the least allusion made to politics in the whole proceeding.*

The whole assemblage, to the number of seven or eight hundred, then marched along the street, preceded by a band of music. A committee got an interview with the manufacturer, but nothing satisfactory resulted. He stated that he would take his own mind on the subject, and farther, that he would give out no work for some time. The procession then returned to the stands, and passed a resolution by show of hands, pledging to take no work at the reduced rates, after which the meeting quietly dispersed. There was not the least allusion made to politics during the whole proceedings.

A final example of the Green as the meeting place of choice was unearthed in *The Northern Warder and General Advertiser for the*

**JUVENILE ABSTAINERS.**—On Friday last there was a grand demonstration of the members of the Kirkcaldy Juvenile Abstinence Society and their friends. The Juveniles turned out to the number of 1800, and having been marshalled in due order at the Volunteers' Green, they proceeded, under the direction of their office-bearers, on an excursion to Dunnikier. On their arrival at Dunnikier House, they were kindly received by Captain Oswald, who granted them the privilege of meeting on his grounds, and, along with his lady, in a variety of ways, contributed to their enjoyment throughout the day.

*Counties of Fife, Perth and Forfar* of the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1854. With a name like that it must have taken as long to ask for it as read it! The article tells of a grand demonstration of the *Kirkcaldy Juvenile Abstiners Society*. On the 4<sup>th</sup> August some 1,800 – yes 1,800

members had assembled on the Green and under the command of their office bearers had marched, in fine order, to Dunnikier House. There they were met by Captain Oswald and his wife and fed on buns and gooseberries. Then, “the juveniles distributed themselves in parties and engaged in various games and sports of an innocent kind. After three cheers were given for Captain Oswald and his lady, the party once more in regular fashion, with the usual accompaniments of music, by way of Pathhead, returned to Kirkcaldy”. The above are examples to show that the Green was in many ways the heartbeat of the town – so much flowed from it as well as on it.

1854 saw the first major challenge regarding the loss of common ground taking place. It has to be assumed that the ongoing situation in Musselburgh may have acted as the catalyst. Walter Heggie, a mill owner and dyer, commenced a legal challenge to try and prevent a public toilet being built. He had a business in the area, lived in the area and was the owner of a number of houses in the immediate vicinity which he rented out. Several of these properties also housed a number of his workers. (his family name lives on in Heggies Wynd). He had strong beliefs that there should be no buildings erected on common ground as its prime purpose was for recreation, bleaching and dyeing, and nothing else! He objected to the Council’s plan to build a “public privy” in the south west corner of the former Night Soil Dump. The first mention of the idea was contained in the newspaper with possibly the longest title - *The Northern Warder & General Advertiser for the Counties of Fife, Perth and Forfar* of the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1854. This 'privy' was only in the planning stage but the article did disclose that another was almost complete at the foot of Coal Wynd on ground given by Mr Oswald. Heggie raised an action taking the Council to court and, in this instance, Sheriff Grant found for the Town Council after having made a site visit in May 1854. The view was taken that the provision of a toilet was worth the loss of a modest amount of common land. However, that was not the end

2. The interdict against erection of a privy at the Volunteers' Green. A letter on this subject was read from Mr Taylor, Cupar, agent for Mr Walter Heggie, intimating that Mr Heggie had resolved to advocate the process of interdict at his instance against the erection of a public privy at the Old Dung Depot or Volunteers' Green; and farther, that he had been advised to raise an action of declarator in the Court of Session against the Magistrates, to have it declared that the west portion of the Volunteers' Green, commonly called the Old Dung Depot, belonged to the inhabitants of the town, and had been appropriated to them exclusively as a bleaching green, and that the Magistrates and others under them have no right to make any erections thereon.

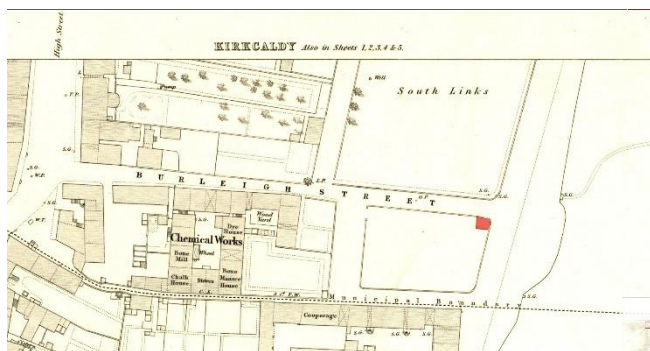
of the story as in the *Fife Herald* of the 14<sup>th</sup> September 1854 “Heggie threatened to raise an *Action of Declarator* in the Court of Session to have it declared that the west portion of the Volunteers Green, commonly known as the Old Dung Depot, belonging to the inhabitants of the town and having been appropriated to them exclusively as a bleaching Green and that the Magistrates and those under them had no right to make any erections thereon”.

However compromise was in the air as was reported by the *Fife Herald* of the 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1854. In essence, Heggie proposed that he was prepared to erect three single-seated privies either in Burleigh Street or in the neighbourhood with right of public access. This was on the conditions that:-

- Each party pay their own costs to date.
- The Council to proceed no further with the plan to erect a privy on the Green.
- The Council to keep them in good repair.

