The Westward Movement as Reflected in Family Papers

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The materials for social history are many and varied — letters, diaries, contemporary periodicals, advertisements, account books, shopping lists, and any other items that give information on the life of a specific period. Of such is social and economic history made; and the same materials contribute to our knowledge of local history, for it, too, is largely social and economic in nature and is made up of the life stories of the people who have lived in a locality.

It is an ever cherished, seldom realized, hope of anyone interested in the raw material of social history that he may sometime make a find in the way of manuscript or other reminders of the past that will contribute to the knowledge of another generation. All too often search in old desks, barns, or attics yields little of interest. A packet of interesting looking papers may well be but the long and tiresome sermons of a pious and Calvinistic greatgrandfather, and a dozen letters carefully tied with faded ribbon may be epistles of love — sincere enough, even lyrical, but silly and mawkishly sentimental in any generation. Occasionally, however, when a family has lived long enough in one house to accumulate a quantity of impedimenta, the attic or lumber room may produce a treasure trove.

The letters from which the following excerpts were cut and which furnished most of the information for this sketch of pioneer life in the Middle West were found in a box labeled "Papers of Elizabeth Stearns" in the attic of an old house in Amherst, Massachusetts. The papers include the schoolgirl diaries of Elizabeth, who was born in

1 An address presented at the afternoon session of the ninety-fourth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on January 18, 1943. Ed.
2 Elizabeth Stearns married William Smith and became the grandmother of the writer's husband. Her papers are now in the possession of the writer. An article based upon the letters from Illinois will appear in a volume of Papers in Illinois History soon to be published by the Illinois State Historical Society.
1813; a score of letters that she wrote in the years from 1838 to 1858, when she was living in the little Illinois town of La Harpe, to which she went as a bride; and a dozen letters of a later date written by the Illinois family to a son who was a pioneer in Meeker County, Minnesota. These papers more or less cover the period from 1825 to 1875 and are sufficiently detailed to provide biographical material for Elizabeth herself and to furnish much information on life in New England in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and on conditions on the Illinois and Minnesota frontiers. The New England migration westward was of much significance in the development of the Middle West, and these diaries and letters are a case study in that migration, for they show the stuff of which the settlers were made, their equipment in character and training, and the sort of life they made for themselves under new and strange circumstances.

The Stearns family was of old New England stock; it was made up of seagoing folk who knew the world outside their own Massachusetts and who were accustomed to the fact that some member of the family in each generation would roam far afield. John Stearns, Elizabeth's father, had journeyed only as far as southern New Hampshire, where he was a prosperous farmer in the early 1800's, but one uncle was a sea captain who brought each niece a tea set from China for a wedding present, another was a coffee and sugar planter in Cuba before 1825, and an aunt was the mistress of a school for girls in Ohio at an even earlier date.

Elizabeth was the youngest of a large family, and she spent much of her girlhood with married sisters at Jaffrey and Peterborough in southern New Hampshire and at Cambridge in the Lake Champlain country. The constant interchange of visits on the part of the "sisterhood" gives a broad picture of New England life and travel for the period. School was attended wherever there was opportunity, and between terms there was constant self-education. Elizabeth read a great deal, and studied botany, "moral philosophy," and anatomy, reciting to whichever older sister was available. Some member of the family read aloud each evening as the others worked — novels, essays, history, or sermons. The Stearns family was Unitarian in faith and
attended “meeting” assiduously, but all its members were “sermon tasters” and not averse to the services of any denomination. Elizabeth wrote with interest of her first Episcopal service, but commented indignantly after listening to the rantings of Lorenzo Dow, Methodist revivalist, “We might as well have stayed to home!”

The New England girl learned to spin and weave, to cook and to sew — knowledge that stood her in good stead when she went to Illinois in 1837 as the bride of William Smith, whose family, a numerous Scotch-Irish clan, had lived in near-by Peterborough for many years. In Illinois, Smith showed Yankee ingenuity in adapting to the frontier. He bought and sold great tracts of prairie land and speculated in town lots; he owned and managed a store or two and a mill; and he bought agricultural products and took them on a flatboat down the Mississippi to New Orleans each season. Six children were born to them; two died infancy and one in early manhood. Those who reached maturity grew up in Illinois and were given the educational advantages that the family’s increasing prosperity made possible. The account of the Illinois years is a story in itself, but it is the enterprise of the next generation on the Minnesota frontier that concerns us here. The references to that enterprise are contained in the letters sent to Elizabeth’s son, Jonathan, during the years from 1870 to 1874.

