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Evolution of the Fourth Estate

Richard A. Haste Speaks of the Editors Now
and As They Used To Be.During the formation of that most
intangible of all important things,
the British Constitution, the Lords,
the Clergy and the Commons were
the three pillars that were supposed
to sustain the structure of British li-
berty. They were known as the three
estates. Here was a trinity second
only to the Godhead. Combined they
constituted parliament—and parliament
was omnipotent.The lords and the clergy having mutual
interests sat together, but the
commons sat apart as was seemly for
the commons.As time wore on jealousies sprang
up among these estates over their re-
spective prerogatives and powers.
Thus it came about that Edmund
Burke in the house of commons, com-
menting on the comparative influence
of the three estates, admonished his
hearers not to overlook the fourth es-
tate—the press—represented in the re-
porters' gallery.And so it came about that the
press was recognized as the fourth
estate, not by any law of the land, for
it had no place in the machinery of
government—its members had no seat
in parliament and no votes; they did
not answer to roll call nor take part
in the divisions, but they made and
unmade ministries.From the time of the inception of
the printing press, through the age
of pamphleteering to the present—the
newspaper age—the evolution of the
fourth estate in England has been
uninterrupted along the lines of so-
cial and political progress. This in-
creased power has been gained at the
expense of the clergy and the lords.
The aristocracy of the church and the
aristocracy of birth have had to
make room for the aristocracy of
brains. For more than a century the
fourth estate has been the medium
through which the intelligence of the
British empire has been—the forum
where economics and education have
been discussed for the benefit of the
people. Here the press has retained
its influence because, right or wrong,
it has stood for something vital, and
the fourth estate still represented by
the daily press exerts its pristine
power. Not so in the United States.
The course of evolution has been
checked and diverted from its origi-
nal channel. The daily press no longer
represents the fourth estate. This
fact as well as the reasons therefor,
are well worth noting.We of America inherit our domi-
nant tastes and tendencies from Eng-
land. We inherit, willingly or other-
wise, the principles of British gov-
ernment and, to a large extent, the
common law. It is true that in the
formation of our national government
we did not recognize the clergy as a
government unit, but we did honor
the house of lords by the creation of
a senate to represent the aristocracy
of the states, and which by a natural
evolution has become the representa-
tive of the aristocracy of wealth.The fourth estate we inherit en-
tire. As in England it was not re-
cognized in the scheme of government
but nevertheless it had much to do
with determining the scheme of gov-
ernment. Here in America during the
formative period, the press was the
guiding power—it was the dominant
estate. The men who reached the
ear of the public through the press
were the real leaders of opinion.Ben Franklin was the first noble
representative of the fourth estate in
the new born American common-
wealth—the first great newspaper ed-
itor. He represented as no one had
before and as few have since, the
aristocracy of brains. He had opin-
ions to express, and he expressed
them. He put his personality into the
discussion of public questions. It was
Franklin speaking and not a mere
machine, and therein lies the whole
secret. He has had some worthy suc-
cessors during the last century—real
men, editors whose personalities domi-
nated their papers and gave the
fourth estate its political power; but
today that race is well nigh extinct.
The great editor—the leader of pub-
lic thought—has been pushed from his
throne and in his place sits a name-
less thing, opinionless and usually
money-mad, a slightless, soulless cor-
poration—a publishing company.It was near the middle of the cen-
tury just passed that the fourth es-
tate in America reached high tide as
a factor in the problems of govern-
ment and as a moulder of public
opinion. The editorial page was then
the heart and brains of the paper.
Here it was that the editor discus-
sed fearlessly the moral and political
questions of the day with no thought
of the effect his position may have
on the business department of the
publication. The editors of the then
great newspapers were known by
name, not only to the American peo-
ple, but also overseas. They were
men of culture, of brains, of experi-
ence, and, above all, of character.
They were leaders whom the public
delighted to follow. They were char-
acters with reputations to sustain.
They were responsible to the world,
and they knew and felt their respon-
sibility.