The proposal was accepted but on turning to *The Fife Herald* of the 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1855 we find concern on the Council's part. Nothing appears to have advanced and the officials were aware the clock was ticking on the interlocker they had been awarded, by Sheriff Grant to build the Privy on the Green. It was agreed to go back to Walter Heggie to try and get things moving. At this point references to what the press called the *Famous Privy Case* stop. We suspect that Heggie intended to build

toilets for his houses in Burleigh Street and that the public would also be given access to what were essentially private toilets. Secondly, without question a privy was indeed build on the Old Dung Heap. Although not named on the 1855 Kirkcaldy Town Plan it is certainly there and on the 1894 map of the area it is

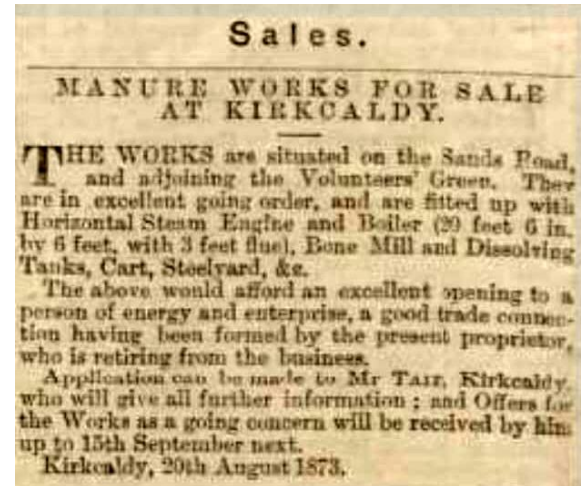


marked as a urinal. Walter lived until 1870 suggesting that if his



intentions had been to protect common land, when push came to shove, he appears to have accepted the sheriff's decision and not continued to the Court of Session with its possible attendant costs.

*The Fife Herald* of the 28th August 1873 advertised a business opportunity few could refuse. It was also one which many householders would wish to have situated close to their homes. The advertisement in question was for the sale of a manure works in Kirkcaldy situated on the Sands Road and adjoining the Volunteers Green. "All is in excellent order with a horizontal steam engine and boiler, bone mill, dissolving tanks, cart and steelyard, which would offer an excellent opening to a person of energy and enterprise, a good trade connection having been formed by the present proprietor, who is retiring from business." Offers were to be received by the 20th September.



*The Fife Advertiser* of the 16th October 1875 carried an advert for a company which had been founded in 1869 but went on to become one of international renown for design, elegance and quality. The Company



had two outlets in the vicinity. In Rose Street, curtains, fabrics, carpets and floor coverings were offered for sale. In the Volunteers Green Works, furniture was available for the drawing room, dining room, hall,

library, bedroom and parlour. The manufacture of billiard rooms and tables was also advertised. The name of the firm – Alexander H. McIntosh.

An article worth reading, if only for the prose alone, was published by the *Fife Herald* on the 3rd July 1879 under the heading "Shameful Scene" – "On Tuesday evening two working lads fell out in Volunteers

Green, and immediately commenced to pummel each other with the utmost fierceness. A number of women attempted to separate the combatants, but the fun was deemed too good to be spoilt – a number of men urging the boys to “wire in.” Hundreds of all ages gathered round to view the “melee”. Till the police being sent for spoilt the sport by separating the outrageous pair, whom they smilingly allowed to walk off’.

The years between 1878 and 1882 saw another legal challenge which, almost unbelievably, went as far as the House of Lords. The story is worthy of its own narrative but a summary of the events is given below.

If the 1854 case ruffled feathers it had nothing on the fallout from a dispute which commenced in 1878. It ran for four years and we have relied of the *Fifeshire Advertiser* of the 29<sup>th</sup> July 1882 for the following as the lengthy article contained a perfect timeline of the story. “When the Town Councillors and Police Commissioners resolved to erect stables and a Fire Station for the now expanded town they could hardly have imagined their choice of location could bring such consequences, worry, and cost to their door. They

had two choices and decided on the waste ground near the Volunteers Green”. This in effect was the western part of the Green which was rendered unfit for its original purpose, thanks to the dumping of excrement. It had become a dumping ground for stones and all manner of rubbish, often of the most unsavoury description. Whatever else it was fit for, it was certainly not for recreation, bleaching and dyeing.

In fairness, the Council did not appear to set out to deliberately take away the public right to this piece of ground but, having taken the opinion of Counsel, believed they had the power to use the ground for the building of their stables. It transpired that the opinion was incorrect, leading to a celebrated legal battle. The Council had both advertised in

— VIGILANDO MUNIO. —

SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1882.

#### THE KIRKCALDY STABLES CASE.

WHEN the Police Commissioners of Kirkcaldy resolved in 1878 to erect stabling for their horses they little thought how much worry it would cause them. They had the choice of one or two sites, but they had the misfortune to select a piece of ground near the Volunteers' Green, which formed part of the commonity of the burgh. The place was really a piece of waste ground, and was of very little value to the public, except as an open space where boys and young men gathered in the summer evenings, and where shows of the travelling order found a resting-place for a night or two.

the Press for funding for the venture and also invited tenders for the work before the protest ignited.

Although there had been some slight indications of opposition, nothing had been said or done. However, when the walls were some four feet high, a notice that an Interdict was being applied for became known. It was served on the Council on the 4th May 1878. The Interdict was applied for by a James Graham who was a dyer. The assumption that Mr Graham would be a businessman or of some personal wealth would be incorrect. It transpires that he was, in fact, a journeyman dyer in the employment of Mr Heggie. This was not Walter Heggie of the privy fame but his son, Robert B. Heggie, who had inherited the business.

All through Mr Graham maintained that he was acting on his own and as an inhabitant of the Town fighting for the preservation of common ground. This was despite the fact he was employed by Heggie and lived in one of his employer's houses in Burleigh Street. It seems clear from the off that Mr Graham was going to settle for nothing less than the demolition and removal of the stables.