From 1868 to 1870 Jonathan Smith was a student at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. The college and the town had been founded together in the 1830’s, when a colony of settlers from New York and New England had purchased a large tract of land in Knox County with the intention of securing their own economic betterment and at the same time of building a “manual labor” college, in which their own children and those of the frontier might be reared in piety and high ideals. Galesburg had been a center of antislavery sentiment, a station on the underground railroad, and the site of one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The college had grown until it was one of the leading institutions of the West, and its faculty list contained names long-renowned in American higher education. In the 1870’s both town and college expanded as a result of the construction of the
Burlington Railroad, which made Galesburg a marketing center for a rich agricultural district.

Young Jonathan Smith was enrolled in the college for several terms, but did not graduate. There are few evidences in his mother’s papers of his career there. Among them are a couple of receipted bills for tuition and board. Charges for those items at Knox were low; for the winter term beginning in January, 1870, seven dollars were paid for tuition, two dollars and ten cents for room rent, and two dollars for “contingent expenses.” A little homemade notebook devoted to the “Irregular Parts of the Greek Verb” remains witness to the classical training still in vogue. And a few letters from college friends were received in Minnesota by the youth who had become a frontier farmer no longer interested in Greek verbs.

In 1870, when Jonathan was twenty-one years old, his father, who had the growth of the West and the fever of land speculation in his blood, decided to start the boy off in the new frontier of the upper Mississippi Valley. Meeker County, Minnesota, directly west of the thriving state capital, St. Paul, was the area chosen for the new venture, which was not be be an inconsiderable one, for in the first letter to Minnesota—dated October 24, 1870—William Smith enclosed a draft for twenty-four hundred dollars. “This will pay for all those two quarters but 800 dollars,” he writes, “one half of which is to be paid in one year, the other in two years from date at 7 per cent interest.” The father urged that the son consult an attorney so that the title for the land would be clear and perfect, and the deed was to be recorded in the names of Jonathan and Albert, then nineteen, who was soon to join his brother in the project.*

This Minnesota venture was not the only new enterprise in which the elder Smith was interested. In May, 1871, he wrote Jonathan that he had decided against going into the banking business and had invested several thousand dollars in a steam mill in Hamilton, Missouri. He had hired a miller who had agreed to teach the craft to

* By 1874 the Smith brothers owned all of sections 27 and 28 of Darwin Township, directly west of the village of Darwin. Their lands are located on a map of Meeker County in A. T. Andreas’ Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, 168 (Chicago, 1874).
young “Allie.” The latter would then be ready to take charge of a flour mill which William Smith expected to build “somewhere in Minnesota.” Jonathan had evidently spent the preceding season in St. Paul and in Litchfield, but he was expected to build a “shanty” on the farm recently purchased near Darwin so that he could “break” the land for cultivation. His father’s letter mentioned that his mother had prepared for him clothing, sheets, and bedding material, which the elder Smith would take with him when he went to Minnesota in June to hunt for a millsite and to buy additional land. The letter ended with the admonition: “I want you to write at least as often as every two weeks and let us know all that is going on in Minnesota and everything that pertains to its resources and how we can avail ourselves of its advantages. How the handsome land in the vicinity of your farm stands in value to what it was last year and whether it can be obtained now.”

Young Jonathan was faced with problems for which his twenty-one years had failed to provide experience, and a request for help brought a reply from his father on May 26, 1871, which advised him to buy no more land until the father could get up to Minnesota to inspect it. “I think I see what those land sharks are out to get you to improve a quarter here and there to raise the value of their other lands in that vicinity,” he writes. “That won’t do, leave all in statu quo until I come up. . . . Ten dollars per acre is price enough for John E. Bell’s land.”

