
INDEPENDENT CASE STUDY

Louisa County, Virginia

A Data Center Case Study

LOUISA

Prepared by Tommy N. Turner

Williamsburg and Christiansburg, Virginia

June 2026 · Version 1.0

ORCID 0009-0005-7422-9881 · DOI 10.5281/zenodo.20673456

CASE STUDY: LOUISA COUNTY

The First Overlay, the Amazon Retreat, and the \$17 Billion Bet

Series: Companion to What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting (v4.0)

Evidence snapshot: June 2026

Version: 1.0

Author: Tommy N. Turner

Location: Williamsburg and Christiansburg, Virginia

Contact: 757-784-0979 · tommy@gofast.pro · [linkedin.com/in/tommyturner](https://www.linkedin.com/in/tommyturner)

ORCID: 0009-0005-7422-9881

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.20673456

Published: June 2026

Companion case studies in this series:

Case Study: Henrico County — How Two Neighborhoods Forced Virginia's Second-Largest Data Center Jurisdiction to Change Course

Case Study: Hanover County — Mountain Road, Tract, and the Search for Leverage

Case Study: Orange County — Amazon, Wilderness Crossing, and the Prospective Bet

Case Study: Prince William County — Governance Capture, the Revolving Door, and the Democratic Correction

Case Study: Chesterfield County — Google, CFS, and the Industrial Corridor

Case Study: The Google-CFS Power Purchase Agreement

© 2026 Tommy N. Turner

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	4
PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND METHOD.....	5
PART ONE: THE INSTRUMENT.....	7
Two Months from Concept to Code.....	7
What the Ordinance Does.....	7
The Map.....	8
PART TWO: THE COMMITMENT.....	10
Eleven Billion Dollars in Five Months.....	10
The Terms.....	10
The Buildout.....	11
PART THREE: THE FIRST CORRECTION.....	13
August 2024: The County Edits Its Invention.....	13
What the Imitators Took.....	13
PART FOUR: THE RETREAT.....	15
The Third Campus.....	15
The Resistance.....	15
July 23, 2025.....	16
The Coda That Complicates the Victory.....	17
PART FIVE: THE \$17 BILLION BET.....	18
The Park the County Built.....	18
The Sale.....	18
The Terms, and the Silence.....	19
Sale Versus Lease.....	19
PART SIX: THE NUCLEAR ADJACENCY.....	21
The Plant That Was Already There.....	21
The SMR Thread.....	21
PART SEVEN: THE WATER LEDGER.....	23
Small Systems, Large Promises.....	23
The Discharge Front.....	23
PART EIGHT: THE FISCAL ARCHITECTURE.....	25
The Rate Posture.....	25
What the Money Is Doing.....	25
The Incentive Stack, Both Directions.....	26
PART NINE: WHAT THE INSTRUMENT EXPLAINS AND WHAT IT DOESN'T. .	27
PART TEN: CHRONOLOGY.....	28
PART ELEVEN: READING GUIDE BY FRAMEWORK.....	30
PART TWELVE: SOURCE NOTES, FLAGS, AND THE PRIMARY RECORD.....	31
Asterisk Flags.....	31
Where the Primary Record Lives.....	32
What Remains Non-Public.....	33
Cross-References Owed to Other Reports (Flagged, Not Edited).....	33
ENDNOTES.....	34

ABSTRACT

Louisa County, Virginia invented the instrument that the rest of central Virginia is now copying, and then walked away from its central feature before the first imitator finished drafting. This case study documents the full arc: the April 2023 adoption of Virginia's first Technology Overlay District, a pre-entitlement ordinance that made data centers a by-right use across roughly 6,400 acres of a rural county; the \$11 billion Amazon Web Services commitment that followed within five months; the August 2024 correction that shrank the district and converted every use in it to a conditional use permit; the July 2025 withdrawal of AWS's third-campus application under organized resident resistance, the only hyperscaler retreat documented anywhere in this series; and the June 2025 sale of the county-built Shannon Hill Regional Business Park to EdgeCore Digital Infrastructure, which announced a \$17 billion, 1.1-gigawatt campus on the site eleven months ago and has not yet put a shovel in the ground.

The study finds that the overlay instrument explains less than its imitators assume. The same ordinance produced a hyperscaler that retreated from one fight and a developer that committed \$17 billion, because the outcomes were decided by variables the instrument does not control: whether a project faced a veto point, which constituency lived nearby, and when in the county's learning curve the application arrived. The two AWS campuses that proceeded without a single public hearing were approved under the district's original by-right design. The campus that died was the first to need a permit under the corrected design. Goochland County copied the original; New Kent County is copying the correction. The litigation now pending in Goochland is, in substance, an argument about a design choice Louisa abandoned in August 2024.

Louisa is also the only county in this series that hosts baseload generation, a hyperscaler retreat, and a gigawatt-scale commitment simultaneously. The North Anna Power Station supplies roughly 17 percent of Virginia's electricity from the county's northern edge, Dominion and Amazon signed a memorandum of understanding in October 2024 to explore small modular reactor development at the site, and the first \$17.2 million of SMR feasibility costs is already on residential ratepayer bills. The evidence is organized for an interdisciplinary research audience, with findings mapped to five research frameworks throughout and consolidated in Part Eleven. This is a pre-field dossier built almost entirely on the primary record: board packets, minutes, executed agreements, deeds, permits, and regulatory orders pulled directly from public repositories. Part Twelve maps that record, where each document lives, and the short list of items that remain non-public.

PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND METHOD

This case study documents the arc of data center development in Louisa County, Virginia, from the county's first discussion of a technology district in February 2023 through the contested water-discharge hearings of June 2026. It is the origin point of the ordinance lineage this series has been tracing backward from Goochland: Louisa adopted Virginia's first Technology Overlay District, Goochland copied it, and New Kent is copying Goochland. The series has cited Louisa repeatedly in passing, the TOD noise standards in the Hanover study, the Shannon Hill sale in the Henrico study's regional context. This report makes the county a subject.

The primary intended readers are the principal investigators and consultants of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation study on the energy implications of data center expansion in Georgia, Virginia, and Tennessee.[1] Following project convention, this document refers to the team's research frameworks by type of work rather than by individual researcher. The institutional behavior framework gets the cleanest natural experiment in the portfolio: one instrument, two opposite outcomes, and a county negotiating SMR siting with the same utility that runs its nuclear plant. The utility finance framework gets the sale-versus-lease question at Shannon Hill, the rate posture, and the first county where generation siting and load siting are the same negotiation. The distributional justice framework gets the class geography of Louisa's opposition, which is worth stating plainly and is stated plainly in Part Four. The energy geography framework gets the origin and diffusion of the overlay as Virginia's pre-entitlement technology. The energy, labor, and infrastructure framework gets the water ledger of Part Seven and the thin permanent employment beneath an eleven-figure capital number.

A note on method. This study is built entirely from public sources: the codified county ordinance, county and gubernatorial press releases, Dominion Energy regulatory filings, NRC licensing records, DEQ permit notices, U.S. Census Bureau estimates, and sustained local coverage, principally Engage Louisa, the Substack newsletter of record for Louisa County government, The Central Virginian, Richmond BizSense, Virginia Mercury, Cardinal News's statewide peers, and the trade press. Engage Louisa deserves a methodological flag of its own: it is the newspaper of record for Louisa County government in everything but name, and several figures in this study, notably the tiers of the executed AWS incentive agreement, still rest on its reporting because the underlying contract has never been posted. Nearly everything else has been run to the primary document: the board's CivicClerk packet and minutes archive, the county DocumentCenter, the SCC docket, DEQ permit notices, the county's GIS and assessment parcel records, and certified election returns. Claims that still rest on a single secondary source are flagged with an asterisk in the text

and consolidated in Part Twelve. No interviews were conducted for this version; fieldwork is scheduled for October 2026. The companion report, What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting (v4.0), covers the statewide fiscal picture.[2] This document is about what happens when a rural county of 38,000 people invents the most aggressive pre-entitlement instrument in Virginia, gets exactly what the instrument was designed to attract, and then spends two years deciding how much of its own invention it can live with.

Prior series documents, including the Hanover case study (v2.0, endnote 30), cite the Louisa TOD as section 86-455 of the county code. That citation is wrong. The Technology Overlay District is codified at sections 86-330 through 86-334 of the Louisa County Code (86-335 is reserved); section 86-455 governs corner lots and double frontage lots in the Industrial district.[3] The 65/60 dBA noise standards cited in the series are correct; the section number is not. The correction is flagged for the next revision of the affected reports and applied throughout this one.

PART ONE: THE INSTRUMENT

Two Months from Concept to Code

Virginia's first Technology Overlay District went from board direction to adopted ordinance in eight weeks. On Monday, February 6, 2023, the Louisa County Board of Supervisors directed staff to work with Jackson District Supervisor Toni Williams on making the county competitive for technology-sector investment.[4] Staff produced a draft overlay ordinance and map within the month. The Planning Commission held its public hearing on March 9, 2023, where commissioners pushed back on staff's proposed noise limits of 70 dBA daytime and 65 dBA nighttime and forced them down five decibels.[4] On Monday, April 3, 2023, the board adopted the Technology Overlay District as an attachment to Ordinance 2023-6 on a 6-1 vote, Cuckoo District Supervisor Willie Gentry dissenting. A companion amendment to the county noise ordinance, adding the TOD's 65/60 dBA limits to Chapter 51, passed by the same margin the same night; Gentry voted no on both because he wanted the limits lower still.[5]

Nine residents spoke at the public hearings, most opposed or concerned. The Lake Anna Civic Association objected to the speed itself: first draft to adoption in roughly two months, for an ordinance that would pre-entitle industrial campuses across ten square miles of a rural county.[5] The objection did not slow anything in 2023. It reads differently now, because the speed of adoption is precisely what the plaintiffs in Goochland County's overlay litigation are arguing about three years later, and because Louisa's own board spent 2024 and 2026 walking parts of the ordinance back.

What the Ordinance Does

The TOD is a pre-entitlement instrument. Rather than waiting for a developer to assemble land and apply for a rezoning, the board selected specific assemblages in advance, mapped them into an overlay, and attached development rights and performance standards to the map. Under section 86-331, a TOD campus requires a minimum of 125 contiguous acres and proximity to electric transmission of 115 kilovolts or more, with adequate water, sewer, and road capacity. Total developable TOD acreage is capped at one percent of county land, 3,266 acres, a ceiling Chairman Duane Adams proposed in parallel to the county's three percent cap on utility-scale solar.[3] The overlay sits on top of existing zoning; underlying by-right uses survive, and TOD rules supersede on conflict. Boundaries are created and amended only by board ordinance.