The case eventually came before the Court of Session and the Lord Ordinary decided, after a long Proof and a huge number of witnesses, that the land in question was part of the land which the Council “were bound to keep all time free and open for the use, enjoyment and recreation of the inhabitants, granting the Interdict on the 4th January 1879. with expenses to Mr Graham.”

The case was immediately appealed to the Inner House by the Council and meantime the building was completed.

The case in due time came before the Court of Session, and the Lord-Ordinary decided, after a long proof, that the ground in question was part of the land which the Magistrates were bound to keep in all time free and open for the use, enjoyment, and recreation of the inhabitants, and granted the interdict on 4th January, 1879, with expenses to the pursuer.

On the 18th June 1879, the verdict of the appeal being given by the Lords of the Second Division, “interdicted the Council from erecting stables or any buildings or erections of any kind on that portion of the South Links which was in dispute.” When this judgement was

delivered, it was too late to enforce the Interdict as the buildings were already complete. However, the Council offered another piece of land as a substitute rather than see their stables removed.

The Lords of the Second Division also appeared anxious to prevent the buildings being destroyed and therefore for some months refused to give Extract of their Judgement. Eventually they did give the Extract on 30th October 1879, when it was made clear that it could not be used retrospectively – meaning Graham could not have the stables removed.

Graham immediately raised an action for “Declarator and Removal” before Lord Adam, who gave a decree in the terms craved. However, on a reclaiming note in January 1881, the Lords of the Second Division unanimously reversed Lord Adam’s decision and held that the proposal of the Council to substitute another piece of

Thereupon the pursuer raised an action for declarator and removal before Lord Adam, who gave decree in terms craved. On a reclaiming note, however, the Lords of the Second Division, in January, 1881, unanimously reversed the Lord Ordinary’s decision, and held the proposal of the Commissioners to substitute another piece of ground as a reasonable proposition, and assoilzied the Commissioners on condition of this ground being granted.

ground (larger than that lost) as a reasonable proposition and assoilzied the Council on condition that the ground being granted as a substitute was duly transferred to common land. Remember that all of these legal proceedings and the attendant costs were being orchestrated and met by a journeyman dyer! Without being unkind does that sound plausible?

From this decision an appeal was taken to the House of Lords, and, after some delay, the case was heard in Westminster on the 6th July before Lord Chancellor Selborne, Lords Blackburn, O'Hagan, Watson, and Bramwell.

From this decision an appeal was taken to the House of Lords by Mr Graham. Clearly, the ground substituted for the area lost was not going to satisfy him – it was demolition or nothing with the

common ground being restored to its original condition.

The appeal was heard on the 6th July 1881 before the Lord Chancellor and Lords Blackburn, O'Hagan, Watson and Bramwell. The decision stood and the stables were saved. There could be no further appeal. It was Lord Watson who handed down the judgement which in summary said that “Although accepting the right of the public to have the whole area of the links free from buildings, the Court of Session were justified in refusing to enforce the strict legal right of Mr Graham. The judgement showed that the interests of the community were on both sides of the litigation, and to grant removal of the buildings would be of less advantage to the community than to accept the ground offered and leave the buildings to stand”.

*The Fifehire Advertiser* commented that “It was a matter of general satisfaction that the stables are to stand, and that the Court has allowed the other piece of ground to be substituted for the site of the stables. The

**It is matter of general satisfaction that the stable buildings are to stand, and that the Court has allowed the other piece of ground to be substituted for the site of the stables. The costs, however, fall to be paid by the town, but we are glad to learn that this will not add to the rates.**

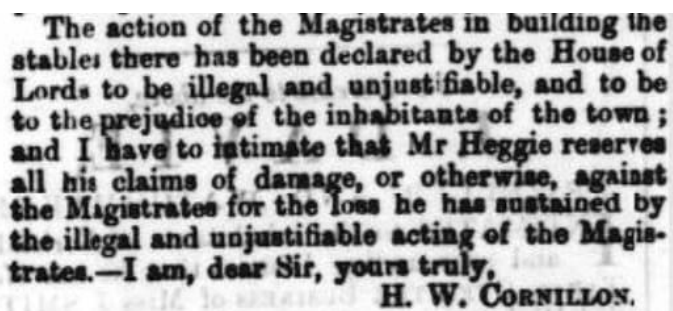
costs however fall to be paid by the town, but we are glad to learn that this will not be added to the rates. It is unlikely that James Graham, who has vindicated the public right in this matter, will be satisfied with the decision, but his utmost effort has been put forth now, and he will probably vanish from public life in as sudden a manner as he appeared on the scene. Of one thing we may be sure, is that in our time at least, the representatives of the people will fight shy of building stables or

anything else on ground to which they have not the very clearest evidence of right”.

There were suggestions in the Press that many believed Graham was simply acting on behalf on Mr Heggie. It is certainly difficult to believe that a journeyman dyer had the financial wherewithal to sustain the litigations. However his evidence certainly came over as a man who believed in what he was doing and felt strongly about the loss of common ground. It has to be said to his credit that he re-affirmed the public right to the area and possibly/probably prevented any further loss of the Green – at least until Kirkcaldy Town Council took a rush of blood to the head nearly 100 years later.

The final item in the article contained a statement that “one well known proprietor near the Volunteers Green, believing that the amenity of his property has been interfered with, proposes to bring an action for damages”.

