

IN SEARCH OF A USEABLE—AND
HOPEFUL—ENVIRONMENTAL NARRATIVE
IN THE MID-ATLANTIC

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Abstract: Beyond a survey of some of the most recent traditional and public environmental history scholarship and trends in the Mid-Atlantic, this article—drawing from and reinterpreting the Turner Frontier Thesis—argues that the region both embodies broad currents of US environmental history and helped to establish American attitudes and patterns of behavior that migrated westward and shaped the course of national development. The article suggests that a Mid-Atlantic environmental history marked by such stories as mountaintop removal coal mining, urbanization, industrial disaster, environmental injustice, and the despoliation and ongoing recovery of rivers and watersheds like the Chesapeake and the Hudson is not only “typically” but “exceptionally” American. Further, the author notes that geography, environment, and natural resource history have shaped and informed heritage areas and other important recent work in public history, seeing in those trends the genesis of an era in which regional and subbioregional environmental histories can help inform and inspire new directions toward a more hopeful and sustainable future.

Keywords: Mid-Atlantic Region; Frederick Jackson Turner; Frontier Theory; mountaintop removal; environmental history; Chesapeake Bay; Hudson River; water pollution; Anacostia River; West Virginia; New Jersey; Hawk’s Nest Tunnel Disaster; MCHM pollution; environmental historiography; Pittsburgh; Donora; pollution; Mid-Atlantic region

This essay begins with a discomfiting posture for any historian: intellectual surrender. In order to offer a lens through which we might reimagine the environmental history of the Middle Atlantic, I want to suggest that it is time to consider the possibility that a cohesive environmental narrative for the region along the lines of William Cronon's seminal work on New England, and the subsequent excellent histories of other regions that have followed, may not be forthcoming.¹ I am driven to the prospect of a white-flag position in part by the sprawling nature of the physical and cultural geography of the Mid-Atlantic and the longstanding difficulties of even defining its precise outer boundaries. It may very well be that I am wrong, that a synthetic interpretation of an area that extends from the estuaries of Chesapeake Bay up the Piedmont to the Appalachian Mountains, and northeast to Long Island, Staten Island and on to the Catskills—no less, according to some definitions, the upper reaches of the Adirondack Mountains and the shores of the eastern Great Lakes—may be achievable. A holistic environmental history of the Mid-Atlantic could quite logically, for example, employ a watery scheme. One might begin at the mouth of Chesapeake, Delaware, and New York Bay and Long Island Sound, continue north and northwestward via the migration and settlement patterns that largely followed the major rivers coursing through and jutting around the mountainous, historical heart of the region. This framework would demonstrate the centrality of waterways to a region where the diagonally cutting Appalachian Mountains loom so large, and presumably reveal the inextricably entwined relationships of land, water, and people.² It is hard to not notice, however, that no one has yet done it—deterred perhaps by the dozen or more watersheds within the region whose individual histories complicate and make daunting indeed such an epic-scoped framework.

Although every region poses its own unique set of challenges in this regard, the environmental history of the Mid-Atlantic has unfolded across centuries on a vast landscape of some 200,000 square miles of widely variegated natural features and cultural influences, as well as complex, interrelated but often discrete, historically determinative forces that are in some ways more challenging than the more culturally identifiable and geographically delineated South or Rocky Mountain West, for example, have proven to be. Even the best environmental histories of bioregions within the Mid-Atlantic—see, for example, David Stradling's very fine *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State*—have laid bare the inborn challenges of such a project. If the monumentally significant Chesapeake Bay watershed of 64,000 square miles that embraces parts of six states and the nation's capital is not mighty enough to frame a comprehensive environmental history, it may be time for another tack.