Seventeen-year-old Elizabeth — “Bessie” — wrote often to her older brother, and it is from her letters that information may be gleaned as to family life. She was studying algebra, Latin, and history with a tutor, and was busily engaged also in giving piano lessons to some ten or twelve pupils. On June 11, 1871, she wrote that her father “would start up the river tomorrow morning,” and that he intended

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*Warranty and quitclaim deeds for the lands mentioned in the present article are listed in a typewritten volume entitled “Meeker and Polk Counties, Minnesota: Warranty Deeds, Land Patents, Quit Claim Deeds, 1856-1875,” compiled by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution in 1931. One of the two copies prepared is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. References to the lands purchased by the Smith family are on pages 51, 52, 54, and 55 of the section devoted to warranty deeds, and on pages 7 and 8 of that listing quitclaim deeds.*
to stay until September. Albert was working at the Hamilton mill, and she and her mother were alone in La Harpe. She was working hard at her Latin and wrote that their mother expected Jonathan, too, to keep up his studies and was sending a volume of Sallust and a lexicon in the box of supplies for the farm.

The visit to Minnesota in the summer of 1871 evidently convinced William Smith that Jonathan had business acumen enough to manage the family interest in the north country, for in a letter of September 24 he wrote that he was sending Jonathan a draft to pay for part of the land purchased in the summer and would leave it entirely to the young man's judgment whether they should buy, at nine dollars an acre, a tract offered them by a land company of St. Paul and some timber near the land Jonathan was farming in Darwin Township. He had purchased two teams of mules, wagons, and harness for the farm and would send them up the river as soon as the water was high enough for freight boats. If possible he would send a boy with them to keep Jonathan company on the farm through the winter.

William Smith, Jr., then thirty years of age, had been in business in Chicago for some time. There are few references to him in family letters. Whether or not he remained as "wayward" and as difficult to influence as he had been as a boy, it is impossible to state. In October of 1871, however, he was home for an enforced vacation made necessary by the great Chicago fire, which had destroyed the business building in which he worked. He wrote to Jonathan that he had come home for a rest. "I was up all night 8th October and did not have a full night's sleep for a week afterwards so great was the confusion and excitement in that part of Chicago which was spared from the flames," reads William's letter. He reports that Dr. Foster, the husband of his aunt, Nancy Stearns, "lost very heavily as the greater portion of the improvements on his property was destroyed, and he was not insured at all. His house was burned and everything of his furniture, they only saving their clothing and his papers." The house of the doctor's son-in-law, William Bass, "was not burned and the Dr. and Aunt Nancy will live with him this winter. The fire came up to within two or three blocks of 281 Michigan Ave. where I
boarded, and we all made up our minds to change quarters and had luggage all packed, but they finally controlled the fire by blowing up buildings and tearing down others.”

Mrs. Smith added her account of the damage done by the fire to William’s story and expressed her thankfulness that he and her friends in Chicago had sustained only property loss. She wrote that she was sending a box to Minnesota containing dried apples and peaches, flannel shirts, woolen underwear, overshoes, and the father’s fur cap and blue overcoat, “which last he insisted on sending because it is so warm.” She sent, too, back numbers of the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic*, the *Galaxy*, and the *Old and New*, as well as a package of copies of the *New York Tribune*. She expressed the “hope that you will find good reading to while away the long evenings of the coming winter. I am feeling exceedingly troubled about your being so much alone there, knowing that you are rather inclined to seclude yourself,” she continues. “I hope you will cultivate such society as is within your reach, if it is not just what you would desire. Take good care of your health, dress warm, and do not expose yourself too much to extreme cold — and another request I have to make is that you write home as often as every two weeks. — Those long periods of silence cause me much anxiety and ought not to be among the members of a family that feel a good degree of interest in each others’ welfare.”

Later in November, 1871, Smith wrote Jonathan that he was sending a draft for fifteen hundred dollars to pay for an additional quarter section of land just purchased and mentioned the possibility of buying another adjoining Jonathan’s farm. He wrote that Allie would go up in the spring with the teams and that he would take also a barrel of sorghum, a barrel of salt pork, some sides of bacon, and a hundred bushels of corn to feed the teams. The prosperity and the speculative enterprise of the day were shown in Smith’s statement that he would like to buy Northern Pacific Railroad bonds, since he would have five thousand dollars to invest in the spring. In December young Albert wrote that he would go to Minnesota to stay, “mill or no mill.” His brief experience in business had not been particularly pleasant,
for the venture had cost more than had been expected, and the profits had been less than had been hoped. But, as he wrote, it had been a good chance for him to learn something of business life; "I can say at least that I have been through the mill!"