This came to pass when *The Fifeshire Advertiser* of the 16<sup>th</sup> September is consulted. Mr Heggie has been consulting Edinburgh solicitors about how far the decision in the case would affect his rights. He is asserting his rights as a patrimonial character (one who has inherited property from his father) claiming that this makes him more important than Mr Graham who is merely an inhabitant. The claim is that the substitution of the ground is of no interest to him – his issue is that his ground fronts the stables on two sides. It is his intention to adopt proceedings for the



The action of the Magistrates in building the stables there has been declared by the House of Lords to be illegal and unjustifiable, and to be to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the town; and I have to intimate that Mr Heggie reserves all his claims of damage, or otherwise, against the Magistrates for the loss he has sustained by the illegal and unjustifiable acting of the Magistrates.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,  
H. W. CORNILLON.

vindication of his rights and have the stables removed. The letter centres on the fact that “the house of Lords have declared the building of the stables illegal and unjustifiable and that Mr Heggie reserves all his claims of

damages or otherwise, against the Magistrates for the loss he has sustained by the illegal and unjustifiable acting of the Magistrates”.

In the *Kirkcaldy Times* of the 14<sup>th</sup> November we learn that the town had won the case which Mr Heggie had brought against them for damages. The paper reported that Mr Heggie had brought an action for £2,000 of damages for the injury done to his property by the erection of the stables. “Lord Adam has assoilzied the defenders, holding that the pursuer has no title by servitude otherwise to object to the stables being on the ground in question, if they are for the advantage of the community”

(Special Telegram.)  
 EDINBURGH, WEDNESDAY, TWELVE noon.  
 In the action by Robert Brownlie Heggie, who claims £2000 damages from the magistrates of Kirkcaldy for the injury done to his property by the erection of the stables in its close proximity at Volunteers' Green, Lord Adam has assoilzied the defenders, holding that the pursuer has no title by servitude otherwise to object to the stables being on the ground in question, if they are for the advantage of the community.

Once clearly prevented any further building on what remains of the



The substitute ground remains an open space to this day. It is sited just to the west of the Nicol Street car park, complete with a plaque explaining its origins. It is not generally known that this area is an annex of the Volunteers Green.

We can now look at the reasons why the Volunteer's Green came to carry the name. The first newspaper reference uncovered was contained in the *Fife Herald* of the 21<sup>st</sup> February 1833. That date is prior to the founding of the Volunteer movement and also before the Green was enclosed by its wall. The article is proof positive that the name Volunteers Green was in use before 1859. The item relates that, on the previous Monday, the Conservative Lairds had paraded on the Green with some of their tenants and tradesman calling themselves the *Fife Yeomanry*. A large crowd had assembled and there was some merriment in that Lord Loughborough and Sir John Oswald were in the uniforms of Privates. In addition, Sir Ralph Anstruther and Mr Wemyss of Cuttlehill were in

**KIRKCALDY.**  
 On Monday last, the Conservative lairds and the tail of tenants and tradesmen mustered on the Volunteers' Green, under the name of the Fife Yeomanry. The spectacle had some novel features, and excited among the spectators a good deal of merriment and caustic remark. In the ranks, and in the uniform of simple privates, were my Lord Loughborough and Sir John Oswald. Sir Ralph Anstruther and Mr Wemyss of Cuttlehill were in plain clothes. My Lord Roches holds the rank of Cornet, and General Balfour of Colonel.

plain clothes. It was Lord Rothes who held the rank of Coronet and General Balfour that of Colonel.

A sad item was unearthed in the *Fife Journal* of the 31<sup>st</sup> March 1853. While it had nothing to do with military activities – a gun was involved. It transpired that a 19 year old man by the name of Kilgour had been looking to shoot seabirds. For some unknown reason, when on the Green, the gun had discharged with its contents going into his stomach. It took an hour of extreme pain before he passed away. He was employed as a Letter Carrier delivering mail between Kirkcaldy and Kinglassie – if he did not have a horse – that was a long daily walk!

From 1859 the Green became for all times known only as the Volunteers Green, when an act of Parliament was passed to set up volunteer battalions and Kirkcaldy played its part. On the 1st December

**VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.**—A meeting was held here on Thursday night, called by the Provost, in compliance with a requisition from the inhabitants, to consider the propriety of forming a volunteer corps. The Town Hall was so crowded that there were numbers who could not gain admittance. On the motion of Colonel Ferguson, M.P., Provost Birrell was called to the chair. The chairman, having stated the object of the meeting in very suitable terms, then called upon Colonel Ferguson to propose the first resolution, which was to the effect that this meeting, approving of the volunteer movement, agree to form a corps, to embrace Kirkcaldy, Dysart, and Abbotshall parishes, and to be called the Kirkcaldy Volunteers.

that year, a large and influential meeting was held with Provost Birrell in the chair. The purpose was the establishing of a Volunteer Corps. The hall was packed and large numbers were unable to gain admittance. Provost Birrell opened the meeting with “All

sects and parties were at one when the interests of the country were concerned, and he believed that this movement had for its object the safety and independence of the country. They had long trusted in the invincibility of their army and navy; but it was as well that they should be prepared to resist the demon of war should it be let loose on their country, and if our country should be threatened by war, they would arm themselves and their sons, and go forth in the strength of their right arms – trusting in the God of battles, vowing to defend their country while they lived; determined that this land should never bow to the oppressor or invader, but should as it has always been, great, glorious and free (loud applause).” The platform was populated by many of the town’s “great and good”, including Colonel Ferguson, James Normand, Robert Hutchison and Gilbert



Heron amongst others. Kirkcaldy's volunteers became part of the 1st Fife Royal Garrison Artillery Volunteers. From 1850 until 1901 the volunteers drilled on the Green, dutifully reading their local papers every Saturday to establish each evening's activities and the names of the officers on duty in the following week. The notice shown here, although of a later date, is a good example of the kit required when on parade. Being on the coast Kirkcaldy had an artillery brigade with was augmented by a

rifle brigade. A battery of four cannons was sited close to the water but sadly, with no sea wall, they often fell victim to stormy seas. The volunteers moved away in 1901. Initially it was believed that two of the cannons, although old and obsolete, had to be sent back to the War Office. The two others were sited in the Beveridge Park for a spell but it is thought they were used for scrap in the 2nd World War. The following suggests that the foregoing was not entirely accurate.