It was not the New York Tribune

that was speaking—it was Horace
Greeley. Back of those printed words
were always the white coat, the child
like face, the great brain, and the
wonderful personality of the editor.
It was not the New York Sun, but
the opinions of Charles A. Dana, that
had weight. It was not the Chicago
Times, but Wilbur F. Storey, and so
on through the whole fourth estate
of the last century.It was the personality of the men
behind the headlines that gave weight
to the metropolitan press of those
days. People read what these men
had to say though they differed widely
from the opinions expressed, be-
cause the utterances had the ring of
personal conviction. But today who
reads the editorials of the average
metropolitan paper? Who cares for
the opinions of an unknown hierling
of a corporation on matters of eth-
ics or public policy? Who cares to
wade through inane and pointless
comments on current news that now
occupy the wide space of the editor-
ial page?In the development of American
metropolitan newspapers—and by the
word metropolitan we must include the
papers of our smaller cities—the
editors of the Greeley and Dana
stamp have been entirely eliminated,
because the first object of the modern
American newspaper is to furnish
news, the second to get advertising.
As to the expressions of opinion on
public matters, there are to be none
unless they dovetail perfectly with
the financial interests that control
the paper. The policy of the paper
is shaped in the business office, not
in the editorial room. And this is
perfectly logical—the legitimate re-
sult of the evolution of the fourth es-
tate in Commercial America. The
American newspaper of today is a
business enterprise. The gathering
and publishing of news, more or less
doctored, is necessary to that busi-
ness success. The circulation depends
upon the news columns, therefore the
news must be sensational, and the
amount of advertising depends upon
the circulation. The highest salaries
therefore are paid to the business-
getters and the news-fakers—the bet-
ter the faker the better the salary.
Anybody can write editorials—no one
reads that page anyway. The editor-
ial page is a form which is maintain-
ed out of respect to tradition, but it
is regarded by most newspaper men
as a useless, expensive waste of
space that had better be given to ad-
vertising.As a general rule the editorial page
is turned over to the pensioners
whose long service keeps them on the
payrolls. It is amusing to observe
the contempt which a cub reporter or
the advertising solicitor entertains
and sometimes expresses on the edi-
torial writers. And it is not wholly
undeserved, for if there is any such
thing as mental prostitution, it is to
be found on the editorial pages of
American newspapers.In twentieth-century newspaper par-
lance an editor is not a man who
writes editorials or in any way
shapes the policy of the paper, but
the man (or boy) who "holds down
a desk." The term editor like that
of doctor has been expanded until it
has no significance. There are man-
aging editors, city editors, telegraph
editors, exchange editors, Sunday ed-
itors, night editors, society editors,
sporting editors, beauty editors, and
content editors, each with special du-
ties not in any way connected with
the opinions of the publication—if it
has any.These various editors have their
ideas of what the public wants and
from these ideas the character of the
paper takes its color. The Sunday
editor of a metropolitan newspaper
who advertises itself as "The
world's greatest newspaper," was
asked why he published so much "hog
wash" in his Sunday editions. His
reply was pregnant with the spirit
of modern journalism: "We art run-
ning a restaurant—if the people want
soup, we give them soup."The editor of a certain Sunday
magazine in returning some manu-
scripts wrote the author in explana-
tion: "The readers of this magazine
want to be entertained and amused,
we therefore cannot use any infor-
mative articles, no matter what may
be their literary merit or instruc-
tive value."The screaming headlines and the
colored picture pages show to what
lengths the newspaper will go to at-
tract attention—and like the stunts
on the vaudeville stage they indicate
the character of the average readers.
Is it true that the people demand
soup? From the apparent success of
the press-restaurants which serve
that dish exclusively, it would appear
that "soup" however thin, is prefer-
red to the best cuts of journalistic
steak.In theory the public press has two
co-ordinate primary functions—the
publishing of news and the moulding
of public opinion. It was the honest
discharge of the latter function with
its resultant influence, that elevated
the press to the dignity of a fourth
estate. And it was the subordinate-
ing of both these primary functions
to the business department, or their
prostitution to selfish and illegiti-
mate ends, that has shorn it of its