As adopted in 2023, the district's defining feature was what it removed: any project-level public process. Data centers, technology research and development, capital-

intensive advanced manufacturing, technical schools, and major utility services were by-right uses inside the overlay. A qualifying project needed administrative site plan approval and nothing else. No rezoning, no conditional use permit, no public hearing, no board vote. Both AWS campuses now under construction in the county were approved this way; neither ever appeared on a public meeting agenda as a question.[5][6]

The performance standards, codified at section 86-332, were the trade for the entitlement. Noise is capped at 65 dBA daytime and 60 dBA nighttime, enforceable through the county noise ordinance; the figures sit between Louisa's baseline residential limits (65/55) and its industrial limits (75/65), and they are the standards Hanover's stricter 57/52 ordinance was measured against earlier in this series.[3] [7] Buffers run 200 feet against residential parcels, 300 feet against agricultural land, 150 feet along primary roads. Building height is capped at 80 feet. Lighting must be dark-sky compliant, with a maximum of 0.50 foot-candle at the property line. Each contiguous parcel group must keep 20 percent open space.[3]

The adoption paperwork carries a defect worth recording, because it prefigures the litigation that later found the instrument's imitator. The ordinance text attached to the board's April 3 packet, footed as drafted February 7 and revised March 10 after the Planning Commission meeting, still showed 70/65 dBA noise limits and a uniform 200-foot buffer for residential and agricultural neighbors alike.[8] The version the county posts as approved carries an editing date of April 6, three days after the vote, and shows the 65/60 standard and a 300-foot agricultural buffer.[9] The minutes record the 6-1 roll call, Gentry against, Jones, Williams, Adams, Barlow, Barnes, and Purcell in favor, and no floor amendment to either figure.[8] Contemporaneous press reported a 200-foot buffer and the 65/60 limits.[10] The noise numbers are at least partly explained by the companion Chapter 51 vote the same night; the agricultural buffer is not, and nothing public documents when it entered the text. Goochland's overlay is in court on exactly this class of defect, an adopted version that differed from the advertised one. Louisa's version of the problem has sat unexamined in its own DocumentCenter for three years.

The Map

The adopted district covered roughly 6,400 acres across approximately 100 parcels in six contiguous groups, all in central and eastern Louisa, most near 230 kV or 500 kV transmission:[5][11]

1. Roughly 150 to 200 acres at Kentucky Springs Road and Haley Drive, directly adjacent to the North Anna Power Station. Now AWS's Lake Anna Technology Campus.

2. The Cooke Industrial Rail Park, roughly 1,200 acres between the towns of Louisa and Mineral, mostly owned by the county's Industrial Development Authority and partly leased for a 118 MW solar project.
3. The Fisher Chewning tract, roughly 1,400 acres north of the Northeast Creek Reservoir, owned by the family of a former county supervisor until AWS bought it in January 2026.
4. Roughly 1,444 acres south of Route 33 near the reservoir. Now AWS's North Creek Technology Campus.
5. The Shannon Hill Regional Business Park, 697 county-assembled acres at Interstate 64 exit 143. Removed from the district in August 2024; sold to EdgeCore in June 2025.
6. A Gum Spring assemblage of roughly 1,300 to 1,500 acres near the I-64 Gum Spring exit, crossed by a 500 kV line. Removed in August 2024.

Staff deliberately excluded the Green Springs National Historic Landmark District, the Trevilian Station battlefield, agricultural and forestal districts, the towns, and the Zion Crossroads and Ferncliff growth areas.[11] The exclusions matter for the distributional reading: the district was drawn around transmission lines and away from the county's protected landscapes, which means it was drawn toward the unprotected ones. The people who live along Kentucky Springs Road and Mt. Airy Road got an industrial overlay; Green Springs got a buffer. That is what pre-entitlement by map looks like at parcel scale, and no one who lived inside the six assemblages had any procedural recourse once the map was adopted, because the entitlement attached to the land before any project existed to oppose.

PART TWO: THE COMMITMENT

Eleven Billion Dollars in Five Months

The overlay worked faster than anyone publicly predicted. On Wednesday, August 30, 2023, 149 days after adoption, the county announced that Amazon Web Services would invest \$11 billion by 2040 to build two data center campuses inside the TOD: the Lake Anna Technology Campus beside the nuclear station and the North Creek Technology Campus near the Northeast Creek Reservoir.[6] County Administrator Christian Goodwin estimated at least \$25 million per year in local tax revenue at full buildout, before incentives. The Virginia Economic Development Partnership's president supplied the statewide frame, welcoming AWS's expansion "into rural Virginia." [6] The Louisa announcement was a tranche of the \$35 billion statewide AWS commitment Governor Youngkin had announced that January, the package that produced the state's \$140 million Cloud Computing Cluster Infrastructure Grant Fund and an extended sales-tax exemption runway.[12]

The speed deserves emphasis because it is the instrument's actual sales pitch. AWS did not buy land and then ask Louisa for permission; the permission predated the purchase. The site contractor filed water-quality permits for the Lake Anna campus on September 1, 2023, two days after the announcement.[13]

The Terms

The board papered the relationship across the autumn of 2023, in public session, unanimously, and fast.

On Tuesday, September 5, 2023, after a closed session held under Virginia FOIA's economic-development and legal-counsel exemptions, the board approved a performance agreement with Amazon Data Services, 7-0, "subject to future amendment thereto about incentive package details"; the packet contained a one-page summary, not the agreement.[14] The executed Economic Development Local Performance Agreement followed on November 28, 2023, and that document has never been posted; its terms are public only through Engage Louisa's reporting.* [15] As reported, the structure returns a share of incremental tax revenue to AWS through the Industrial Development Authority as infrastructure grants between 2026 and 2046: 15 percent of revenue on investment between \$150 million and \$11 billion, 20 percent from \$11 billion to \$20 billion, 25 percent from \$20 billion to \$30 billion, and 30 percent above that, with performance grants of 17 to 20 percent continuing from 2047 to 2051. If AWS misses the \$11 billion threshold by July 1, 2040, the grant obligation ends.* [15] The structure is worth pausing on: the rebate percentage rises as the investment grows, which means the county wrote an agreement whose marginal generosity increases with exactly the scale residents

would later organize against. The state layer is documented: on Monday, October 20, 2025, the board approved, 7-0, the tri-party agreement under which AWS may draw up to \$140 million from the Commonwealth's cloud-computing grant fund and Louisa must certify, by October 1, 2040, a local match of at least twice whatever the state pays.[16]

On Monday, September 18, 2023, after a public hearing, the board voted 7-0 to add an alternative personal property rate for data center equipment qualifying under Virginia Code § 58.1-3506(A)(43): \$1.25 per \$100 of assessed value, against the general business rate of \$1.90, with a depreciation schedule adopted by the Commissioner of the Revenue assessing equipment at 50 percent of original cost in year one, 35 in year two, 20 in year three, 10 in year four, and 5 percent thereafter. [17] The economic development director told the board the package was in line with localities competing for AWS investment, and that AWS typically replaces equipment every five to six years.[17] Part Eight does the arithmetic on what the rate and the schedule jointly produce.

On Monday, December 18, 2023, the board approved the water and sewer service agreements, 7-0, and the executed drafts in the packet carry the watermark "AMAZON CONFIDENTIAL." [18] The terms: the Lake Anna campus gets permanent cooling water at an instantaneous peak of 1,370 gallons per minute with delivery due January 20, 2027, against an AWS infrastructure reimbursement of \$24.78 million; North Creek gets 3,522 gallons per minute of cooling water plus small potable and sewer connections with delivery due July 23, 2026, against reimbursements totaling roughly \$9.9 million; AWS pays \$7.71 per thousand gallons of raw water.[18] The often-cited 7 million gallons per day is real but is a design specification, the combined peak-day demand in the agreements' engineering exhibit, while staff's presentation that night put average daily use at full buildout at 630,000 gallons against the reservoir's 3.2 million gallon safe yield.[18] The agreements contain no average-use cap; the binding numbers are the peak flows. In November 2024, the board added \$87.9 million to the FY2025 budget for the pump station, roughly twelve miles of water lines, and sewer infrastructure to serve the campuses.[19]

The Buildout

Clark Construction, the same general contractor building Iron Mountain's Henrico campus, broke ground at Lake Anna in August 2024 after a July 17 pre-construction meeting.[20] The campus plan: seven standard data centers totaling more than 1.7 million square feet, two specialty buildings, an administration building, two substations, and a minimum of 420 MW.[13] The North Creek site plan, filed in November 2024, covers roughly 374 developed acres of the 1,444-acre assemblage

with ten buildings of about 382,000 square feet each, approximately 3.8 million square feet; by mid-2025 AWS had filed site plans for 17 shells across the county and may build as many as 36.[21][22] Local reporting puts North Creek’s potential demand as high as 3 gigawatts with up to ten substations, figures no county or company document confirms.* [22] At the Lake Anna Summit on April 20, 2026, AWS’s data center cluster leader said the first Lake Anna building had reached substantial completion and been “turned over for operations,” with auxiliary buildings finished; no energization or in-service confirmation appears in any regulatory record, and the campus runs on well water until the county’s raw water line arrives in January 2027.* [23]

Through all of this, the two campuses generated concern but no organized confrontation, for a structural reason the Henrico study documented in its by-right chapter: there was no vote to attend, no hearing to pack, no application to oppose. The entitlement had been settled in April 2023 at the map level, before either campus had a name.

PART THREE: THE FIRST CORRECTION

August 2024: The County Edits Its Invention

Sixteen months after adopting the TOD, Louisa cut it by a third and removed its central feature. On Monday, August 5, 2024, the board unanimously adopted Ordinance 2024-11, which did two things. It removed the Shannon Hill and Gum Spring assemblages from the district, roughly 2,000 acres. And it converted every TOD use from by-right to conditional use permit: section 86-333 was retitled “Permitted uses with the issuance of a conditional use permit,” which means that since August 2024 nothing in Louisa’s overlay proceeds without a public hearing and a board vote.[3][24]

The geography of the cut is its own story. The Planning Commission had recommended removing three assemblages, Gum Spring, Shannon Hill, and the 1,400-acre Fisher Chewning tract. At the board’s July 1, 2024 hearing, Eric Purcell, the former supervisor whose family company owns Fisher Chewning, told the board “we would love to remain in the TOD,” a supervisor moved to approve the cut with Fisher Chewning excepted, questions about five-year land-use rollback taxes surfaced, and the board tabled the whole matter.[25] The August ordinance that emerged removed the other two assemblages and left Fisher Chewning in. Nine months later AWS proposed its third campus on that tract; eighteen months later AWS owned it. The parcel that stayed in the district at its owners’ request is the one the county has spent 2026 trying and failing to take back out.[25][26]

The two halves of the correction have different logics. The Shannon Hill removal was housekeeping: the park’s 2019 rezoning proffers already allowed data centers by right, so the overlay added nothing there except a second set of standards.[27] The Gum Spring removal and the CUP conversion were policy. Residents had spent a year pressing the board about rural character and water, and the board responded by reinstalling the procedural step the ordinance had been designed to eliminate. The AWS campuses, already in progress, were grandfathered.