*The Fife Free Press* of Saturday the 5th December 1903 carried a report on a ceremony held earlier in the week.

**ORDERS 1st FIFE ROYAL GARRISON ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS.**  
 NOS. 3, 5, AND 14 COMPANIES.  
 Week Commencing 20th June, 1904—  
**MONDAY.**—N. C. Officers on duty for the week—Sergt. A. Moyes and Corpl. J. Eason, No. 3 Coy. All Members in possession of their Carbines will retain them, and have them perfectly clean for the Annual Inspection. Slings will be issued from Armoury. Issuing Equipment: from 6 p.m.  
**TUESDAY.**—Issuing Equipment from 6 p.m. Trampeters' Practice at 7.30 p.m.  
**WEDNESDAY.**—Issuing Equipment from 6 p.m.  
**THURSDAY.**—Issuing Equipment from 6 p.m. Carbine Practice, for Efficient only, at 6 p.m.  
**FRIDAY.**—Annual Inspection of Nos. 3, 5, and 14 Companies by Colonel J. W. Johnston, commanding 1st Fife R.G.A. (Vol.). All Members will parade in Drill Hall at 7.15 p.m. in Uniform, with Helmets, Waist-belt, Frog, Pouch, Haversack, Water-bottle, Mess-tin, Great-coat (rolled), Leggings, and Gloves. All Carbines in possession of Members to be brought on Parade.  
**SATURDAY.**—First Medal Competition for Nos. 3 and 5 Coys. Range open at 2 p.m.  
**SUNDAY.**—Church Parade for all Members. Parade at Town House at 10.30 a.m., in Church Parade Order, viz.:—Uniform, with Helmet, Waist-belt, Frog, Gloves, and Side-arms.  
 By Order.  
 Headquarters, Hunter Street.

## Kirkcaldy Corporation's Big Guns

### Gift from Brigade Officers

“An interesting ceremony took place in the Town House, Kirkcaldy on Thursday evening, when the four big guns, presented by the officers of the Fife Brigade Artillery Volunteers to the Corporation, were formally handed over to Provost Barnet. The guns, which are 32 pounders, smooth bore and mounted on common standing garrison carriages, have been placed in the Beveridge Public Park. The guns were set down at the

#### **THE FIFE FREE PRESS, SAT**

##### **KIRKCALDY CORPORATION'S BIG GUNS.**

**GIFT FROM FIFE BRIGADE OFFICERS.  
 ATTRACTION FOR THE BEVERIDGE PARK**

An interesting ceremony took place in the Town Hall, Kirkcaldy, on Thursday evening when the four big guns, presented by the officers of the Fife Brigade Artillery Volunteers to the Corporation, were formally handed over to Provost Barnet. The guns, which are 32 pounders, smooth bore, and mounted on common standing garrison carriages, have been placed in the Beveridge Public Park. The guns were set down at the battery on the Sands Road at the commencement of the volunteer movement, forty years ago, and have been used by the local volunteers for practice until recently, when these old batteries were done away with.

battery on the Sands Road at the commencement of the volunteer movement, forty years ago, and have been used by the local volunteers for practice until recently, when these old batteries were done away with. On this interesting occasion the officers and the Town Council were entertained to a cake and wine banquet by Provost Barnet, who occupied the chair, supported on the right by Colonel Johnson, Bailie Dishart and Lieutenant-Colonel Herriot, and on the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Storrar, Bailie Peebles, Bailie Bennet, and Major Reid.

Among those present were Captain Main, Captain Stocks, Lieutenant Young, Lieutenant Sutherland, Surgeon Captain Laing, Dean of Guild Syme, Councillor P. Herd, Councillor R.C. Lockhart, Councillor J. Gourlay, Councillor J. Cook, Councillor James F. Beveridge, Councillor G. Fergusson and Mr W.L. Macindoe the Town Clerk.”

After a significant number of toasts to almost all the members of the Royal Family, Colonel Johnston rose to speak about the “pleasant duty which devolved to him that evening”. He had written to the Town Clerk in May asking if the Council would accept the proposal of gifting four of the guns to the Town. He was delighted that they had accepted and especially at the decision to place them in the Beveridge Park. He hoped that the sight of the guns might stir the military feelings of the youth of Kirkcaldy. He went on to say that “the guns might not be of much intrinsic value, but they were not without interest. These guns spoke of a time when the terrible experiences of the Crimean War and the still greater horrors of the Indian Mutiny were fresh in men’s minds, when it was found that the dark thunder-cloud of war seemed to be hanging over our own shores ready at any moment to burst and spread desolation. At that time a thrill went through the nation and a new Army sprang into being – and one that had not been reckoned upon. From all ranks and classes men came forward to join what was



new then – the Volunteer force. The moral effect had gone on from that day to this.”

The Colonel pointed out that Provost Barnet was the fourth Provost in a row to be identified with the Volunteer movement. The others were Provosts Stocks, Hutchison and Tait.

“He had now to formally hand over the guns, and he trusted the young of Kirkcaldy would take a lesson from those who had gone before them, and be ready, should the Country call upon them, to come forward and take the place their forefathers had taken.