After endless rumination over this question of a delimiting biophysical, geographic logic for the Mid-Atlantic, I want to suggest that we think in new directions that might help cultivate a different kind of regional environmental identity. In search of a pole star, I have come back—don't we all, eventually, willingly or not?—to Frederick Jackson Turner, who declared in his famous 1893 Frontier Thesis that the Mid-Atlantic, by virtue of its "Middle" position geographically, pluralistic cultural makeup and patterns of political organization, was "nonsectional," least conscious of itself as a region. Further, Turner argued that the "Middle region," possessing a unifying determinative focus of "material prosperity," was "typically American."³ Well what does *that* mean, then or now? And how could this reductive and pompous characterization possibly be helpful here? Turner's thesis has been exhaustively and rightly critiqued for over a century. And yet the fundamental impulse of what might still be deemed an intellectually brave search for unifying currents of American political and cultural life may be instructive in thinking about how to frame the far-flung nature of Mid-Atlantic environmental history. Indeed, not long ago in these very pages historian James Longhurst intimated this argument, positing that while we might well not accept Turner's premise of a search for national identity or character, the eminent historian had put his finger on the natural features and historical forces that are foundational to Mid-Atlantic environmental history.⁴

At the risk of revealing myself a closet Turnerian, I want to chase this idea a bit further. Stipulating that no region's story mirrors or is prognostic of another, it is also true that *this* region not only embraces broad currents of US environmental history, but it also helped establish those attitudes and patterns of environmental behavior that migrated westward and shaped the course of development as well as ideas about "nature" in the United States. Further, its expansive and variegated geography holds a rich assemblage of pivotal episodes as well as key figures of environmental history. I am irresistibly drawn to the notion that the Mid-Atlantic is not just typically, but exceptionally American. It may be that we have the whole shebang right here in the Mid-Atlantic. As Longhurst noted, the Mid-Atlantic possesses a concentration of transformational patterns of the national environmental story, from the fateful encounter of Native peoples and Europeans to westward moving, market-driven, monoculture cash cropping, industrialization, intensive natural resource extraction, and the resulting policy response to environmental crises since the second half of the last century.

Underneath that history, however, may lie something more fundamental. Turner was more right than he knew in locating the font of what we now agree is a profoundly problematic frontier mythology in the Mid-Atlantic. And if national patterns of development and endlessly expanding economic growth are logically derivative of Turner's assertion of the Mid-Atlantic as single-mindedly driven by "material prosperity," might it be that the Mid-Atlantic represents a kind of Rosetta Stone for understanding important national elements of both historical and contemporary environmental experience? Is it not true, after all, that the bedrock of our environmental crisis *is* the frontier myth, the idea that there always is *more*, that Americans are entitled to it, that consumption without consequence is our birthright, and that whatever environmental or resource-related scarcity problems attend our consumer-driven industrial society will ultimately be solved by our national scientific and technological genius?

What follows, then, is a brief survey of key elements and representative patterns of Mid-Atlantic environmental history, particularly (though not exclusively) as revealed in recent scholarship, that on the whole suggest that there just might be value in asserting the region as not only "typically American," but emphatically so. Even as geography and the wide-ranging body of multi- and interdisciplinary scholarly work of the past generation remind us how wildly disparate this "least sectional" section of the nation is, it could be that on one level its very expansive nature holds the key to formulating a cohesive environmental narrative and identity for the region. I will suggest, too, the importance of putting to work in the public sphere the enlivening trends of the field in ways that can help secure a more hopeful environmental future. From the depletion of fisheries to endless ecologically punishing fossil fuel extraction to the fouling of urban waterways because there was always more open water to dilute the waste, the Mid-Atlantic distills much of America's frontier ethos. Fortunately, it also has encapsulated Americans' love of "nature," as well as the sobering confrontation with environmental crisis that together have given rise to inspiring, heartening movements for environmental recovery.

No matter where the outer perimeters are drawn, most interpretations of the Mid-Atlantic and its environmental history point to the Chesapeake Bay and its watershed as the identifying natural epicenter of the region. Featuring the third-largest estuary in the world, holding more miles of shoreline than the entire west coast of the United States, its watershed embracing more than 100,000 rivers and streams, the Chesapeake has earned a massive body of

literature. The most comprehensive volume may be *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, a multidisciplinary compendium examining the Chesapeake's remarkable natural and human history. Beginning with the origins and complex hydrological systems of the bay, continuing with the Native American presence and enduring imprint on the landscape, and extending through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of intensifying human exploitation of the fishery and related natural systems, the collection makes clear the profound, centuries-long interconnections between the waters of the Chesapeake, the peoples of the region, and the critical importance of land use throughout the watershed. Although flawed in a number of respects, Richard D. Albright's recent work, *Death of the Chesapeake: A History of the Military's Role in Polluting the Bay*, suggests an important area of critical examination for scholars of this and many other regions: the central role that largely unregulated manufacture and disposal of munitions (including chemical weapons) for the US military have had in polluting the bay over the past century.