During the Christmas season Albert and Elizabeth, who had been studying music in Quincy, were at home, and various members of the family wrote Jonathan of their regret that he could not be with them. Elizabeth wrote of her delight over reading Holmes' *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and of the dramatic plot of the *Scarlet Letter*. The high points of her winter, however, had been a concert in Quincy, in which she had sung a selection from one of Rossini's operas, and a civic lecture course the climax of which had been the appearance of Emerson, who delivered his lecture on "Immortality." Jonathan had at some time jokingly offered to get his sister a position as a teacher in a Minnesota school, and in this Christmas letter Elizabeth mentioned the project with some seriousness. Their father, she said, was planning to send her and their mother to Minnesota in the summer, and a summer session of school or a class of music students might be a means for earning a little money to apply on the cherished project of a year at Vassar College.

Mrs. Smith wrote, too, during the holidays — a letter of regret that Jonathan could not share the reunion with them. "I know it must be very hard and unpleasant," her letter reads, "for you to live as you are doing this winter, and I would say nothing to make you feel disheartened or discouraged, but I am rather gratified that you have 'clear grit' enough to endure all the discomforts and privations in your way of living. And then it has been so terrible cold up there. I lie awake sometimes in the cold nights, thinking perhaps you are suffering, but I try not to worry about it. I hope you have plenty of good reading and will make yourself as comfortable as possible and avoid being out in the extreme cold. . . . I shall feel very anxious if we do not hear from you at least once in two weeks."

The father, too, was alarmed that Jonathan was spending the winter alone in his little shanty and wrote anxiously that he must get some boy to live with him or, better still, try to find a man and his
wife who could "keep house" for him. If he lacked money to pay for help, he was to write for it, for both father and mother were worried about him and would be glad to pay any amount necessary to assure his comfort.

Mrs. Smith wrote again on January 28 to express her relief and happiness over a letter from Jonathan, who seems never to have long adhered to the letter "once in two weeks" schedule desired by his parents. "I can hardly describe to you the relief which your last letter afforded us," she writes. "Your living alone and the accounts of the extreme cold weather up there we thought were sufficient grounds for anxiety. Even Father who you know is not given to needless worrying, expressed himself troubled on your account. I trust that before this you have provided yourself with a companion of some kind and that you have plenty of good nourishing food and warm clothing as a defense against the inclement season. I know that you are naturally prudent and cautious, but I am in constant fear that some evil may befall you, therefore you will excuse me for urging upon you the necessity of doubling your diligence in the care and preservation of your health and comfort." Mrs. Smith's solicitude was so great that she wrote that she would use all her influence to have Allie go to Minnesota in the spring, despite the fact that she hated the thought of separation from both sons. But she unknowingly blasted her daughter's hope of going to Vassar College with the remark that "Bessie wants to enter school somewhere next fall. I do not know where, but I do not want to have her to go far from home." Knox Academy was evidently as far away as this youngest child was to be permitted to go.

Jonathan's friends in St. Paul were also concerned because of his lonely existence on the prairie farm in midwinter. William B. Quinn wrote to him from St. Paul on January 29, 1872: "I find that you have written to Brother [W. B.] Hendrickson of your sad plight of housekeeping. A sure cure for Batching is to get married, and I have no doubt that there are a number of young ladies in Minnesota who would be willing to assume the responsible duties of a good housewife for the sake of being called Mrs. Smith. This being leap year we expect there will be more weddings than last. Why should there not
be? It is one day longer. Get a 'frau' and make us a bridal visit. I had some 25 bushels of winter wheat ground this winter so we have plenty of flour to make a wedding cake and sugar to sweeten it!"

In the late 1860's the Granger movement had got under way, and through it the farmers of the country soon became convinced that they could find answers to all their problems. In many Middle Western towns local Granges provided social centers and agencies for self-help, and Jonathan's St. Paul friends were enthusiastic supporters of the movement. In the letter quoted above Quinn wrote of the St. Paul association: "Our Grange is flourishing. Some new members every month, and we are getting out of debt. We had our Worthy Master of the State Grange with us last meeting. He gave us a good address and thought that good times are soon coming. We elected Bro. [William] Paist as store agent, and we want a store of our own so that we can buy a little cheaper. Most of all we want members throughout the state so that we can set a price on our wheat and other farm products and then you will see the Patrons of Husbandry arise and assert their rights and be men among men. This day will soon come!"