The provost rose to thank Colonel Johnston and the officers for their kind and generous gift. Provost Barnet emphasised that no one should consider that the officers had simply wanted rid of the guns by gifting them to the town. They should think again, as he pointed out, that the Officers had had to pay the War Office to secure the guns. This was a gift almost in remembrance of the local men who had served the Town and Country so well. The provost hoped that their descendants would in one hundred years look on these guns in the same way as the present generation looked on “Mons Meg”.

Lieutenant Colonel Storrar rose to propose a toast to “The Town Council of Kirkcaldy”. Before doing so, he gave a brief history of both the Artillery and Rifle Brigades. His address included:-

“Like the men who worked them in earlier times, the guns had done good service, and although both men and guns were now out of date – he hoped that, for many years to come, old gunners would gather round them from time to time and fight their bloodless battles once again”.

Lieutenant Colonel Storrar went on to say that he had not joined at the outset but two years after the formation and had been associated with them ever since.

“There were none of the old brigade now serving, and if the muster roll was called tonight few would answer to their names. Some were still alive, but the greater proportion of those who formed the original

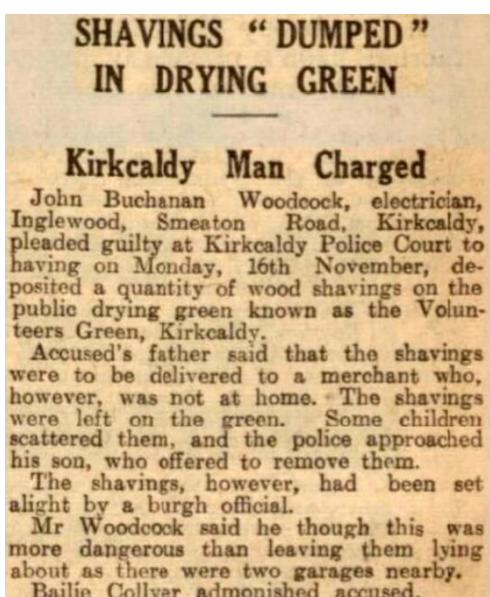
companies, had gone over to the majority, and that number had been rapidly added to year by year.”

He made particular mention of three who had died in recent months, Provost Tait, Chief Constable Bremner and David Bell.

He noted in his opinion “that as a rule, the men who were, or had been good volunteers, had proved themselves equally good citizens by doing more than their fair share of public work.”

He then recollected the names of the early officers in the Artillery and Rifle Brigades who proudly wore either a blue tunic or a scarlet one. The names read like a roll call of distinguished local men. They included Major Tait, Captain Bremner, John P. Aytoun, David Laing, John T. Stocks, W.R. Spears, Dr Dewar, Dr Morrison, James Shepherd, John Tait and Michael B. Nairn. He added that from one company of artillery and one of rifles, they could now boast five strong companies.

He concluded with “Individually it was a painful thing to look back and realise how many of our old comrades had fallen out along the way, but happily that was only individually. As a body the Kirkcaldy Volunteers could look back with pleasure upon a uniformly successful advance”.



In November 1936, wasting time and money in pursuit of the law was demonstrated by an incident on the Green. John B. Woodcock, electrician, Inglewood, Smeaton Road, pled guilty to depositing a quantity of wood shavings on the Green. In his defence he indicated that he had been delivering them to a merchant who was not at home and so left them on the Green. However, some children scattered them and later the Police approached his son. The son immediately offered to remove them. When he

arrived he found that they had been set on fire by a Burgh Official. Mr Woodcock thought this was more dangerous than leaving them lying,

as there were two garages nearby. Bailie Collyer, shaking his head, admonished the accused.

Between 1939/1945 the area was used to accommodate air raid shelters, not just one but three. Each could accommodate up to 50 persons and they were in place just before war was declared. Before hostilities had commenced Alexander Birrell, Concrete Specialist of Gallatown, was quickly off the mark, advertising, in *The Fife Free Press* of the 26<sup>th</sup> August 1939, the building of shelters for up to 1500 people. Orders once booked were to be built in strict rotation.

**AIR RAID SHELTERS.**  
**ENSURE YOUR SAFETY NOW IN CASE OF EMERGENCY**

At present we are erecting SHELTERS in Kirkcaldy, Leven, Dundee and other Districts to accommodate 1,500 Persons.

Orders Booked NOW will be carried out in strict rotation.

Prices and Specifications for Shelters to accommodate any number of Persons on application to

**ALEXANDER BIRRELL,**  
CONCRETE SPECIALIST,  
10 North End Terrace - GALLATOWN, KIRKCALDY.

—  
Tel. 8100 Dumfries.

Wm. Gillies and Sons, 292 – 298 High Street were not far behind, offering suitable beds for fire-watching and air raid shelter use.

The Town Council had ordered 100 steel air raid shelters and in May 1940 advertised, via the *Fife Free Press*, for offers to add a concrete lining to each. The specifications and schedule of quantities were available from the Town Clerk, to whom offers should be made by the 5th June.

*The Fife Free Press* on the 16th November 1946, commented on the work being undertaken by the contractor to demolish the shelters. The article mentioned that “it was only on rare occasions that they had been used and that many in private gardens had been converted into garden huts, with some of the work being very tasteful. Those built in parks and open spaces are taking some demolishing judging by the explosions one hears.”

*The Dundee Courier* of the 28th June 1955 carried a story showing that the Green was still being used as a meeting place, when Kirkcaldy Cleansing and Roads Department’s men held a meeting. “The men met on Volunteers’ Green, a large space normally used for clothes drying,

## DUSTMEN REFUSE TO RETURN TO WORK

Kirkcaldy Cleansing and Roads Departments men strike decided yesterday to stay out—despite being told their national organiser that their action was foolish.