John R. Wennersten's acclaimed works on the bay are also worth noting—*The Oyster Wars of the Chesapeake* and *The Chesapeake: An Environmental Biography*. The latter delivers a scientific, eloquent, and nuanced history of the bay that leaves the reader with a disquieting sense that, despite decades of scientific research and fervent "Save the Bay" activism, this watery cradle of American civilization remains endangered. One comes away with the discomforting conclusion that there are no villains here; we are all descendant from and beneficiaries of a history of tobacco, logging, canal and railroad building, over-oystering, and I-95. We have met the despoiled watery frontier and she is us.

If as Jack Temple Kirby has declared, the history of Virginia without the Chesapeake is "unthinkable," and if we extend that assertion to the Mid-Atlantic and its environmental history, and if indeed the Mid-Atlantic is a defining region that established key patterns of American experience, we might logically ask whether the current state of the bay is not also distressingly prognostic.⁵ It may be instructive to ask what the history and continually threatened Chesapeake suggests about the fate of less iconic waters and watersheds elsewhere.

The Chesapeake epitomizes how elemental the region's waterways are to Mid-Atlantic environmental history. Wennersten's *Historic Waterfront of Washington DC* traces the central role of the Potomac and Anacostia rivers

in shaping the course of the nation's capital. Peter C. Mancall's *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* delivers an environmental and economic history of an important connective waterway in the northern reaches of the Mid-Atlantic. Mancall argues that following an early period of generally benign economic and cultural exchange and localized, modest impacts on the biophysical landscape, powerful economic forces tied to the transatlantic economy altered relations among peoples and accelerated the pace of environmental transformation. He offers an enlightened understanding of how distant but powerful economic forces in colonial America could transform both human and natural worlds—an urgently relevant thesis for our own time. Moreover, as Strother E. Roberts has pointed out, Mancall discards any attempt to delimit his study by arbitrary political divisions, and instead grants determinative agency to the natural features of the Upper Susquehanna to shape his work. The river, its tributaries, and the natural features of the Upper Susquehanna drive the story—demonstrating, among other things, the historiographical distance we have traveled from Turner.⁶

One of the great cities of the world and ostensibly the very definition of an “unnatural” place, New York City and its Lower Hudson River bioregion have been the subject of original and important works that collectively are helping to reshape urban environmental history. Betsy McCully's *City at the Water's Edge: A Natural History of New York* posits that New York City's resplendence might be surpassed only by the wondrous depth of its natural history. McCully reminds us that, despite centuries of human transformation, Gotham remains an urban ecosystem whose history and current condition portend important lessons as we ponder the fate of this and all coastal cities in a climate-changed world. Straddling environmental history and ecojournalism, Tom Anderson's *This Fine Piece of Water: An Environmental History of Long Island Sound* examines one of America's most beautiful but heavily used and abused estuaries.

Robert D. Lifset's recent *Power on the Hudson: Storm King Mountain and the Emergence of Modern American Environmentalism* offers a compelling account of this monumentally significant episode in the shifting terrain of environmental law in the 1960s. Lifset makes clear that what happens on land—Long Island's celebrated suburbanization, for example—is every bit as important as its marine history. Frances Dunwell's exquisitely illustrated *The Hudson: America's River* underscores the Hudson River's exalted place in

both the nation's emerging nature aesthetic of the early nineteenth century and, by the 1960s, the national movement to confront the crisis of severely degraded waterways. Finally, Matthew Gandy's *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* weaves issues of public space, environmental justice, and shifting, often-contested conceptions of "nature" into a multilayered history of the city's water supply, Robert Moses's parkways, and the creation of Central Park to produce a book that might well establish a pathbreaking new direction for urban environmental history. Gandy's book is perhaps most striking for its deft extension of the past into the present, shedding light on how past public policies, social movements, and the pastoral ideal of nature are visibly expressed in the contemporary landscape of New York City.