The correction is the hinge of this case study. The county that invented by-right pre-entitlement in Virginia kept the overlay, the map, and the standards, and abandoned the by-right core after a single deal cycle. Every theory of what happened next has to account for the fact that Louisa’s own experience with its instrument, measured by its own amendments, was: too much, too fast, never again without a hearing.

What the Imitators Took

The lineage runs through the details. Goochland County adopted its Technology Overlay District on November 6, 2025, on a 4-1 vote: roughly 4,400 acres along

Route 288, with data centers by-right in the main district. Goochland's original July 2025 draft used Louisa's noise standard verbatim, 65 dBA day and 60 dBA night at the property line, and Louisa's general architecture of overlay-plus-by-right-entitlement. Public pressure pushed the final version stricter on noise (55 dBA/65 dBC at the property line, day and night) and setbacks, but the by-right core survived into the adopted ordinance.[28] Four residents sued in December 2025 over notice defects, and that litigation, covered in the Goochland report of this series, is at bottom about the feature Louisa had already repealed: entitlement without a project-level hearing, adopted at speed.[29]

New Kent County, drafting in early 2026 with the Goochland lawsuit on the record, is copying the correction instead. Its draft district along Route 33 keeps Louisa's 65/60 noise numbers verbatim and the 200-foot buffers, caps the district at 1.3 percent of county land in an echo of Louisa's one percent rule, and replaces by-right approval with an "administrative CUP." [30] The instrument is diffusing, and the diffusion is legible at the level of individual decibel figures and percentage caps. What is not diffusing evenly is the lesson Louisa's board drew in August 2024. Goochland copied the 2023 ordinance; New Kent is copying the 2024 amendment. The energy geography framework should treat the three counties as one diffusion event with a fork in it, and the Goochland courtroom as the cost of picking the wrong branch.

PART FOUR: THE RETREAT

The Third Campus

In May 2025, AWS filed the first application ever tested against Louisa's corrected ordinance: conditional use permit CUP2025-05, with a companion subdivision application and six special exceptions, for a third campus of up to 7.2 million square feet and seven substations on nine Fisher Chewning parcels totaling 1,353.19 acres north of the Northeast Creek Reservoir.[31][32] The applicant of record was Amazon Data Services; the agent was Charles W. Payne Jr. of Hirschler. The proposal was nearly double the combined square footage of both campuses already under construction. The land belonged to Fisher Chewning LC, the Purcell family entity that had asked to stay in the TOD the previous summer, a detail that did not escape public notice.[31]

The site mattered as much as the scale. The Northeast Creek Reservoir is the drinking water supply for central Louisa and the source the county had just committed to the two existing AWS campuses. The third campus would have wrapped industrial construction around the reservoir's northern watershed while seven new substations and a 230 kV line crossing organized the skyline. For the first time since the overlay was adopted, there was an application, a hearing, and therefore a fight to have.

The Resistance

The opposition assembled in about six weeks, and its composition is worth recording precisely because this series has no other example of a hyperscaler losing one.

A neighborhood meeting on June 11, 2025 produced the concerns AWS would later cite in its withdrawal letter. At a town hall at Louisa County High School on June 26, around twenty speakers pressed the board, and Mineral District Supervisor Duane Adams, the board chair, broke first: "I don't support this project," he said, calling the proposed entrance dangerous and citing traffic, water supply, and quality of life. [33] In late June, Savannah Walker, a Louisa native who works in the data center industry, launched the Louisa County Technology Discussions Facebook group, which reached roughly 500 members within weeks and became the organizing hub, alongside a group called Concerned Residents of Louisa County, an online petition, yard signs, and bumper stickers.[34] The Town of Mineral's council committed on July 14 to a formal statement of opposition.[35] On July 24, about a hundred people met at Mineral Baptist Church at an event co-hosted by the two resident groups, with an organizer from the Piedmont Environmental Council, the founding member of the statewide Virginia Data Center Reform Coalition, sharing the stage with Walker and a Culpeper data center industry veteran.[36]

The objections were concrete: runoff into the drinking water reservoir, cooling draw, traffic on two-lane roads, noise, light, seven substations, and proximity to schools. One resident's formulation traveled furthest: "Please don't Loudoun Louisa. Please don't Prince William Louisa." [34] The sentence compresses the series' diffusion argument into eight words, and it was spoken by someone who had watched the previous rings of the wave from inside the industry.

Opposition in Louisa had a class geography. The third-campus fight was led from central Louisa, the Mineral and reservoir constituencies, with technical credibility supplied by industry-employed locals and organizational reach supplied by a regional conservation group whose strength is in the Piedmont's estate and second-home counties. The Lake Anna constituency, 13,000 acres of waterfront property owners and a recreational economy, engaged later and on a different front, the discharge permits of Part Seven. The people who lived closest to the two campuses already under construction, along Kentucky Springs Road and Mt. Airy Road, never got a process to organize around at all. Opposition in Louisa won where there was a veto point and a constituency with time, skills, and property stakes, which is to say the resistance map records who had standing and leverage. Who bears the buildout is a different map.

July 23, 2025

AWS folded before the application reached a vote. On Wednesday, July 23, 2025, Payne wrote the county's deputy planning director withdrawing CUP2025-05: "We have heard the community and appreciate the desire for more robust input in any future projects that may be brought forward in the county." The letter, a scan of which sits on the county's own document server, restates the \$11 billion commitment, praises the county's "high standards for responsible siting, buffers, noise limits," and closes by asking the county to return all of AWS's application materials to the law firm. [37] A company that wants its papers back is not planning to refile them. Virginia Mercury's report five days later gave the retreat its statewide frame. [38] Adams claimed the lesson in public: "This proves by this withdrawal, that when citizens get involved, they can have an impact on the local government," urging the county to "stay the course, slow down, pump the brakes." [39]

Precision about what was withdrawn matters, because the series has developer retreats (Tract in Hanover, HHHunt and Diode elsewhere in the regional record) and this is the only hyperscaler among them. AWS withdrew one CUP application for one proposed third campus. It did not withdraw from Louisa. The \$11 billion commitment stood, both campuses kept building, and the company kept its name off the door of the fight: the withdrawal took the form of a letter from counsel, with no press release. A developer retreat usually means a project died. This one meant a

company with an eleven-figure local commitment declined to spend political capital on a marginal expansion in the first county where it would have faced a public vote. The institutional behavior framework should resist romanticizing it: AWS retreated from a hearing, not from Louisa.

The Coda That Complicates the Victory

Eighteen months of subsequent record say the retreat was provisional. The November 2025 election ratified the board's late conversion first: Adams, the chair who had flipped on the third campus, survived a challenge framed around his data center record by 196 certified votes, 1,431 to 1,235.[40] Then, in early January 2026, AWS quietly bought the withdrawn site anyway. Three deeds, recorded in Deed Book 2058 and reported in mid-January, total \$72,452,434 for roughly 1,925 acres: \$54,013,753 for the Fisher Chewning assemblage, \$17,529,321 for the adjacent 456-acre Mine and Hemmer tract, and \$909,360 for six small parcels off Route 22.[41] [42] The land had a combined assessed value near \$3.7 million. The company told the local press the purchase "supports water infrastructure needs," noting the county's reservoir-to-North Anna waterline crosses the land. It has filed no application.[41] The board responded on January 20, 2026 with a unanimous vote directing the Planning Commission to consider removing Fisher Chewning and the Cooke Rail Park from the TOD entirely, roughly 2,600 acres, with Adams declaring himself opposed to any data center construction there.[26] The commission has now pulled the public hearing twice, each time after a closed session held under the legal-counsel exemption of Virginia FOIA: 7-0 on February 12, 2026, then 5-2 on April 9 over the dissents of commissioners Goodwin and Kersey, with no public explanation either time.[43][44] As of June 12, 2026, the rollback is stalled, the tracts remain in the district, and the largest landowner positioned to benefit from that fact is the company that retreated. Whatever the July 2025 withdrawal was, it was not an ending.

PART FIVE: THE \$17 BILLION BET

The Park the County Built

Shannon Hill is the other half of the natural experiment, and it begins seven years before EdgeCore. In 2018 the county set out to assemble a regional business park of as much as 1,600 acres at I-64 exit 143, scaled back to roughly 700 acres after neighbor opposition. It bought the 697 acres for \$2.6 million, a purchase the county dates to 2018 and the trade press to early 2019,* and rezoned them in 2019 with proffers that allowed data centers by right, and then spent years building the utilities a tenant would need: a \$5.6 million elevated water tank and booster station contracted in 2023, and a \$27.58 million contract considered in December 2024 for seven miles of water main and seven miles of sewer force main connecting the park to Ferncliff. The county's stated investment in utilities reached roughly \$29.5 million, funded by \$13.6 million in state site-readiness grants and a \$17 million debt issuance.[27][45] Through all of it the park sat empty. As late as December 2024, the county acknowledged it had not brought a single business to the site.[45]

That is the posture in which the overlay's imitators should read Shannon Hill: a county that spent six years and over \$30 million in public and grant money speculatively building a pad for an industry that had not yet asked for it. The August 2024 removal of the park from the TOD changed nothing operationally, since the 2019 proffers already carried the entitlement. The pre-entitlement was in the proffers before it was in the overlay; the overlay generalized what Shannon Hill piloted.