In February, Smith wrote Jonathan that Allie would leave for Minnesota in March and that the whole family would be there for the summer. Bessie had, he said, improved so much in her music that she and the boys could form a concert troupe to rival the Hutchinsons. He wrote with gratification of the progress in railroad building: "We have now a train of cars running through our town every day from St. Paul to St. Louis, crossing the river at Burlington and coming out from there on our branch to Bushnell and thence to St. Louis. . . . It [the train] comes from St. Paul to our place in 19 or 20 hours, so you see, we are only 24 hours distance from each other. I want you to write every week as we are very anxious to hear from you as you are all alone. I don't think it prudent for you to live so, and I shall try to get a family to come up in the spring to keep house for you."

The manuscript minutes and other records of the St. Paul organization, which was known as the North Star Grange, are preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society. They reveal that in 1872 William Paist was its secretary. The meeting described in Quinn's letter was held on January 27. Both Quinn and Hendrickson were active members of the Grange and are frequently mentioned in its records.

The branch mentioned was probably an offshoot of the Toledo, Peoria and Warsaw Railroad, which crossed Illinois and went through La Harpe.
On February 26 Smith wrote of his disappointment over the outcome of his venture in the milling business, saying that he had paid out over five thousand dollars and could not see any immediate return for the expenditure, “which shows that a man should keep out of that business he knows nothing about.” He wrote, too, of the horses and wagons, the molasses, salt pork, lard, and other supplies that he had purchased to send to Minnesota. He had ordered the *New York Tribune* and the *Golden Age* to be sent to the Minnesota address and recommended another paper to Jonathan, the editor of which was a "very able liberal, the Theodore Parker of our age."

In this letter there was the first mention of an illness that was within a year or two to cause Smith's death. A “tumor” had been developing on his lower jaw, and the local physicians insisted that it must be removed. He and his wife were about to go to Keokuk to consult other doctors. Apparently those who examined him all agreed upon the necessity for the operation, for a month later William, Jr., who seems to have been called home because of the impending operation, wrote Jonathan that a Keokuk doctor officiated and that his father had recovered well from the effects of the chloroform. Both Allie and Bessie had gone home because of the father's illness, and they all assured Jonathan that things were going well and that "in a fortnight or so we expect it to be about healed over." Elizabeth wrote that her father thought “that after he gets over this that he will feel ten years younger than he did before, for which we ought to be so thankful. We would be truly out at sea without rudder, should we lose his kindly counsel and discretion. Perhaps you, from your long separation from friends, are learning to be self-sustaining and to look within for your help, but to me, the older I grow and the more I see of the world, and as the great questions of *how to live* and *what to do* keep ever recurring in the thousand different forms they will come to a young girl, the more I feel the need of counsel and help from some one that has more wisdom and practical experience than I. I thought perhaps being away from home all winter would wean me away from home and the old association connected with it, but I believe, on the contrary, it has rather strengthened my attachment for dear old stupid La Harpe. I have even begun to be a little sceptical
about going away to school, and then I don’t think we all ought to desert father and mother just when they need us the most.”

Early in April Mrs. Smith wrote of the continued progress of her husband, giving evidence of the peculiar medical ideas of the period in her remark that the fact that the wound healed slowly and discharged freely was indication that all of the impurities in his system were being carried away and that he would soon be more vigorous than before—and that despite the admission that the patient was “much reduced in strength”!

Mrs. Smith was much interested in Albert’s plan to join Jonathan in Minnesota and glad, in a way, that he would be removed from certain “influences” at home. Twenty-year-old Allie was evidently a bit gay, very popular with the girls, and inclined to spend whatever he earned on any good times that might come his way. “I mention these things not to disparage him,” his mother writes, “but to show you that it may require a little management and indulgence on your part till he gets interested in his new occupation. He is energetic and capable in business matters, and you know was always a good worker. With a little of your prudent advice and influence, I think [he] will infuse the right element into your business. I am aware that it will require a great deal of good management as well as patience and perseverance on your part to succeed in the business you have undertaken, but I have faith to believe that you are equal to the emergency. It is our utmost wish that you should do so. Though you may not be able to realize huge profits at first, I hope you both will be laying the foundations for substantial comfort in a few years.... It would be very gratifying to Father if you were more communicative, as the Minnesota enterprise is a pet project with him—so much so that the other children are inclined to think that he is a little partial, but he means to treat all alike only he thought you were best fitted to carry out his favorite plans.”