Moreover, in this and other recent works of both traditional and public environmental scholarship throughout the Mid-Atlantic we find a realization



FIGURE 1: Since the 1820s, the Hudson River has been an iconic place in the American environmental imagination. That history continued in the 1960s, by which time the river had become a horrific, representative microcosm of river pollution across the country. Its recovery over the past decades has been equally significant, helping to point the way toward more sustainable management of waterways everywhere. Photo courtesy of Riverkeeper.org.

of Van Wyck Brooks's century-old call for a "useable" American past. As Vagel Keller argued recently in these pages, the need for environmental narratives of the past to inform contemporary policy choices has never been more imperative. Keller specifically urged an application of the principles of environmental justice to the region's largely impoverished rural countryside that is threatened increasingly by the expansion of natural gas hydrofracturing in the Marcellus Shale.⁷ Turner is never far away: the extractive frontier of opportunity never "closed" in *any* of America's Wests. Like North Dakota, large swaths of Pennsylvania have been riding high the new "fracking" frontier of massive natural gas and oil development—even as the legacies of past fossil fuel extraction persist.⁸

As I have written recently, museums and other sites of public history throughout the region have been moving increasingly toward addressing the manifold resonant links between the region's environmental history and contemporary local, national, and planetary concerns from river restoration to global warming. Natural history institutions such as New York City's American Museum of Natural History and the Cayuga Nature Center in Ithaca, New York, have in the past decade featured powerful exhibitions illustrating the macro and regional impacts of climate change, the paramount environmental issue of our time.⁹

Even more impressive was the Smithsonian's Anacostia Museum exhibit in 2013 titled "Reclaiming the Edge: Urban Waterways and Civic Engagement," a multilayered, historically framed examination of Anacostia River history. The exhibition vividly chronicled the profound effects of human settlement and development on the river, pointedly addressing along the way issues of environmental justice and the larger "social and racial ecology" of the city—specifically the ways in which the befouling of the Anacostia disproportionately impacted its overwhelmingly African American and economically distressed communities. After noting the river's role in shaping culture, recreational life, and local identity, the exhibit emphasized the importance of local grassroots citizen activism over the past few decades in restoring the Anacostia. The exhibition extended these themes across the Mid-Atlantic to other urban waterways, the Allegheny and Monongahela of the Pittsburgh region, and then flung its net toward the Los Angeles River, the Thames of London, Suzhou Creek in Shanghai. With John R. Wennersten serving as lead consulting historian, the exhibition offered a dynamic, inspiring model for how other museums might address the complex history of all forms of environmental degradation. Beyond demonstrating the important but

overlooked fact that environmental history lies under our feet and in the life-giving waters of every community, the exhibit shined a rare spotlight on the role of citizen activism in redressing the recklessness of the past.¹⁰ Although the movement to reclaim and restore urban waterways after more than a century of exploitation is certainly not unique to the Mid-Atlantic, the telling of this history at a neighborhood satellite of the nation's museum situated near the watery heart of the region suggested limitless opportunities elsewhere to pull the lessons of the environmental past into the public realm.

As with the Anacostia, the topography of the Mid-Atlantic is wrinkled by historic waterways of generally less appreciated national significance. Historian and author Adam Goodheart recently made a compelling case for the Brandywine River. More a creek than a river, the unassuming Brandywine that runs with increasing insistence from southeastern Pennsylvania toward Wilmington, Delaware, became the source of one of the nation's important early manufacturing enterprises: the DuPont Company. As Goodheart says, DuPont explosives "blasted the way for the Erie Canal and the transcontinental railroads; opened veins of California gold and Nevada silver; cut terrible swaths of destruction through Confederate armies, Indian tribes, and buffalo herds."¹¹ Fittingly, the built landscape of the Brandywine's rich history is now a centerpiece of Delaware's first national park.

The north-flowing Monongahela's watershed fans out across the mountains and valleys of northern West Virginia, its main stem coursing famously into Pittsburgh, where it meets the Allegheny and Ohio. The "Mon" was critical to the shipbuilding that opened the trans-Appalachian west, as well as the steel-making enterprise of Andrew Carnegie. Alongside this important economic history there lies the environmental nightmare of the "Donora Smog." In October 1948 the residents of Donora experienced the worst air pollution disaster in American history, one that killed twenty people outright and led to the premature deaths of many more unnumbered.¹² The event proved instrumental in the national movement to address the scourge of air pollution, something the now largely deindustrialized community embraced a decade ago with the opening of the Donora Smog Museum, whose slogan reads proudly, "Clean Air Started Here." According to Brian Charlton, its volunteer director, the museum continually strives "to make a clear and natural connection to contemporary environmental concerns . . . [learning] the lessons the smog disaster has to teach us . . . and [applying] them in an active and diligent way" on issues ranging from the nation's energy needs to climate change.¹³