The Sale

In June 2025 the bet paid, on terms the county chose. The Industrial Development Authority sold the park to EDI Louisa 1, LLC, EdgeCore's Virginia entity, for \$42 million, roughly \$60,000 an acre. The county's parcel records show the sale closing on Tuesday, June 24, 2025, the same day the county announced it, with the IDA as grantor of record.[46][47] EdgeCore's release followed on June 25: a \$17 billion-plus investment in a 3.9 million square foot campus supporting more than 1.1 gigawatts, served not by Dominion distribution but by Rappahannock Electric Cooperative and its affiliate Hyperscale Energy, cooled by what the release called a "close-looped air-cooled system" with a water usage effectiveness below 0.01 liters per kilowatt-hour. The governor supplied a quote; the announcement pushed his administration's claimed capital investment total past \$120 billion.[48] EdgeCore, owned by Partners Group since late 2022, called Louisa its sixth active market.[48]

The figures have already drifted. EdgeCore's current site materials describe 3.1 million square feet in six buildings and "closed loop chilled water systems" rather

than air cooling, while keeping the 1.1+ GW and the WUE claim.[49] The drift is small but diagnostic: eleven months after announcement, the campus's basic published parameters are still moving, which is what "announced, not contracted" looks like in practice.

The Terms, and the Silence

The board approved a performance agreement with EDI Louisa 1, LLC on Monday, December 1, 2025, 7-0, and this one is in the packet in full. The county returns, through the IDA and subject to annual appropriation, 15 percent of the real and tangible personal property taxes paid by EdgeCore, its affiliates, and its tenants, first payment in 2027 and last in 2041, until payments reach a hard cap of \$15 million, whichever comes first.[50] Two features distinguish it from the AWS deal: there is no tax-equalization clause, and because EdgeCore is a landlord whose announced \$17 billion is overwhelmingly real property, the grant base is structurally different from a hyperscaler's equipment-heavy investment.[50] Against the AWS agreement's escalating 15-to-30 percent tiers and quarter-century runway, EdgeCore's terms are modest, which itself measures how the county's negotiating posture hardened between September 2023 and December 2025.

What the public record does not contain is as notable. EdgeCore has never disclosed expected daily water consumption, and no independent estimate of construction, humidification, or makeup demand exists.* [51] The record likewise contains no substation plan, interconnection timeline, tenant, or construction start date. As of the latest county revenue reporting, EdgeCore "hasn't put a shovel in the ground" at Shannon Hill; the county's building-permit revenue, which spiked to \$5.53 million in FY2025 on AWS construction, includes nothing from EdgeCore.[52] The gating items are visible enough: the campus's water depends on the James River Water Project, now expected complete in late 2027, and its power depends on a cooperative that has never served a load of this class, through arrangements that remain undisclosed.[53] A possible third dependency arrived uninvited: one candidate corridor for the proposed Valley Link 765 kV transmission line enters Louisa at the Shannon Hill park itself, and the county has allocated \$250,000 to fight the line.[54]

Sale Versus Lease

The utility finance framework gets the sharpest question here, because the county had a live alternative in its own portfolio: the IDA leases ground at the Cooke Industrial Rail Park to a solar operator, and it sold Shannon Hill fee simple. The sale recovered the land cost sixteen times over and roughly covered the combined land-plus-utilities outlay, much of which had been grant-funded. It also surrendered the county's only ownership stake in the corridor it had spent six years preparing, in exchange for a one-time payment equal to about a fifth of one year of the county's

now-projected data center revenue at buildout. No public record of a sale-versus-lease debate exists; the IDA negotiated privately and announced a closed transaction.[46]

The proceeds tell their own story about fiscal posture. The June 2025 announcement said the surplus would go primarily to early debt repayment. By spring 2026 the county had redirected roughly \$33 million of it to pay cash for two Louisa County Water Authority projects, a water treatment plant near Route 250 and the New Bridge wastewater plant at Lake Anna, rather than issue new debt against a \$153 million existing load.[55] Selling a built asset to a data center developer in order to cash-fund the water infrastructure that the data center economy requires is a circular flow the framework should price: the county is recycling its land patrimony into the utility base of the industry that bought it.

PART SIX: THE NUCLEAR ADJACENCY

The Plant That Was Already There

No other county in this series hosts baseload generation. North Anna Power Station's two Westinghouse pressurized water reactors, online in 1978 and 1980, deliver a combined 1,892 megawatts, roughly 17 percent of Virginia's electricity, from the county's northern edge.[56] The NRC issued subsequent license renewals on August 28, 2024, clearing both units to operate into 2058 and 2060, an 80-year life.[57] Lake Anna, the 13,000-acre reservoir built in 1972 to cool the plant, doubles as the county's recreational economy: 17 miles of boating, fishing, and waterfront property spanning three counties, with a civic association dating to 1992 and a documented history of friction with the plant over drought-year lake levels.[58]

AWS's Lake Anna Technology Campus sits directly beside the station. The adjacency is not decorative. The campus's minimum 420 MW would absorb close to half the output of one reactor, and the site was mapped into the TOD precisely because the transmission was already there. Louisa is the first county in the series where generation siting and load siting are the same negotiation, conducted with the same utility, which also happens to be the county's largest legacy taxpayer at roughly \$11 million a year.[59]

The SMR Thread

Dominion issued a request for proposals to SMR vendors on July 10, 2024, announced at North Anna with the governor ceremonially signing SB 454, the statute that lets the company recover SMR development costs from ratepayers through 2029, capped at \$1.40 per month on a typical residential bill.[60] On Wednesday, October 16, 2024, Dominion and Amazon announced a memorandum of understanding to explore SMR development at North Anna, exploration explicitly, with no reactor design selected, no dollar commitment in the MOU, and an Amazon-side framing of "at least 300 MW" of capacity. The Louisa board publicly applauded. [61]

The current status is thinner than the announcement coverage implied. No technology has been selected; the only documented Dominion tie to a specific design is 2018 seed funding for GE Hitachi's BWRX-300. No SMR-specific application of any kind had been docketed at the NRC for North Anna as of June 2026. What Dominion does hold is legacy licensing: an Early Site Permit granted in 2007 and a combined license for a third large unit issued in 2017 and shelved four months later, the North Anna 3 file that consumed over \$600 million in its day. On the company's May 1, 2026 earnings call, the CEO cited the existing ESP and three gating principles, first-of-a-kind risk, overrun risk, and balance sheet protection, which is

the vocabulary of a company keeping an option alive rather than exercising it.[62] Dominion's 2024 Integrated Resource Plan assigns SMRs five units and 1,340 MW beginning in the mid-2030s; the 2025 update keeps SMRs at the 2035 horizon across its portfolios.[63]

Two facts anchor the thread against the speculation. First, the money is already flowing: the SCC's final order in case PUR-2024-00205, issued July 29, 2025, approved Rider SMR with a revenue requirement of \$17.099 million for the rate year beginning September 1, 2025, out of a \$24.8 million Phase I scope, an estimated \$0.29 on a typical monthly residential bill and comfortably under the statute's \$1.40 cap.[64] Dominion's own investor language brackets the ambition: the 2025 IRP says partnerships with "third parties and high load customers... may provide avenues for earlier deployment of SMRs" than its portfolios reflect, while the CEO told analysts in February 2026, "We do not have capital in the plan, this five-year plan, for an SMR." [63][65] Second, the county has already booked the hope: staff revenue projections include roughly \$12 million a year by the late 2030s if an SMR is built.* [66] A county whose fiscal plan now includes a speculative reactor, negotiated between its largest taxpayer and its largest new investor, with the feasibility bill on every ratepayer in the service territory, is the institutional behavior framework's exhibit for how thoroughly the load question has colonized the generation question. Note the structure: the customer is Amazon, the developer is Dominion, the regulator that pre-approved cost recovery is the SCC, and the county whose land and lake host all of it has no formal role in the transaction at all.

PART SEVEN: THE WATER LEDGER

Small Systems, Large Promises

Louisa County's water infrastructure was built for a county of small towns. The Zion Crossroads well field has run near its roughly 587,000 gallon-per-day limit, with two additional wells adding about 204,000. The Northeast Creek Reservoir, the central system, has a safe yield of 3.2 million gallons per day against current draws of roughly 300,000 average and 500,000 peak.[67] The 2020 Census counted 37,596 residents; the 2025 estimates put the county near 42,500 to 42,900, among the fastest growth rates in Virginia.[68]

Onto this base the county has loaded: water service agreements for two AWS campuses with a reported contract ceiling near 7 million gallons per day and a projected average draw of 630,000, about a fifth of the reservoir's safe yield;* [18] an \$87.9 million county-built conveyance program including the eleven-mile raw water line targeted for January 2027;[19] and a gigawatt-class campus at Shannon Hill whose water demand is undisclosed and whose supply depends on the James River Water Project. That project, a joint Louisa-Fluvanna intake and pipeline conceived in 2003, carries its own history in this series' register: the original intake site at Point of Fork was Rassawek, the historic Monacan capital, and the authority relocated the intake a mile upstream in March 2022 after a national preservation fight. Ground broke in August 2024 on a project now reported at \$56 million, with Louisa floating roughly \$60 million in bonds for its broader buildout including the Ferncliff treatment plant, which sits finished and idle awaiting river water. Completion has slipped from mid-2026 to late 2027.[69]

The Discharge Front

The supply side organized the 2023 agreements; the discharge side is organizing the 2026 politics. The North Creek campus holds VPDES permit VA0093301, effective through January 31, 2031, allowing up to 460,000 gallons per day of discharge into Northeast Creek, which feeds toward Lake Anna; it drew no site-specific comments and issued without a hearing.[70][71] The Lake Anna campus's draft permit, VA0093319, is the fight: up to 280,000 gallons per day of treated cooling water into Sedges Creek, a daily maximum temperature of 89.6 degrees, and no PFAS testing requirement, though DEQ retains a reopener. More than 75 comments in the first comment period (November 13 to December 15, 2025) forced a public hearing, held March 19, 2026 at Louisa County Middle School inside a second comment period that ran to April 3.[71] On Tuesday, June 9, 2026, three days before this report's evidence snapshot, DEQ returned to the middle school for a follow-up session limited to prior commenters: dozens attended, four qualified to

speak under the format, and lakefront residents objected that the agency's answers leaned on source-water data rather than operational discharge data. The permit decision is pending.[72]

This is where the Lake Anna constituency entered the story in force, and the timing is the tell. The lake community, organized around a civic association that has run harmful algal bloom monitoring since the advisories began in 2018, largely sat out the third-campus land fight in central Louisa. It mobilized when the industry's effluent pointed at the waterfront. The county, for its part, has already priced the constituency in: the draft plan for allocating data center revenue earmarks 4.4 percent, about \$1.6 million a year, for algal bloom mitigation.* [73] The distributional justice framework should hold both facts at once. The most effective opposition constituencies in Louisa are the reservoir neighbors who had a veto point and the lakefront owners with property values to defend, while the corridor that absorbed the by-right campuses had neither, and the county's redistribution plan compensates the lake before it compensates the corridor. Amazon says the Louisa sites will use evaporative cooling about 4 percent of the year. The permits, the makeup chemistry, and the 740,000 combined gallons per day of authorized discharge measure the distance between that operating-mode claim and the hydrology beneath it.[70]