River navigation, although late to begin in 1872, was in full swing by the first of May, and Albert was met by Jonathan in St. Paul. Mrs. Smith and Elizabeth both wrote on May 13 of their delight in hearing of the safe arrival of Albert with the farm hand and his housekeeper wife, who had been secured to aid the boys, and the
various items of livestock and equipment that had been purchased for the farm. Elizabeth wrote also of her delight in the new piano that had been a surprise gift from her parents when she returned from Quincy, and both mother and daughter wrote with regret of the slow progress the father was making in recovery from his operation.

The weather in the spring of 1872 was unpropitious for farmers up and down the river. The snow had been heavy and it melted late, and the river was in flood through May and June. Mrs. Smith wrote on June 8 that La Harpe had had no mail for days, since both boats and railroads were having difficulties because of flood waters and torrential rains. She was very desirous of knowing how work was progressing on the Minnesota farm, of how Allie was fitting in, and whether or not the new housekeeper was proving satisfactory. She inquired about the food and other supplies that had been sent to them, and wanted to know what further things they might need that the family could take when they set forth in July for the trip north.

Smith's health did not improve as the family had hoped, and in June the doctor gave him the first warning that the growth on his face might prove malignant. In July he went to Jacksonville for a second operation and for prolonged treatment with some sort of a battery. There seemed little prospect that he could make the trip to Minnesota that season, if at all, and Mrs. Smith seemed to be preparing herself and the boys in the letters of July for acceptance of the idea that her husband's illness might be fatal. The treatment given him in Jacksonville, however, seems to have caused at least a temporary improvement, for the next letters from Mrs. Smith and Bessie were written in August from St. Paul when the three from La Harpe were resting for a few days prior to starting down the river once more after their visit to the boys at Darwin. Despite his precarious health, William Smith was still interested in Minnesota land and was sending word back to the boys that he had purchased, for nine dollars an acre, at the St. Paul land office a tract in which they had been interested.

A letter from La Harpe dated October 6 is the last of those for
1872. In it Mrs. Smith wrote of her husband’s approaching operation—the third to remove the obviously cancerous growth from his jaw. They did not have much confidence that this attempt would be any more successful than the preceding ones. She was concerned, also, because of the departure of the housekeeper who had been left to cook for the boys on the Minnesota farm. It was, apparently, to be necessary for the two to get along as best they could by themselves, and, distressed though she was, she found it a comfort that they were together and that Allie, at least, knew the rudiments of cooking.

This last anxious letter brings to an end the written record that began with the early diary of the thirteen-year-old New Hampshire school girl. At some time during the next year William Smith died. Mrs. Smith and Elizabeth remained in La Harpe until the family affairs there were settled, Elizabeth going to Knox Academy for a term or two when her mother did not need her too desperately. Jonathan and Albert continued to manage the Minnesota farms which became their share of their father’s estate, and were joined there for at least one winter by their mother and sister. Sometime after 1874 they sold their holdings in Minnesota and moved on to South Dakota, where they bought a large tract of land on which they had high hopes of making great profit. By that time they had both married, so that, when the crash in South Dakota values came with the drought and grasshoppers in the late 1880’s, they were in difficult straits.

Jonathan managed to pull out and went on to Tacoma, Washington, where he again indulged in land speculation, this time in town lots, for he believed that Tacoma and not Seattle would be the great western seaport. After years of difficulty he managed to retrieve his fortunes to some extent and lived in comfort until well past eighty. Albert remained in South Dakota, where his life in a small town was long and uneventful. For many years he held a minor county office that provided him with a livelihood. He, too, lived to a very old age, and his two sons, one a mining the other a civil engineer, wandered far afield in pursuit of their professions and, perchance, in search of a modern version of a frontier.