high prerogatives and left it without

influence among the thinking

The rise of commercialism marked
the beginning of the decline of the
fourth estate in the United States.
Corporations and individuals for
that matter, desiring special privi-
leges needed special legislation, and
it was soon discovered that it was
cheaper to buy newspapers and with
them control legislation, than to buy
legislators direct. Besides newspa-
pers when once bought stayed bought.
It is not an uncommon thing for a
great industrial or transportation
corporation to own outright, either
directly or indirectly, a dozen big
newspapers and control a hundred
others. The Hill roads, for instance,
have a string of newspapers from
St. Paul to Puget Sound. And the
very telegraphic news that appears
in nine-tenths of the daily papers of
the United States is controlled ab-
solutely by a well known trust that
openly defies laws, stile the man
at its head with his ill-gotten mil-
lions founds universities. To what
extent this news is colored is diffi-
cult to determine. I have no doubt
that in all matters affecting the
Standard Oil or any of its interests,
the news bears the taint of its origi-
nator. The writer for a number of
years was the "editor" (?) (the in-
terrogation mark is mine) of a cer-
tain well known metropolitan daily
the policy of which was determined
in the office of a railway magnate,
while the detailed instructions as to
editorial expression came from his
private secretary.Such is the condition of the fourth
estate. From the country weekly to
the city daily we find few free moral
agents. Those laws are not owned,
stock and bonds, body and soul, by
corporations with interests to pro-
tect, are rendered helpless and opin-
ionless by the fear of losing their ad-
vertising patronage. If the System
cannot reach the owner of the paper
directly—if he be proof against its
moral suasion, it can reach the ad-
vertiser, and under our modern meth-
ods no matter how independent a
publication may be it has one vulner-
able point—the business office.During the fight recently made by
the railroads against national legis-
lative control, the fourth estate be-
came the battle-ground. A large sum
of money, estimated at not less than
\$2,000,000 was raised for the cam-
paign by a pool of the railroad inter-
ests. One-quarter of this fund was
expended in an effort to influence the
public through the country press.
Over a million copies of a "Magazine
Section" were sent out weekly to all
who would use them, free and with-
out express paid. But the bulk of the
work was done through a publicity
bureau that card-indexed every editor
and publisher of a paper in the United
States. If he yielded to gentle influ-
ence, all right—he was sent proper
copy to use, but if he was incorrigi-
ble or stiff-necked, his record was
looked up, and if weak spots were
found in his personal or financial ar-
mor, he was promptly put on the rack.The result of this campaign demon-
strated the weakness of the fourth
estate as a factor in moulding public
opinion—the people have little or no
confidence in the opinions of the average
newspaper.This characterization of the press
must not be considered as universal.
There are a few great newspapers
that are still true to the best tradi-
tions of the fourth estate—but they
are not money makers, and it re-
quires money to run a great news-
paper. Unless a reaction towards
sane and honest journalism sets in
soon, they, too, will be compelled to
join the great majority.This evolutionary struggle for sur-
vival within the fourth estate has
brought forth a new type of journal-
ism, the type represented by the Pul-
itzer and Hearst papers. Here we
have the finest of yellow journalism
coupled with fearless editorial ex-
pression; news columns filled with
the most sensational claptrap side by
side with editorials expressing the
loftiest sentiment. The excuse offer-
ed for this unholy marriage of virtue
and vice is that the times demand it
—that the sensation is necessary to
secure the circulation—and circula-
tion is essential to a hearing—the
masses must be reached if they are
to be influenced.Mr. Pulitzer himself is said to pre-
fer the New York Evening Post to
all other American newspapers. When
asked why he did not publish such a
paper, he replied, "I want to talk
to a nation, not to a select com-
mittee."The decline of the newspaper as a
guiding force, left the great field of
the fourth estate open to the magi-
zines. These publications were for
many years regarded as a means of
recreation only, at once came to the
front as forums for the discussion of
great public questions. Men with
something to say could, through this
media, reach the public without run-
ning foul of the business office. Here
crimes could be exposed—great crimes
as well as crimes of the great. A
few magazine editors with their ear
to the ground heard the rumble of a
coming storm, and boldly pre-empted
the estate abandoned by the daily
press. Their reward was great—the
people hailed them as deliverers, and
their circulation and their revenue
grew apace. At last the high obli-
gations of the Fourth Estate were
to be shouldered by the great nation-
al weeklies and the militant month-
lies.That was three years ago. The
public is now much wiser regarding
the methods of millionaires than itonce was. A few of the mailed
knights remain in the list, avowed
champions of honest business, a
square deal and clean government,
but some of the foremost in the lists
of three years ago seem to have
grown weary of the contest. Have
they been made to feel the pressure
of the thumbscrew, or has public ap-
proval been outbid by private inter-
est? Why this silence and inactivity
where there was once the shout of
battle and the clash of arms? Is
the magazine to go the way of the
daily press? Is the fourth estate to
sink again to the level of the Ameri-
can House of Lords? It has been
demonstrated that a magazine may
give the truth to the world and live.
It must be expected however, that
any publication which challenges the
existing order will feel the heavy
hand of secret and persistent oppo-
sition. Publish to the world social or
financial rottenness, and you are a
"muckraker." But in this crisis the
"muckraker" is as essential to our
economic and moral sanitation as is
the "drain man."This is not a preachment on the
duties of the public press and its
moral obligations to organized soci-
ety, but the following observation is
so axiomatic that it may not be out
of place in this connection. Whenever
a newspaper, posing as a member of
the fourth estate, is run purely as a
business proposition or as a special
advocate, and in the chase after dol-
lars or in its efforts to accomplish
other things, suppresses or garbles
the news and devotes its editorial in-
fluence to selfish ends alone, it be-
comes a public menace, worse than a
venal public servant—worse than a
pirate on the high seas.—Richard A.
Haste.