PART EIGHT: THE FISCAL ARCHITECTURE

The Rate Posture

Louisa's data center equipment rate of \$1.25 per \$100 sits in the middle of the regional table this series has been assembling: above Henrico's old recruitment rate of \$0.40 and Hanover's \$0.45, below Henrico's post-reform \$2.60 and far below the \$3.50 statewide norm.[17][74] The headline rate understates the concession. Run the depreciation schedule: a dollar of AWS equipment is taxed on 50 cents in year one and on a nickel from year five onward, an effective levy of \$0.0625 per \$100 of original cost on aged equipment. Since the economic development director told the board AWS replaces equipment every five to six years, the schedule's tail rarely binds, but the front of the schedule is the revenue engine, which means Louisa's data center revenue is structurally dependent on refresh cadence, the same dependency the Henrico study documented for that county's housing trust fund. The rate record is fully public, in the September 2023 and April 2026 minutes; the FY27 levies adopted 7-0 on April 27, 2026 confirm \$0.72 real estate, \$2.07 individual personal property, \$1.90 business personal property, and \$1.25 data center equipment.[17][75] What is not public is the executed AWS incentive agreement that determines how much of the resulting revenue flows back out.[15]

A coordination note for the series: the Prince William window's rate-discrepancy writeup should reconcile its regional table against the figures here, particularly Louisa's \$1.25-plus-schedule structure, which resists single-number comparison. The reconciliation is flagged, not performed, in this report.

What the Money Is Doing

The published budget arc: personal property and business equipment revenue rose from \$17.07 million in FY2024 to a budgeted \$21.5 million in FY2026; building permit revenue spiked to \$5.53 million in FY2025, a line the county's own budget book annotates "Includes Amazon"; the FY2027 budget adopted on Monday, April 27, 2026 totals \$201 million.[76] Staff projections, never published with methodology, run from \$36.48 million in new annual revenue by FY2031 to more than \$50 million a year by the mid-2040s, against a current operating budget around \$186 million.* [66] The per-building benchmark beneath them, a county-commissioned Mangum Economics figure of \$37.7 million over 15 years, carries the local paper's own caveat that it has "not been independently verified."* [22]

The board has started spending the projection. The FY2027 budget cut the individual personal property rate from \$2.43 to \$2.07, a 15 percent reduction credited explicitly to data center growth, with the chairman advocating elimination of the car tax within four years and a supervisor declaring he would wear the cut "like a badge

of honor.”[77] A draft revenue allocation plan from June 2025 splits the projected FY2031 increment across capital projects (24.5 percent), roads (17), rural preservation (15), recreation and public safety (10 each), water and sewer (9), tax relief (5), and Lake Anna algal bloom mitigation (4.4), among smaller lines.* [73] One supervisor’s blunt framing of the politics: a working-class resident who reads that Louisa got \$30 million from Amazon while real estate taxes climb is entitled to be angry.[15] The pattern, a rural county converting projected hyperscale revenue into broad-based tax cuts years before the revenue fully materializes and while the largest announced investment has yet to break ground, is the utility finance framework’s risk exhibit. Louisa is leveraging its operating budget against AWS’s refresh cycle and EdgeCore’s intentions, and the fiscal record so far shows the spending decisions running ahead of the receipts. The county has, to its credit, avoided new debt for the water buildout by recycling the Shannon Hill proceeds; it has not avoided baking unrealized projections into rate policy.

The Incentive Stack, Both Directions

What flows back out: the AWS tiered rebates of 15 to 30 percent through 2046 plus the 2047-2051 performance grants;* [15] the EdgeCore 15 percent through 2041 capped at \$15 million;[50] the state’s \$140 million cloud cluster fund, with the county contractually committed to certifying a local match of at least double the state grant by October 2040;[16] and the sales-tax exemption that the companion statewide report prices at the commonwealth level. The county’s economic development director has said the staff projections were developed internally “with assistance from the company” and already net out the incentives.[78] The claim may be true. It cannot be tested, because the methodology has never been published and the agreement that defines the rebates has never been posted. A net-revenue assertion whose two inputs are both non-public is an assertion, and the series will treat it as one until the documents surface.

PART NINE: WHAT THE INSTRUMENT EXPLAINS AND WHAT IT DOESN'T

Louisa is the test of whether the overlay instrument does what its imitators assume it does, and the test result is negative in an instructive way.

The instrument's theory is that pre-entitlement plus performance standards equals fast, predictable, low-conflict development. The record: the same district produced two campuses approved without a hearing and built without organized opposition; one application withdrawn under resistance strong enough to flip the board chair; a 697-acre park whose buyer committed \$17 billion and has built nothing in a year; and a stalled attempt by the county itself to shrink the district a second time. One ordinance, four trajectories. The variables that actually sorted the outcomes are visible in the comparison. Process: the by-right campuses could not be fought because there was nothing to attend; the CUP campus died precisely because the August 2024 correction had restored a veto point. Constituency: the application that failed pointed at a drinking water reservoir and a town; the campuses that proceeded pointed at transmission lines and a nuclear buffer. Timing: AWS's terms were written in the autumn of 2023 by a board in recruitment posture; EdgeCore's were written in December 2025 by a board that had watched a withdrawal, an election, and a land coup, and the terms tightened accordingly.

What the instrument did do is real but narrower than the marketing. It compressed time, moving the political decision from project scale to map scale, which is why \$11 billion arrived 149 days after adoption. It standardized the corridor, putting the 65/60 standard and the buffer geometry into three counties' codes within three years. And it relocated conflict rather than eliminating it: from rezoning hearings to ordinance adoption (Goochland's lawsuit), to discharge permits (the June 2026 DEQ hearing), to land transactions (AWS's January 2026 purchase of the site it had retreated from). The wave the Hanover study tracked outward, Henrico to Hanover to the next ring, did not stop in Louisa. It changed instruments.

The closing observation belongs to the whole series. Louisa got the most favorable version of the bargain available to a rural Virginia county: real revenue ahead of schedule, utilities cash-funded, a retreat it can cite as proof of citizen power, and a nuclear option that might anchor the next tax base. It also now has a district it is trying and failing to shrink, a \$72 million landowner with no application and no obligations, a gigawatt commitment with no shovel, water infrastructure scheduled to arrive after the loads it serves, and a fiscal plan whose denominator is two companies' private capital cadence. Both readings are true, and the county's next decade will be the arbitration between them. October's fieldwork should treat the gap between those readings as the research question.

PART TEN: CHRONOLOGY

Date	Event
1972	North Anna River dammed; Lake Anna created as plant cooling reservoir
1978 / 1980	North Anna Units 1 and 2 online; 1,892 MW combined
2018-2019	County assembles 697-acre Shannon Hill park for \$2.6M; Lake Anna algal bloom advisories begin (2018)
2019	Shannon Hill rezoned with proffers allowing data centers by right
Mar 16, 2022	James River Water Authority votes to relocate intake off Rassawek
Feb 6, 2023	Board directs staff to draft technology-sector strategy
Mar 9, 2023	Planning Commission hearing; noise standard cut to 65/60 dBA
Apr 3, 2023	TOD adopted, Ord. 2023-6, 6-1; ~6,400 acres, data centers by-right
Aug 30, 2023	County announces AWS: \$11B by 2040, two campuses
Sep 5, 2023	AWS performance agreement approved 7-0, subject to amendment
Sep 18, 2023	Data center equipment rate set at \$1.25 + 50/35/20/10/5 schedule, 7-0
Nov 28, 2023	Executed AWS incentive agreement signed; text never posted
Dec 18, 2023	Water/sewer service agreements approved 7-0; 7 MGD combined peak design
Jul 10, 2024	Dominion SMR RFP announced at North Anna; SB 454 ceremony
Aug 2024	Clark Construction breaks ground at Lake Anna campus
Aug 5, 2024	Ord. 2024-11: TOD cut ~2,000 acres; all uses converted to CUP
Aug 14, 2024	James River Water Project groundbreaking
Aug 28, 2024	NRC subsequent license renewal; North Anna licensed to 2058/2060
Oct 16, 2024	Dominion-Amazon SMR memorandum of understanding
Nov 2024	North Creek site plan filed (~3.8M sq ft); \$87.9M infrastructure appropriation
May 16, 2025	AWS files CUP: third campus, 7.2M sq ft, Fisher Chewning tract
Jun 11 / 26, 2025	Neighborhood meeting; town hall where Chairman Adams declares opposition
Jun 24 / 25, 2025	IDA sells Shannon Hill to EdgeCore, \$42M; EdgeCore announces \$17B+, 1.1+ GW
Jul 14, 2025	Town of Mineral commits to opposition statement
Jul 23, 2025	AWS withdraws third-campus application by counsel letter
Jul 29, 2025	SCC approves Rider SMR, PUR-2024-00205: \$17.099M on ratepayer bills
Oct 20, 2025	VEDP cloud-grant local-match agreement approved 7-0
Nov 4, 2025	Elections: all four incumbents win; Adams 1,431-1,235 over a data-center-framed challenge
Dec 1, 2025	EdgeCore performance agreement approved 7-0: 15%, \$15M cap, through 2041
Jan 2026	AWS buys 1,925 acres including withdrawn site; three deeds, \$72,452,434
Jan 20, 2026	Board directs PC to consider removing Fisher Chewning and Cooke from TOD, 7-0
Feb 12 / Apr 9, 2026	PC pulls rollback hearing twice after closed sessions, 7-0 then 5-2
Mar 19, 2026	DEQ public hearing on Lake Anna draft discharge permit VA0093319

Date	Event
Apr 20, 2026	AWS: first Lake Anna building at substantial completion, turned over for operations
Apr 27, 2026	FY27 budget adopted 7-0, \$201M; individual personal property rate cut to \$2.07
Jun 9, 2026	Contentious DEQ follow-up session on Lake Anna discharge permit; decision pending
Jun 12, 2026	Evidence snapshot: rollback stalled; EdgeCore unbuilt; no in-service confirmation in any regulatory record

PART ELEVEN: READING GUIDE BY FRAMEWORK

Institutional behavior. The natural experiment of Part Nine: one instrument, opposite outcomes, sorted by veto points, constituencies, and timing rather than by ordinance text. The August 2024 self-correction as institutional learning under pressure, and the imitators' fork (Goochland copying the abandoned design, New Kent the correction) as evidence about how policy actually diffuses. The SMR triangle of Part Six: a county fiscally planning around a reactor it has no formal role in approving, negotiated between its largest taxpayer and largest investor. The stalled 2026 rollback, two pulled hearings after closed sessions, as the current observation point.