The men met on Volunteers' Green, a large space normally used for clothes drying, to hear their organiser, Mr Pat Trainer, Glasgow, National Union of General and Municipal Workers, who stood on a kitchen chair.

to hear their organiser Mr Pat Trainer, Glasgow, National Union of General and Municipal Workers, who stood on a kitchen chair. He urged the men to return to work pending negotiations, saying that their dissatisfaction with pay awards was being handled by the Union”.

Despite his best efforts the men voted to continue the strike. “The men claimed that 80 Cleansing Department and 40 Roads Department staff were out on strike with only 10 men working. The gravediggers who attended the meeting returned to work. A loudspeaker van toured the streets telling people to take in their unemptied dustbins. Some traders used their own transport to take their rubbish to the coup.

*The Leven Mail* of the 9th April 1958 made comment on an added attraction at the Links Market. The Pipes and Drums of the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch would be present. They will be parading twice through the market, once during the afternoon and then in the evening, but will also play selections on Volunteers Green. This was the first market to be held with the new multi-storey flats and surrounding layout completed. The value of the stock on display was put for the first time at over a million pounds, with some machines being valued at £10,000.

The rundown dwellings in the area surrounding the Green were swept away in the 1970s. The Green lay forlorn and little used, a far cry from days gone by when volunteers drilled, quoits were played, open air theatres and circuses gave performances, bands rehearsed, children played and housewives were hard at work with the laundry.

### Modern Battles on the Green

In relatively modern times the green saw two fierce and lengthy battles which were unconnected with anything military. Both took place in the 1970s with one launched by a private consortium, the other almost unbelievably by Kirkcaldy Town Council.

The Council episode came first after the old and rundown dwellings in Charlotte, Cowan, Thistle and Rose Streets were demolished. This meant that there was no longer a need for the drying green or the clothes poles which had stood since 1836. Perhaps unwisely the Council created a breach in the surrounding wall to allow Links Market vehicles to park. This had a knock on effect which will be covered later. The Council plan was to build a multi-storey car park on a significant part of the Green. The cost would be £250,000 and provide space for 400 cars at a cost of £625 per space. This idea brought immediate objections and outrage from many groups and individuals. There was a steely determination to protect what remained of the original common ground. The plan would have resulted in the loss of 1120 square metres, leaving only 2700 for public use. Dr Patrick Edmunds was elected Chair of the protest body whose aim was to preserve and protect this valuable area. The fight was long and extensive and from it was born Plans were drawn up to suggest an alternative site for the car park along with elaborate ideas for landscaping the Green and creating a little oasis of peace. The protests rumbled on and in 1973, on June 15th, a petition containing 1,842 signatures was handed in to the Town Council. Nonetheless, the Council were determined to press on with their plans and matters went as far as a public enquiry.

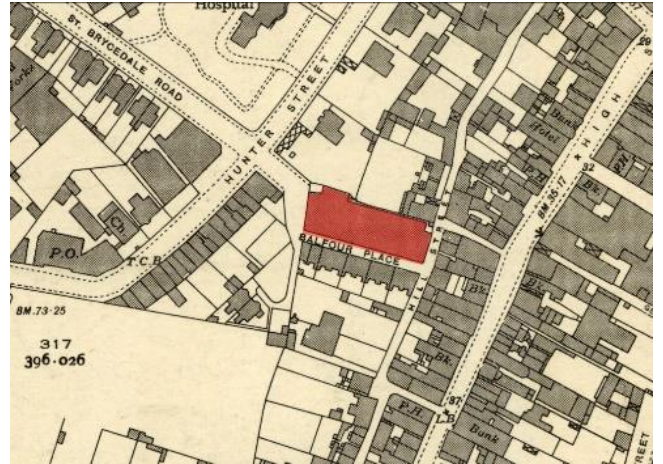
The Council argued that the Green was no longer used for its original charter purposes. They fully intended to press on and progress their plans. However, they were aware that an *Act of Dispersion* would be required to change the purpose of the site. It would seem that the memory of their last disastrous foray into building on common ground, nearly a hundred years previously, focussed their minds.

The Council decided that as they were not certain of winning and could be embroiled in expensive legal costs the idea should be abandoned.

The efforts of the protesters won the day and not a square metre of ground was lost. The car park was built on its present site and the battle

of public versus the Council was over. The car park now looks as it will soon be demolished having had a life span of little more than 40 years.

We now come to the second skirmish, where this time Kirkcaldy Town Council/District Council fought to protect the Green. In 1973, Kirkcaldy Town Council had granted a three year licence to a former garage owner to operate retail units from the buildings vacated by the Fifeshire Posting Company in Balfour Place. In essence, this meant stalls and traders from all over Scotland were selling from the premises twice per week (Tuesdays and Fridays). By 1975 the



licence had been transferred to Spook Erections without the consent of the Council. Spook Erections were the representatives of the traders. On Tuesday, the 4th May 1975, traders arrived to find the doors closed fast and the locks changed. The traders had not been notified and had no reason to suspect the closing of the premises to them so were allowed into the building to collect their belongings. Then they immediately set up a market in the car park. Douglas Nelson, the Director of Planning, allowed the market to proceed that day but made it clear no further markets would be allowed on that site.