Asquith on Conference.

(Continued from page 1.)

as unanimous. The Daily Graphic
observes that autonomy and stand-
ardization are the leading principles.
The Mail proclaims it one more
proof of the large patriotism and
imperial spirit of the British people.
The Morning Post says it is the foun-
dation of a great imperial system of
defence.The Standard says the scheme will
secure the outlying portions of the
Empire against any attack, but that
of a first class fleet and hopes the
highest posts in the Imperial navy
will be open to colonial sailors.The Daily Telegraph thinks the
statement is "the most epoch mak-
ing announcement of our time," but
adds respecting the Canadian scheme
that a few isolated ships of that sort
commit for practically nothing. The
important point, however, is that a
start is to be made and the end no
one can presume to tell.As is perhaps natural the Liberal
press takes advantage of the occa-
sion. The Chronicle declares that
the result of the conference is an-
other Liberal triumph. The Leader
remarks that the new scheme is an-
imated throughout by the same zeal
for the freedom of local liberties
which has marked in the past, the
great triumphs of the Liberal colonial
policy.The News makes one criticism re-
marking that there is no reason to
modify the views of all "competent
English authorities" that such scat-
tered forces will be of very little use
and argues that if the empire be im-
perilled it will be in European water.
The News adds that the older col-
onies have really become independent.
The Times says that broadly re-
marking, the conclusions of the con-
ference justify high expectations. It
welcomes particularly the creation of
the Pacific squadron and concludes
that the proposals open a new pe-
riod of Imperial history.

Telling Age of Cattle.