Utility finance. The sale-versus-lease question at Shannon Hill and the recycling of land proceeds into the industry's own utility base (Part Five). The rate-plus-depreciation structure and refresh-cycle dependency (Part Eight), coordinated with the Prince William rate-discrepancy work. Rider SMR as pre-construction ratepayer financing. The gross-versus-net revenue gap: no consolidated projection subtracting the rebate tiers exists.

Distributional justice. The class geography of Part Four stated plainly: opposition won where standing, skills, and property stakes concentrated; the by-right corridors absorbed the buildout without a process; the revenue plan compensates the lake constituency before the host corridors. The map exclusions of Part One: protected landscapes got buffers, unprotected ones got the overlay. Rassawek in the water ledger as the precedent for whose history moves a pipeline.

Energy geography. The origin story of Virginia's pre-entitlement technology and its diffusion at the level of decibel figures and percentage caps (Parts One and Three). The conversion of conflict across instruments rather than its resolution (Part Nine). Lake Anna as a layered rural geography: cooling reservoir, recreational economy, second-home belt, and now data center discharge basin.

Energy, labor, and infrastructure. The water ledger of Part Seven: contract ceilings versus average draws, discharge permits versus "minimal water" claims, supply infrastructure arriving after load. The 420 MW minimum at Lake Anna against one reactor's output. Employment: the county's announcements promise "hundreds" of jobs against \$11 billion; no Louisa-specific employment census exists yet, and assembling one is fieldwork.

PART TWELVE: SOURCE NOTES, FLAGS, AND THE PRIMARY RECORD

Asterisk Flags

Claims marked * in the text rest on a single secondary source or carry an unresolved discrepancy.

1. AWS incentive agreement tiers (15/20/25/30 percent infrastructure grants; 17/20 percent performance grants 2047-2051): Engage Louisa, October 20, 2025, only. The executed agreement of November 28, 2023 has never been posted; the October 2025 VEDP agreement references it as Exhibit A, and the exhibit page in the posted packet is a placeholder.
2. Lake Anna first-building status (“substantial completion... turned over for operations”): AWS’s cluster leader at the April 20, 2026 Lake Anna Summit, via a single recap source. No energization or in-service confirmation appears in any regulatory record.
3. County revenue projections (\$36.48M FY31; more than \$50 million a year by the mid-2040s; roughly \$12 million a year from an SMR; the allocation percentages): staff figures via Engage Louisa; methodology never published; the director’s statement that they are net of incentives cannot be tested against a non-public agreement.
4. EdgeCore water demand: no figure exists publicly. The WUE claim of below 0.01 L/kWh is the company’s, and its published campus parameters drifted between June 2025 and June 2026 (3.9 to 3.1 million square feet; air-cooled to chilled water).
5. CUP2025-05 filing date: reported as mid-May 2025; the application became public in early June; the retrieved public notice is undated.
6. Shannon Hill assembly year: the county’s release says 2018; Virginia Business reported the completed \$2.6 million purchase in March 2019. The deeds sit in Circuit Court records behind a paid portal, the one class of record this study could not pull free.
7. AWS January 2026 deed dates: prices and deed-book references (DB 2058/272, /295, /328) are from county parcel records; exact recordation dates are not in the free layer.
8. North Creek power demand (“could require up to 3 GW... up to 10 substations”): The Central Virginian, July 30, 2025, only.

9. The \$37.7 million-per-building, 15-year revenue benchmark: a county-commissioned Mangum Economics figure The Central Virginian itself notes has “not been independently verified.”

10. AWS’s stated purpose for the January 2026 land purchase (“supports water infrastructure needs”): company statement to Engage Louisa only.

Dropped in verification: a reported \$115 million annual revenue projection for the withdrawn third campus, attributed in early drafts of the research to Virginia Mercury’s July 28, 2025 article. The figure does not appear in that article and is excluded from this report. Also dropped: the April 2023 press description of a 300-foot buffer “for both” residential and agricultural neighbors; the documentary record (Part One) is more interesting than the error.

Where the Primary Record Lives

Louisa County’s governing record is more public than its reputation suggests; nearly everything in this study traces to a document anyone can download. Board and Planning Commission packets, minutes, and meeting video live on the county’s CivicClerk portal (louisacova.portal.civicclerk.com), and every file is directly retrievable through the portal’s public API ([louisacova.api.civicclerk.com/v1/Meetings/GetMeetingFileStream\(fileId=N,plainText=false\)](https://louisacova.api.civicclerk.com/v1/Meetings/GetMeetingFileStream(fileId=N,plainText=false))). The load-bearing files: the April 3, 2023 TOD adoption packet and minutes (fileIds 1338, 1340; video at event 474); the September 5, 2023 AWS agreement resolution (1520, 1540); the September 18, 2023 tax vote (1539, 1572); the December 18, 2023 executed water and sewer agreements (1645, 1656); the October 20, 2025 VEDP local-match agreement (2131, 2138); the December 1, 2025 EdgeCore agreement in full text (2148, 2176; video at event 1021); the August 5, 2024 amendment video (event 868); the Planning Commission rollback minutes (2237, 2275); and the April 27, 2026 FY27 levy adoption (2258, 2264).

The county DocumentCenter holds the posted “as approved” TOD text (View/9955, the April 6, 2023 edit discussed in Part One), the FY27 budget book (View/12544), and the third-campus neighborhood notice (View/11692). The CUP2025-05 application and the July 23, 2025 withdrawal letter are still live on the county document server (louweb.louisa.org/LCDocs/_CUP/2025-05/). The SCC’s Rider SMR final order is in docket PUR-2024-00205. The discharge permits are traceable as VA0093301 (issued) and VA0093319 (draft) through EPA’s ECHO database and the Virginia Regulatory Town Hall. Sale dates, prices, grantors, and deed-book references for the EdgeCore and AWS transactions are in the county’s GIS parcel layer and Patriot Properties assessment cards. Election results are certified at the Virginia Department of Elections.

What Remains Non-Public

Five items, and only five, resisted retrieval. The executed AWS Economic Development Local Performance Agreement of November 28, 2023, the single most consequential fiscal document in the county, is unpublished, and with it the tier schedule rests on press reporting. The Dominion-Amazon SMR memorandum of understanding has never been released by either party. The Circuit Court deed instruments sit behind Virginia's paid remote-access system, leaving exact January 2026 recordation dates and the 2018-2019 Shannon Hill assembly deeds unconfirmed. The Planning Commission's two closed sessions on the TOD rollback are lawfully exempt, and the minutes record only the legal-counsel citation. And DEQ's decision on the Lake Anna discharge permit is pending. October's fieldwork can ask people about all five; none of them requires a records request to keep this study honest in the meantime.

Cross-References Owed to Other Reports (Flagged, Not Edited)

- Hanover v2.0, endnote 30: cites "Louisa TOD § 86-455." Correct citation is §§ 86-330 through 86-334 (noise standard at § 86-332(e); 86-335 is reserved). Correct at next Hanover revision.
- Goochland v1.0 (shipped June 2026) already carries the corrected section citation; the Goochland kickoff document does not. Lineage division of labor confirmed: this report owns the origin, Goochland's owns the replication and litigation.
- Henrico v3.6 regional context: states "Louisa County sold its 697-acre Shannon Hill Regional Business Park... for \$42 million." Seller of record was the county's IDA; the sale closed June 24, 2025. Refinement, not error; adjust if v3.7 occurs.
- What Virginia Is Spending v4.0: Louisa's \$1.25-plus-schedule structure belongs in any statewide rate table revision, with the effective-rate caveat of Part Eight.
- Companion list, this report's publication page: five additional studies shipped in June 2026 (Goochland, Culpeper, Mecklenburg, Botetourt, the Fredericksburg Ring, plus Prince William v2.0). Companion-list reconciliation is owed series-wide and is flagged, not performed, here.

ENDNOTES

[1] Alfred P. Sloan Foundation study on the energy implications of data center expansion in Georgia, Virginia, and Tennessee. Framework mapping follows project convention; see Purpose, Scope, and Method.

[2] Turner, What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting, v4.0 (March 2026).

[3] Louisa County Code, Ch. 86, Art. II, Div. 6, §§ 86-330–86-334 (86-335 reserved) (Ord. 2023-6, Apr. 3, 2023; Ord. 2024-11, Aug. 5, 2024), via Municode, codified through Ord. 2026-6 (Mar. 16, 2026). § 86-455 (corner lots, IND district) confirmed unrelated. https://library.municode.com/va/louisa_county/codes/code_of_ordinances

[4] Engage Louisa, “This week in county government,” Mar. 6, 2023. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/this-week-in-county-government-after-632>

[5] Engage Louisa, Apr. 10, 2023 (adoption, votes, hearing testimony, LACA speed objection). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/adams-williams-propose-five-percent>

[6] Louisa County press release, “Amazon Web Services announces plan to invest \$11 billion in Louisa County by 2040,” Aug. 30, 2023. <https://www.louisacounty.gov/m/newsflash/Home/Detail/363?arc=2319>

[7] Turner, Hanover Case Study v2.0, Part Two and endnote 30 (section number corrected herein).

[8] Louisa County BOS, Apr. 3, 2023: agenda packet, attachment 9.6.c, “LDR 2023-01 Amendment — Section 86-330 Technology Overlay District” (drafted Feb. 7, revised Mar. 10, reformatted Mar. 28, 2023), CivicClerk fileId 1338; minutes (roll call, no floor amendment), fileId 1340; meeting video, CivicClerk event 474. File-stream URLs follow the pattern in Part Twelve.