Shrouded in those same mountains on the western edge of the Mid-Atlantic are other environmental histories of national import. The Hawks Nest Tunnel Disaster of the early 1930s that took the lives of at least 700 men—the vast majority poor African Americans from the South—under Gauley Mountain, West Virginia, has only fairly recently been brought into the orbit of environmental history. The nation's worst industrial disaster transpired over a period of years as desperate Depression-era workers quickly succumbed to silicosis while tunneling through 16,240 feet of silica-rich Gauley Mountain on a project engineered by Union Carbide. Generally forgotten for decades, Hawks Nest has been given new consideration by historians like Robert Gottlieb in light of the environmental justice movement that emerged in the 1980s, as well as coincidental, overlapping efforts to forge a new relationship between the environmental and labor movements around occupational and public health issues.¹⁴

Gauley Mountain stands near the southeast end of Kanawha Valley, known to many in West Virginia as “Chemical Valley” for the extensive concentration of chemical plants—according to one study, the largest in the country for nearly a century.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, it also has been the scene of rising cancer rates, along with repeated accidental chemical releases into the environment. Most recently a spill of 10,000 gallons of a chemical compound known as MCHM in January 2014 contaminated the drinking water of more than 300,000 people.¹⁶ MCHM's use in coal processing links it to another environmental story of enormous consequence, albeit obscure to most Americans who don't live there: mountaintop removal coal mining. Although more firmly belonging to the eleven-state expanse of terrain we know as Appalachia than the Mid-Atlantic—here again, the problem with geographic boundaries—the long history of coal and its effects on both nature and communities straddles the two regions. Mountaintop removal has leveled more than 500 mountains and buried hundreds of miles of streams across 1.5 million acres, devastating areas of southern West Virginia and southwestern Virginia, encompassing one of the most biologically rich regions in North America.¹⁷

Other stories are concerned not with plunder but conservation. Driven by the economic desperation of the Great Depression, and further inspired by a desire to reverse the effects of deforestation around the country, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Civilian Conservation Corps in April 1933 near Luray, Virginia. The “CCC Boys” there and elsewhere left a remarkable and complex legacy that helped to shape the future of conservation.¹⁸ Among their contributions was helping to advance the Appalachian Trail as



FIGURE 2: Practiced in the Mid-Atlantic and Appalachian regions since the 1960s, Mountaintop Removal (MTR) employs fewer workers and allows companies to extract greater volumes of coal more cheaply. MTR has resulted in the destruction of more than 500 mountains from Kentucky to Virginia. Thousands of miles of headwater streams and valleys have been polluted and filled in the process of producing coal that helps power the nation. Photo by Vivian Stockman/www.ohvec.org. Flyover courtesy SouthWings.org.

it snaked over forested mountains and through valleys across the heart of the Mid-Atlantic. A generation later, not far from Camp Roosevelt in those same mountains, Supreme Court Justice William Douglas famously led an eight-day hike, sparking what became a successful effort to preserve the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal corridor from highway development. Eventually the C&O National Historical Park, along with other Mid-Atlantic sites of deindustrialization and environmental despoilment like Johnstown and Pittsburgh, helped inspire new directions in the National Park Service that asserted a broader, more richly interdisciplinary mission.

Indeed, since the 1980s the Mid-Atlantic has been at the center of the movement to preserve and interpret nationally significant histories that are bound by geography, the development of natural resources, and the transformation of regional environments. Canal heritage parks, the Johnstown Flood Memorial