At twelve months an animal should
have all its calf milk incisors in
place.Fifteen months. At this age the
central pair of incisors (milk teeth)
may be replaced by a pair of per-
manent incisors (pinchers), these be-
ing through the gums, but not in
wear.Eighteen months. The middle pair
of central incisors at this age should
be fully up and in wear, but the next
pair (first intermediary) not yet
through the gums.Twenty-four months. The mouth at
this age will show two middle (per-
manent broad) incisors, fully up and
in wear.Thirty months generally shows six
broad permanent incisors, the middle
and first intermediary fully up and
in wear. The next pair (second inter-
mediary), well up, but not in use.Thirty-six months shows three full
pairs of broad teeth, which should be fully
up and in wear, and the corner milk
teeth may be shedding, with the cor-
ner permanents just appearing
through the gums.Thirty-nine months. Three pairs of
broad teeth will be fully up and in
wear; the corner teeth (incisors)
through the gum are not in wear.At the annual meeting of the Con-
servative association of Nokomis dis-
trict held last week, W. C. R. Gar-
rick, was elected president; T. S.
Riley, vice president, and G. A. V.
Backwalter, secretary.RECIPROCITY
FOR DOCTORSCanadian Medical Association
Are in Favor of Having
Inter-Provincial Registration
and Are Taking Steps to
Have It Carried Out.At the meeting of the Canadian
Medical Association held in Winnipeg
last week, a resolution was passed
favoring reciprocity between the dif-
ferent provinces.Toronto will be the next meeting
place of the association, and follow-
ing the usual custom, a Toronto man
was elected president for the ensuing
year, Dr. Adam H. Wright, a veter-
an practitioner of that city and pro-
fessor of obstetrics in Toronto uni-
versity since 1887, was chosen for the
high honor. The finance committee
which will also act as the publishing
committee and have charge of the
new medical journal to be launched
shortly by the association, is com-
posed of Doctors J. T. Potheringay,
S. J. Turnstall, Murray MacLaren, F.
N. G. Starr and James Bell. Dr.
George Elliott of Toronto was re-
elected general secretary, and Dr. H.
B. Small of Ottawa was elected
treasurer. As a testimony of his
very valuable work at different meet-
ings of the association, Dr. W. J.
Mayo, of Rochester, Minn., was elected
to honorary membership.The discussion on interprovincial
registration was long and animated
but all the speakers were agreed on
the general principles, however, much
they differed in their opinions as to
the best course to pursue to arrive
at the desired goal. After the open-
ing addresses of the mover and sec-
onders of the resolution, accredited
representatives from each of the pro-
vinces took the platform. So great
was the interest and so many of the
members were desirous of speaking
that the chairman was finally forced
to call a halt in order to get on with
other business. The resolution was
as follows:Moved by R. D. Powell, Ottawa,
seconded by Dr. R. S. Thornton, Del-
praine:That the Canadian Medical Asso-
ciation now in session urge upon Dr.
Roddick the great importance of im-
pressing upon the government and
parliament of Canada the desirability
of so amending the Canada Medical
Act of 1902 that when five or more
provinces agree to the provisions and
pass the necessary legislation to
make it effective, the bill may be-
come law and apply to those pro-
vinces which have so legislated.That in order to strengthen Dr.
Roddick's hands a committee be
formed from representatives of each
of the provinces to consult with him
on the provisions of the bill and as
to the amendments necessary or de-
sirable, and finally that the various
colleges of physicians and surgeons
or provincial licensing boards in the
Dominion be respectfully invited to
nominate at least one of their num-
ber to serve on such committee.Owing to the protracted discussion
on inter-provincial or Dominion regis-
tration, and the fact that the great
majority of the visitors wished to
take advantage of the trip on the
Red River there was but a very small
attendance when Dr. Hastings of To-
ronto, read the report on the "Milk
Problem." The ground covered by
the report was similar to that of
papers read during the early sessions
of the convention. Dominion Analyst
Anthony McGill and Dominion Veteri-
nary Surgeon Rutherford were pre-
sent and both addressed the meeting.

Minard's Liniment Cures Dandruff.

JUDICIAL SALE

TAKE NOTICE that pursuant to
the order of the Honorable Mr. Jus-
tice Newlands, dated herein the 25th
day of May, A.D. 1909, and made in
the action ofThe Great West Life Assurance Com-
pany,Plaintiff,
andFrederick Lieb; The New Hamburg
Manufacturing Company, Limited;
Parsons-Hawkeye Manufacturing
Company, Limited; Balcoski &
Woodlind; D. A. MacDonald; The
American-Abell Engine & Thresh-
ing Company, Limited, and the
J. I. Case Threshing Machine
Company,

Defendants,

There will be offered for sale at the
Office of Sheriff Cook, in the City of
Regina, at Twelve o'clock noon, on
SATURDAY, SEPT. 11, A.D. 1909
The following lands, namely: The
East Half of Section Fourteen (14),
and the North-West Quarter of
Section Three (3), all in Township Nine-
teen (19), in Range Eighteen (18),
West of the Second Meridian, in the
Province of Saskatchewan.TERMS: Twenty-five per cent. of
the purchase money to be paid at the
time of sale and the balance upon de-
livery of transfer, duly confirmed, and
subject to further conditions approved
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MONEY
TO LOAN

LOWEST CURRENT RATES

No waiting to submit applications.

DEBENTURES

Municipal and School Debentures
Bought and Sold