[9] Louisa County DocumentCenter, “Amendments to Chapter 86 LDR — TOD,” marked “BOS Approved 040323,” file edit date Apr. 6, 2023. <https://www.louisacounty.gov/DocumentCenter/View/9955>

[10] Isaac Parrish, “County OKs tech overlay districts,” The Central Virginian, Apr. 2023, via Internet Archive capture of Apr. 8, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20230408170147/https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/county-oks-tech-overlay-districts/article_235d31e6-d3bd-11ed-a1fe-af8f2a30cab1.html

[11] Louisa County, “Technology Overlay District (TOD)” explainer. <https://www.louisacounty.gov/3244/Technology-Overlay-District-TOD>

[12] Office of the Governor, AWS \$35 billion announcement, Jan. 2023. <https://www.governor.virginia.gov/newsroom/news-releases/2023/january/name-991808-en.html>

[13] Data Center Dynamics, “Amazon files for 3.8 million sq ft data center campus in Louisa County” (LATC JPA filing, plan details). <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/amazon-files-for-38-million-sq-ft-data-center-campus-in-louisa-county-virginia/>; Lake Anna campus details via [baxtel.com/data-center/amazon-lake-anna-tech-campus](https://www.baxtel.com/data-center/amazon-lake-anna-tech-campus)

[14] Louisa County BOS, minutes, Sept. 5, 2023 (closed session under Va. Code § 2.2-3711(A)(7), (8), (29); 7-0 approval “subject to future amendment”), CivicClerk fileId 1540; packet summary, fileId 1520.

[15] Engage Louisa, “BOS preview: board to talk data center revenue,” Oct. 20, 2025 (agreement tiers, Barnes quote). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/bos-preview-board-to-talk-data-center>. The executed EDLPA is dated November 28, 2023 per the Oct. 20, 2025 board minutes; it is referenced as Exhibit A to the VEDP local performance agreement but omitted from every posted packet.

[16] Local Cloud Computing Performance Agreement (Louisa County / VEDP / Amazon Data Services), BOS packet, Oct. 20, 2025, CivicClerk fileId 2131 (\$140M maximum grant; local match “at least twice” the state amount; final local match report due Oct. 1, 2040); approved 7-0 per minutes, fileId 2138.

[17] Louisa County Board of Supervisors, minutes, Sept. 18, 2023 (7-0; Va. Code § 58.1-3506(A)(43); rate and schedule verbatim), CivicClerk fileId 1572; packet fileId 1539. Wade statements per Engage Louisa, Sept. 25, 2023. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/this-week-in-county-government-bos-f59>; The Central Virginian, “BOS approves tax break for AWS.” https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/bos-approves-tax-break-for-aws/article_d843f14a-57d3-11ee-abe8-5308ae4428c2.html

[18] Executed water and sewer service agreements (IAD550 Lake Anna Tech; IAD557 North East Creek Tech), Louisa County BOS packet, Dec. 18, 2023, CivicClerk fileId 1645 (peak flows, delivery dates, reimbursements, rates; Exhibit 1 combined peak-day demand ~7 MGD); minutes, fileId 1656 (7-0; staff average-at-buildout 0.63 MGD against 3.2 MGD safe yield). Context: Engage Louisa, Jul. 22, 2024. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/aws-preparing-to-start-work-at-lake>

[19] Information Charlottesville, “\$88 million infrastructure project for two Amazon data centers,” Nov. 18, 2024. <https://infocville.com/2024/11/18/louisa-county-supervisors-to-approve-partnership-to-build-88-million-infrastructure-project-for-two-amazon-data-centers/>

- [20] Engage Louisa, Mar. 2, 2026 (Clark Construction; August 2024 groundbreaking). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supes-to-talk-budget-hold-two-public>
- [21] Data Center Dynamics, “AWS seeks permit for another data center campus in Louisa County,” Nov. 2024. <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/aws-seeks-permit-for-another-data-center-campus-in-louisa-county-virginia/>
- [22] “Louisa residents ‘keep pushing’ as data center discussion intensifies,” The Central Virginian, Jul. 30, 2025. https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/louisa-residents-keep-pushing-as-data-center-discussion-intensifies/article_b9e78680-92ee-4968-bee8-b149dd010844.html
- [23] Lake Anna Summit recap (AWS data center cluster leader Jeff McCormick remarks, Apr. 20, 2026), lakeanna.online, Apr. 21, 2026; Engage Louisa, Nov. 10, 2025 (first building “nearing completion”); Virginia Mercury, Jun. 1, 2026 (well-water operation pending county line).
- [24] Municode, § 86-333 editor’s note (Ord. 2024-11, Aug. 5, 2024); Engage Louisa, Aug. 12, 2024. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/planning-commission-gives-truck-stop>
- [25] The Central Virginian, “BoS wrestles with cutting size of TOD,” July 2024. https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/bos-wrestles-with-cutting-size-of-tod/article_e162a464-38f2-11ef-988b-a7ec395d745d.html; Engage Louisa, Jun. 17, 2024 (PC 6-1 shrink recommendation). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/voters-head-to-polls-for-house-senate>
- [26] Engage Louisa, “Supes direct PC to review TOD,” Jan. 26, 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supes-direct-pc-to-review-tod-consider>
- [27] Engage Louisa, “At town hall, Adams says he opposes third AWS campus” (park history, 2019 proffers, sale context), Jun. 30, 2025. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/at-town-hall-adams-says-he-opposes>
- [28] Goochland County, TOD/Technology Zone pages and FAQ comparison table (original 7/7/25 vs. updated 10/20/25). <https://www.goochlandva.us/1408/Technology-Overlay-District-Technology-Z;> <https://www.goochlandva.us/DocumentCenter/View/12655>; Virginia Mercury, Nov. 10, 2025. <https://virginiamercury.com/2025/11/10/goochland-approves-tech-overlay-district-after-hours-of-resident-backlash/>
- [29] Richmond BizSense, Goochland TOD litigation coverage, May 20 and May 27, 2026. [https://richmondbizsense.com/2026/05/20/as-lawsuit-hearing-looms-goochland-residents-keep-up-fight-against-controversial-tech-overlay-district/;](https://richmondbizsense.com/2026/05/20/as-lawsuit-hearing-looms-goochland-residents-keep-up-fight-against-controversial-tech-overlay-district/)

<https://richmondbizsense.com/2026/05/27/judge-rejects-countys-full-8500-page-filing-in-goochland-tod-lawsuit/>

[30] Richmond BizSense, “Following Goochland’s lead, New Kent County mulling data center-centric tech overlay district,” Feb. 19, 2026. <https://richmondbizsense.com/2026/02/19/following-goochlands-lead-new-kent-county-mulling-data-center-centric-tech-overlay-district/>; New Kent-Charles City Chronicle, Mar. 8, 2026. <https://nkccnews.com/local-news/2026/03/08/consideration-for-development-of-technology-overlay-district-targets-data-center-development/>

[31] Engage Louisa, “Breaking: Amazon proposes third data center campus,” May 2025. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/breaking-amazon-proposes-third-data-center-dynamics>. Data Center Dynamics. <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/aws-proposes-72m-sq-ft-data-center-campus-in-louisa-county-virginia/>; application package: https://louweb.louisa.org/LCDocs/_CUP/2025-05/Application.pdf

[32] Louisa County Neighborhood Public Notice, CUP2025-05 with SA2025-01 and SEP2025-01 through SEP2025-06 (nine parcels, 1,353.19 acres; applicant Amazon Data Services, Inc.; agent Charles W. Payne Jr., Hirschler). <https://louisacounty.gov/DocumentCenter/View/11692/Neighborhood-Public-Notice>

[33] CBS19/29News, “Chairman Adams says he’d vote no,” Jun. 27, 2025. <https://www.29news.com/2025/06/27/chairman-adams-says-hed-vote-no-proposed-third-amazon-data-center-campus-louisa-county/>

[34] Engage Louisa, “Residents ramp up opposition to proposed AWS campus,” Jul. 14, 2025 (Walker, groups, petition, Wynkoop quote). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/residents-ramp-up-opposition-to-proposed>

[35] The Central Virginian, “Both Louisa towns talk data centers,” Jul. 2025. https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/both-louisa-towns-talk-data-centers/article_b9d15261-b435-4e38-a445-8b4d9d51099d.html

[36] Engage Louisa, “Community meeting highlights concerns,” Jul. 28, 2025. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/community-meeting-highlights-concerns>; Piedmont Environmental Council, Virginia Data Center Reform Coalition. <https://www.pecva.org/region/regional-state-national-region/general-assembly/virginia-data-center-reform-coalition/>

[37] Charles W. Payne Jr. (Hirschler) to Louisa County deputy planning director, withdrawal letter, Jul. 23, 2025, on the county document server: https://louweb.louisa.org/LCDocs/_CUP/2025-05/Withdrawal%20Letter.pdf; Data

Center Dynamics. <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/aws-withdraws-plans-for-third-data-center-campus-in-louisa-county-virginia/>

[38] Shannon Heckt, “Amazon pulls Louisa County data center proposal after strong resistance,” Virginia Mercury, Jul. 28, 2025. <https://viriniamercury.com/2025/07/28/amazon-pulls-louisa-county-data-center-proposal-after-strong-resistance/>

[39] WRIC, “Some Louisa County residents celebrate victory as Amazon withdraws data center proposal.” <https://www.wric.com/news/local-news/louisa-county/some-louisa-county-residents-celebrate-victory-as-amazon-withdraws-data-center-proposal/>

[40] Virginia Department of Elections, certified results (Dec. 1, 2025 certification), Nov. 4, 2025 general, Louisa County, Mineral District supervisor: Adams 1,431; Rogers 1,235; write-ins 18. <https://enr.elections.virginia.gov/results/public/louisa-county/elections/2025-November-General>

[41] Engage Louisa, “Breaking: Amazon Web Services acquires nearly 2,000 acres,” Jan. 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/breaking-amazon-web-services-acquires>; “In wake of massive AWS land deal,” Jan. 19, 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/in-wake-of-massive-aws-land-deal>

[42] Louisa County GIS parcel layer and Patriot Properties assessment records: deeds at DB 2058/295 (\$54,013,753), DB 2058/328 (\$17,529,321), DB 2058/272 (\$909,360); grantee Amazon Data Services Inc.; reported by Engage Louisa, Jan. 15, 2026.

[43] Engage Louisa, Feb. 16, 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/proposed-routes-for-massive-transmission>; Apr. 13, 2026 (“PC again pulls public hearing”). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/pc-again-pulls-public-hearing-on>

[44] Louisa County Planning Commission, minutes: Feb. 12, 2026 (closed session under Va. Code § 2.2-3711(A)(8); 7-0 to remove the hearing), CivicClerk fileId 2237; Apr. 9, 2026 (closed session, same citation; 5-2, Goodwin and Kersey dissenting), fileId 2275.