Earlier, Spook had noted the Volunteers Green as a potential site especially as the Council had created the gap in the wall which was mentioned above. Before the Council knew where they were, on the 7th May, the traders had set up a market on the Green. The Council reacted through Henry McLeish, then a Councillor and Chairman of the Planning Committee, (He rose to become First Minister in the Scottish Parliament) who sought a court order to ban the market from the Green. On Tuesday, the 11th May, Spook Erection's employees arrived early and using their cars blocked the entry to the Green. They only moved to allow the arriving traders in and then blocked the entrance again. Humour was found when Council employees arrived in a van to cut the



grass. With aplomb, the workmen lifted their mowers over the wall and set about cutting the grass by manoeuvring between the stalls and traders. What was now in effect an illegal market (Court Order) was being held three times per week. Meetings between the parties failed to find a solution and the efforts to find an alternative site proved unsuccessful. The Court Order was having no effect and the grass was being turned into a quagmire. It seemed to be a stalemate and, to add insult to the Council's injury, a Spook Erection flag was hoisted on market days.



As the Council struggled to secure an alternative site (the Ice Rink, Nairn's former site in Nairn Street, along with the harbour were mooted) they called on the Government to step in. This led to a public enquiry being set up in December 1976. This meant that the market could continue until a decision was reached. At the enquiry Spook appealed against the Court Order and the Council argued that the site was unsuitable for a market as there was no hygiene control, plus a market was against the original terms /spirit of the Charter. Were the Council suggesting that a multi-storey car park would have been acceptable under the terms of the Charter but not a market? It took until July the following year until the decision came. It was that the Green was no longer to be used as a market site. An appeal was lodged but it was dismissed by the Secretary of State for Scotland.

It was the established traders who were the main objectors to the market given the high rates and other costs they had to sustain. In general the public took a different view in that "a bargain is a bargain" and that was what the market offered.

Once again the fledgling *Kirkcaldy Civic Society* had been involved in the fight. In May 1976, the then Chairman Rodger Strugnell, commented "that on one of Kirkcaldy's most treasured possessions, this street market is tantamount to sacrilege".

In 1979, there was an attempt to restart the market when traders set up stalls on the High Street. The Police acted promptly, the traders were dispersed, but not before nine arrests were made. Once again the fledgling Kirkcaldy Civic Society had been involved in the fight.

### Epilogue

The car park went to an alternative site and the market simply went. In 1993, the plans which first saw the light of day twenty years previously came to pass. Now the Green is landscaped with shrubs, grass and seating, and is once again fully enclosed by a combination of its walls and self-closing gates. In the centre is a flagpole and a plaque which gives a short history of the area.

It is a fine place to sit and reflect on the near 400 year history of one of the most famous and best known areas in Kirkcaldy and how perhaps it could have ended so differently.



## Supplementary Information

Since this Object was first published in 2020 the Green has been redeveloped into a more modern, open and attractive space. Few if any can find fault with aesthetic change, especially if it is for the better. Without question, when the shrubs and bushes grow to maturity, it will be an attractive area although the seating appears to attract adverse publicity in terms of comfort.

While there was initial controversy over the scheme it was not so much about how the project would unfold but it could be argued that our Local Authority had failed to learn the lessons from the past, leading to what was termed a false start.

*The Fife Free Press* produced a lengthy article on the plans for the Green on the 20<sup>th</sup> April 2023. This included - “The false start sparked by the unexpected sight of the green stripped bare of its shrubs and plants was a mis-step in terms of communication, but done for the right reasons. The cutback was done ahead of the nesting season, but concerns over remaining upstanding roots causing possible injury to pets or people saw the decision taken to remove them together with all the rubbish which had gathered underneath them”.

As already mentioned concerns were never about what shape the Green would take after the work was completed – it was about the fact it is Common Good Land, Kirkcaldy's Common Good Land and the *Community Engagement Act (Scotland) 2015* makes it clear that there has to be public engagement prior to any identification, change and disposal of the ground in question and quite simply that was not done. That was in many people's eyes unacceptable.

Councillor Ian Cameron, convenor of *Kirkcaldy Area Committee*, wants to see a green that reflects the views of the town. “We appreciate there are views on either side,” he said. “The important thing is to get it right for the town. Many people like its green heart and there is no

intention to change that, but it could be a great space - it has to be for the good of the town. It is important part of the whole investment in the waterfront, so we need as much feedback as we can. It will be good to feel for what the town wants from Volunteers' Green. It is precious to people. They are passionate about it and we have to get it right”.

This suggests that the emphasis, for the Council and the media, was firmly on the future – with the shortcomings in consultation almost ignored. While looking to the future is commendable, it does not allow the Council to bypass the rules on Common Good Land. Consultation should have taken place before a blade of grass was removed. When they faced the inevitable backlash, the Council certainly managed to start to pull together the necessary consultations but their inability to carry out the whole exercise in the correct sequence maybe reflected poorly on them.

However, matters have moved on and it is perhaps a fitting conclusion to suggest that sometimes you can only reach the future through the past – Fife Council would have done well to study the ramifications from the past difficulties previous administrations had brought upon themselves in not following the required protocols.



That said the main point is that the Green and its place in the town's history remains intact. No lasting damage has been done and many welcome the change the Council have delivered. It is however a salutary lesson not to cut corners when you are merely a trustee and not the owner. History should have told them that.

## Acknowledgements

This Object has been produced almost exclusively through researching newspapers. The individual newspapers used for articles, sketches, advertisements and photographs are credited in the text. All the newspaper information was obtained from *Find my Past Newspaper Archive in partnership with the British Library*.

Mapping – The maps are reproduced with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland – Mapping Section. Highlighting, which was not part of the original maps, has been added to those on pages; 3, 5, 8, 15 and 24 to emphasise features and buildings.

The postcards used on pages - 1, 18 and 26 are from Kirkcaldy Civic Society's own collection.

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