Museum and nearby Allegheny Portage site, iron- and steel-making sites, the oil heritage region, the National Road heritage corridor, lumber museums, and too many more to enumerate point to the fundamentally central role of environmental history throughout the region. Each of these sites represents an opportunity to link regional natural and human history in meaningful ways that can help both inform and incite dialogue over such issues as water quality, transportation policy, long-term energy security, climate change, and the attendant environmental dimensions of a globalized economy. In addition, from Native American displacement to the Hawks Nest disaster to the communities and lives negatively impacted by fossil fuel extraction, the region encompasses an abundance of revealing histories of social-environmental injustice of urgent contemporary resonance.¹⁹ Thus it seems equally imperative that historians continue not only to examine previously unexplored chapters of the Mid-Atlantic's environmental and ecocultural history, but also to explore avenues for disseminating their work to the widest possible audience. Visitors to museums and historic sites in the region that tell an environmental story should come away not thinking that the despoiling of land and water is a history entirely hermetically sealed in the past, but rather challenged to think about the regional and universal reverberations of those histories for our own time. The past may be both prologue and provocation to act. As Keller argued, the extent to which we—as teachers, public historians, bloggers, consultants, writers of magazine and newspaper articles, and more—can put environmental history to work in educating our fellow citizens will determine in part the relevance of Mid-Atlantic environmental scholarship and the degree to which it can be effectively deployed to help shape public policy. How citizens and elected officials treat the fracking boom in the oil and gas industry may well set the course nationwide. Will it be New York or Pennsylvania? Will we ban or lightly regulate, support renewable energy or not? Which politician's reading of climate history, whose telling of the fossil fuel industry's track record will win the day?

In this ramble that has admittedly moved us not one inch toward a more cohesive regional narrative, at least this much is clear: the Mid-Atlantic reminds us that the American relationship with nature is laden with contradictions that approach the absurd. Look no further than New Jersey. As Neil Maher made clear in his fine edited collection of essays, the state is marked both by centuries of determined wetland destruction *and* dogged efforts to restore, protect, and celebrate them as ecological wonders essential to New Jersey's coastal identity; menacing industrial contamination of the

Passaic and other rivers *and* heroic efforts to reclaim, redeem, and reimagine state waterways; sprawling suburbs and parkways that were in part responsible for the loss of so much of the “garden” in the “Garden State” *and* a more recent visionary campaign to preserve and promote local sustainable agriculture. It boasts the nation’s first National Reserve in the Pine Barrens, one of the most extraordinary and largely unknown ecocultural regions in the country.²⁰ The paradox permeates regional environmental history: the Mid-Atlantic may be home to mountaintop removal, Levittown, and Three Mile Island, but it is also the birthplace of Wilderness Act author Howard Zahniser, Rachel Carson, John McPhee, Annie Dillard, and Edward Abbey. It seems to me that like Mid-Atlantic environmental history itself, the words and lives of these environmental giants argue against the frontier ethos (well, Abbey excepted).

Meanwhile, as our own methane-dispensing fracking frontier roars on, Arctic sea ice cover is at another near-record low, opening up whole new frontiers of exploration and development for oil, gas and mineral companies.²¹ The fate of the Arctic is now at the mercy of the geostrategic interests of global powers, and those of us whom they purport to serve.²² One begins to wonder if the times in which we find ourselves have rendered regional environmental history irrelevant. Time and space collapse under melting glaciers. In the end, the large looming question of whether, and how quickly, Americans can come to terms with the limited capacity of the planet to heal itself, with the cold geological, biophysical, and atmospheric fact that there is only so much *more*, may hinge on how forthrightly and in what forums we can confront our national environmental history. And that may in turn depend on this most ardently American region. Whether we can finally turn the corner and feel confident about the recovery of the Mid-Atlantic’s ecologically precious estuaries depends in part on how candid policymakers are willing to acknowledge the sullied history that provoked recovery efforts in the first place and that continues in new forms. The same can be said about the deep, environmentally dark legacies of coal and the unfolding horror of mountaintop removal.

Hope lies in history—and in the inspired efforts of citizens working to arrest centuries of frontier-driven despoliation. In reclaimed rivers, revived historic neighborhoods, in watchdog citizens’ organizations, in farm-to-table food systems emerging on old industrial landscapes, and elsewhere one can see the emergence of a new kind of frontier—one that provides a glimpse of a new sustainable paradigm, one that may yet—if Frederick Jackson

Turner was right and the Mid-Atlantic is not just typically but prophetically American—foretell our prospects for a more environmentally responsible future. At bottom, I remind myself, the frontier was always about hope and the future.

NOTES

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14. Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2005), 236–40; see also Patricia Spangler, *The Hawks Nest Tunnel: An Unabridged History* (Proctorville, OH: Wythe-North Publishing, 2009); and Dwight Harshbarger, *Witness at Hawk's Nest* (Huntington, WV: Mid-Atlantic Highlands Publishing, 2009).
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