[45] Engage Louisa, “BOS preview: supervisors to consider” (Aspen contract, Tier 4 trajectory, no tenants as of Dec. 2024). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/bos-preview-supervisors-to-consider>

[46] Louisa County press release, “Louisa County announces the sale of Shannon Hill Regional Business Park,” Jun. 24, 2025. <https://www.louisacounty.gov/CivicAlerts.aspx?AID=470>

- [47] Patriot Properties assessment cards, Shannon Hill parcels (e.g., tax map 79-36): sale date Jun. 24, 2025; price \$42,000,000; grantor Louisa County Industrial Development Authority; grantee EDI Louisa 1 LLC. <https://louisava.patriotproperties.com>
- [48] EdgeCore press release, Jun. 25, 2025 (verbatim: 3.9M sq ft; 1.1+ GW; “close-looped air-cooled system”; WUE “below .01 L/kWh”). <https://edgecore.com/new-louisa-county-virginia-data-center-campus/>; WDBJ7 (\$120B Youngkin total). <https://www.wdbj7.com/2025/06/25/va-reaches-record-120-billion-business-investments-announced-gov-glenn-youngkin/>
- [49] EdgeCore, Louisa County location page (3.1M sq ft, 6 buildings, chilled-water description), accessed Jun. 12, 2026. <https://edgecore.com/locations/louisa-county-va/>
- [50] Economic Development Local Performance Agreement, County/IDA and EDI Louisa 1, LLC, full text in Louisa County BOS packet, Dec. 1, 2025, CivicClerk fileId 2148; minutes (7-0), fileId 2176. The Central Virginian, “BOS OKs performance agreement with EdgeCore.” https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/bos-oks-performance-agreement-with-edgecore/article_7ca8c1b2-b65c-4297-b5eb-391ecfd3f4fc.html; Engage Louisa. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/bos-prepares-to-spend-more-than-4>
- [51] Engage Louisa, Jun. 30, 2025 (“It didn’t specify how many gallons of water it expects to use per day”). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/at-town-hall-adams-says-he-opposes>
- [52] Engage Louisa, “Amid concerns about data centers” (no shovel; permit revenue all AWS). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/amid-concerns-about-data-centers>
- [53] Engage Louisa, Apr. 13, 2026 (Ferncliff plant idle; “final link... expected to be complete by late 2027”). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/pc-again-pulls-public-hearing-on>
- [54] Engage Louisa, Valley Link corridor and \$250K allocation coverage, 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/proposed-routes-for-massive-transmission>; <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supes-allocate-250k-to-fight-vl-transmission>
- [55] Engage Louisa, “BOS expected to appropriate \$33 million,” spring 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/bos-expected-to-appropriate-33-million>
- [56] American Nuclear Society and Engage Louisa summaries of plant capacity and share of state generation; Engage Louisa, Jul. 22, 2024. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/aws-preparing-to-start-work-at-lake>

- [57] World Nuclear News, “NRC approves 20-year extension for North Anna,” Aug. 2024. <https://www.world-nuclear-news.org/articles/nrc-approves-20-year-extension-for-north-anna-1-an>; Federal Register, Record of Decision, Sept. 10, 2024. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2024/09/10/2024-20277/>
- [58] Lake Anna Civic Association comments to NRC, 2009 (lake levels, lost recreation days), ML090370145. <https://www.nrc.gov/docs/ML0903/ML090370145.pdf>; virginiaplaces.org, Lake Anna. <https://www.virginiaplaces.org/watersheds/lakeanna.html>
- [59] Dominion North Anna payment (~\$11M FY25) via Engage Louisa, Jun. 9, 2025. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supervisors-talk-future-data-center>
- [60] Dominion Energy press release, Jul. 10, 2024. <https://news.dominionenergy.com/press-releases/press-releases/2024/Dominion-Energy-takes-important-step-to-determine-feasibility-of-Small-Modular-Reactor-SMR-technology-to-support-customers-needs-07-10-2024/default.aspx>; Utility Dive, Jul. 2024. <https://www.utilitydive.com/news/dominion-energy-smr-small-modular-reactor-north-anna-nuclear-site/721240/>
- [61] Dominion Energy press release, Oct. 16, 2024 (MOU verbatim). <https://news.dominionenergy.com/press-releases/press-releases/2024/Dominion-Energy-and-Amazon-to-explore-advancement-of-Small-Modular-Reactor-SMR-nuclear-development-in-Virginia-10-16-2024/default.aspx>; Utility Dive (“at least 300 MW” Amazon framing). <https://www.utilitydive.com/news/amazon-small-modular-reactor-deals-nuclear-dominion-x-energy-energy-northwest/730022/>; Louisa County CivicAlert AID=447. <https://www.louisacounty.gov/CivicAlerts.aspx?AID=447>
- [62] NRC, North Anna ESP (2007) and Unit 3 COL (2017) records. <https://www.nrc.gov/reactors/new-reactors/large-lwr/col/north-anna>; Dominion Q1 2026 earnings call, May 1, 2026 (transcript). <https://www.fool.com/earnings/call-transcripts/2026/05/01/dominion-d-q1-2026-earnings-call-transcript/>
- [63] Utility Dive, Dominion 2024 IRP (five SMRs, 1,340 MW by 2039), Oct. 2024. <https://www.utilitydive.com/news/dominion-integrated-resource-plan-irp-renewables-natural-gas/729989/>; Dominion 2025 IRP Update, Oct. 15, 2025. <https://www.dominionenergy.com/-/media/content/about/our-company/irp/pdfs/2025-integrated-resource-plan-update.pdf>
- [64] Virginia SCC, Final Order, Case No. PUR-2024-00205, Jul. 29, 2025 (\$17.099M approved revenue requirement of \$24.8M Phase I scope; ~\$0.29/month estimate; under the § 56-585.1:14 C cap). <https://scc.virginia.gov/docketsearch/DOCS/870801!.PDF>

[65] Dominion Energy Virginia, 2025 Integrated Resource Plan Update, SCC Case No. PUR-2025-00184, Oct. 15, 2025, § 3.4.1 (archived copy via Internet Archive, Nov. 14, 2025 capture); Dominion Energy Q4 2025 earnings call, Feb. 23, 2026, transcript. <https://www.fool.com/earnings/call-transcripts/2026/02/23/dominion-energy-d-q4-2025-earnings-transcript/>

[66] Engage Louisa, “Supervisors talk future data center revenue,” Jun. 9, 2025 (Colvin projections, allocation draft). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supervisors-talk-future-data-center>

[67] The Central Virginian, Zion Crossroads wells. https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/county-prepares-to-put-two-more-wells-in-service/article_5966b44e-d849-11ec-9f3b-539a5ead97cb.html; reservoir safe yield and draws via Engage Louisa, Jul. 22, 2024. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/aws-preparing-to-start-work-at-lake>

[68] U.S. Census Bureau, 2020 Census (37,596); Vintage 2025 county estimates (42,924 as of Jul. 1, 2025). <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/datasets/2020-2025/counties/totals/co-est2025-alldata.csv>; UVA Weldon Cooper Center estimate (42,418) via Engage Louisa, Mar. 2, 2026.

[69] James River Water Authority record: Timmons Group project page (2 MGD initial, 8 MGD ultimate). <https://www.timmons.com/project/james-river-water-project/>; relocation vote Mar. 16, 2022, via cvillepedia. https://cvillepedia.org/James_River_Water_Authority; groundbreaking Aug. 14, 2024, NBC12. <https://www.12onyourside.com/2024/08/14/ground-broken-james-river-water-authority-project/>; slip to late 2027 per Engage Louisa, Apr. 13, 2026.

[70] Virginia Mercury, “What’s in the water: what we know and don’t know about data center water discharge in Virginia,” Jun. 1, 2026. <https://viriniamercury.com/2026/06/01/whats-in-the-water-what-we-know-and-dont-know-about-data-center-water-discharge-in-virginia/>

[71] EPA ECHO, VPDES individual permit VA0093301, Amazon Data Services — Northeast Creek Tech Campus, effective, expires Jan. 31, 2031. <https://echo.epa.gov>; Virginia Regulatory Town Hall, public notice, draft VPDES VA0093319, Amazon Data Services — Lake Anna Tech Campus (comment periods Nov. 13–Dec. 15, 2025 and Jan. 29–Apr. 3, 2026; hearing Mar. 19, 2026). <https://townhall.virginia.gov/L/ViewMeeting.cfm?MeetingID=42912>

[72] NBC12, “DEQ meeting about data center water discharging into Lake Anna tributaries turns contentious,” Jun. 10, 2026. <https://www.12onyourside.com/2026/06/10/deq-meeting-about-data-center-water->

discharging-into-lake-anna-tributaries-turns-contentious/; The Central Virginian, “Lake Anna residents object to VPDES permit.” https://www.thecentralvirginian.com/news/lake-anna-residents-object-to-vpdes-permit-for-aws-campus/article_cf21bdf3-bce7-4b8b-b064-638622898ffd.html

[73] Engage Louisa, Jun. 9, 2025 (allocation draft including 4.4 percent HAB mitigation). <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supervisors-talk-future-data-center>

[74] Turner, Henrico Case Study v3.6 (rates); Turner, Hanover Case Study v2.0 (rates); JLARC 2024 statewide norm.

[75] Louisa County BOS, minutes, Apr. 27, 2026 (FY27 levies, 7-0; floor amendment substituting the \$2.43-to-\$2.07 rate cut for the advertised rebate), CivicClerk fileId 2264; packet, fileId 2258.

[76] Louisa County FY27 Adopted Budget Book (Feb. 17, 2026 presentation; revenue lines; “Includes Amazon” annotation). <https://www.louisacounty.gov/DocumentCenter/View/12544/FY27-Louisa-County-Adopted-Budget-Book-Draft?bidId=>

[77] Engage Louisa, “Supervisors adopt \$201 mil budget,” May 4, 2026. <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/supervisors-adopt-201-mil-budget>; WRIC. <https://www.wric.com/news/local-news/louisa-county/personal-property-tax-cuts-data-centers/>; CBS19. https://www.cbs19news.com/news/louisa-county-leaders-approve-personal-property-tax-cut-amid-growth-from-data-centers/article_f5217555-ce4d-4dd4-8cd8-3f963e6f8bca.html

[78] Engage Louisa, Oct. 20, 2025: Wade — AWS projections “developed internally with assistance from the company and account for incentives offered to the tech giant, which will come from net new tax revenue.” <https://tammypurcell.substack.com/p/bos-preview-board-to-talk-data-center>

This case study draws on the codified Louisa County ordinance, county and state press releases, Dominion Energy regulatory filings, NRC licensing records, Virginia DEQ permit proceedings, census data, and sustained local coverage from 2023 through June 2026. It is a companion to What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting: A Fiscal Analysis of the Commonwealth’s Data Center Tax Exemptions (v4.0, March 2026). Version 1.0 is a pre-field dossier; interviews and document production are scheduled for October 2026.