

University of North Carolina Asheville

Upper French Broad “Dam Fighters!”: The Upper French Broad Defense Association

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Submitted by:
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It must be easy for you to fly over communities and drive by homes - deciding just how much land is needed for your dams and reservoirs - but I would ask you to please take the time to visit our church, to get to know our people; let us show you some of the treasured land-marks - see how closely our lives are linked to those of our neighbors - so close that if part of us are taken away - the gap can never be filled - then I feel sure that you would not and could not destroy these beautiful communities - it is just too high a price to pay.¹

-Danny Youngblood (age 15)

On 19 September 1965, a group of about 100 citizens met at Mills River School in Henderson County, North Carolina. This group included residents of various communities, mainly in Henderson and Transylvania counties, who found they had one major interest in common: they were opposed to the TVA plans for the Upper French Broad River Basin. From 1961 to 1972, local residents, environmentalists, and eventually, elected officials, became involved in a political struggle to stop TVA plans to build 14 massive impoundments and channelize 74 miles of the Upper French Broad River in Buncombe, Haywood, Henderson, Madison, and Transylvania counties. TVA saw a need for systematic flooding aimed at producing lake-based recreation, controlling annual flooding, generating hydroelectric power, and stopping the rural out-migration of many young people in the Tennessee Valley who been forced to look for work outside the region. But local residents disagreed with TVA, as they did not see a need for lakes, hydroelectric power, and channelization. The political struggle for control of the Upper French Broad and its tributaries pitted defiant citizens, organized as the Upper French Broad Defense Association (UFBDA), against TVA and their government supporters from Brevard to Washington. The steadfast efforts of the UFBDA in rallying cooperation and dedication to a common interest swayed public opinion against TVA and ultimately caused the cancellation of plans to dam and channelize the Upper French Broad River.

¹ Danny Youngblood, letter to Aubrey Wagner, Oct 23, 1970. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (5).

Scholars have written extensively about TVA projects, yet not much has been written on grassroots opposition to the Authority. For instance, in 2012, the University of Georgia published *Blue Ridge Commons*, written by Kathryn Newfont. *Blue Ridge Commons* has served as an excellent resource for environmental history, social history, and grassroots environmental activism in southern Appalachia. Newfont highlighted the role of the western North Carolina Alliance in organizing resistance against forces that threaten to destroy, overtake, or otherwise limit, the access of local residents to lands they use for hunting fishing, and outdoor recreation. Because she focused on forests, Newfont did not include TVA or the defense of rivers.²

TVA and the Dispossessed: the Resettlement of Population in the Norris Dam Area, written in 1985 by Michael J. McDonald and John Muldowny, focused on three aspects of the removal of people from the Norris Dam area just north of Knoxville: buying the land, relocating the families, and reburying the dead. McDonald and Muldowny interpret the removal retrospectively through both their own data and several earlier analyses undertaken by others. They unfortunately did not consider the impacts of organized opposition to the TVA's removal plans that McDonald and Muldowny deemed a "social experiment."³ Following the same trend, Erwin C. Hargrove, in his *Prisoners of Myth*, argued that, beginning in the late 1940s, members of the TVA board of directors became haunted by the Authority's early history and made decisions based not on the needs of their own time but on an outdated conception of the agency's mission. Similar to McDonald and Muldowny's research, Hargrove offered scant attention to whether or not organized opposition affected TVA's decision-making.⁴

² Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 141-43.

³ Michael J. McDonald and John Muldowny, *TVA and the Dispossessed: the Resettlement of Population in the Norris Dam Area* (Knoxville: Univ of Tennessee Pr, 1985), 88.

⁴ Erwin C. Hargrove, *Prisoners of Myth: The Leadership of The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 169-71.

In 1986 Willaim Bruce Wheeler and Michael J. McDonald wrote, *TVA and the Tellico Dam, 1936-1979: A Bureaucratic Crisis in Post-Industrial America*, which described fallacies in TVA plans to build dam across the Little River near its junction with the Tennessee. The authors do not infer that there were any grassroots organizations specifically designed to oppose TVA's plans for Tellico. In fact, the authors suggest that "over the course of the 1960s, vast numbers of local residents seemed to have no opinion at all."⁵ Wheeler and McDonald thus credit the delaying of the building of the Tellico Dam to the greater national ecology movement and not the efforts of local opposition to TVA. In volume 157, issue # 3 of *The Geographical Journal* D.T. Kuzmiak comments extensively on environmentally concerned groups who began calling for more economic and ecological justification from the government projects seeking to recover and rehabilitate the relationship between human and nature. Like Wheeler and McDonald, she chose to focus on groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, and Environmental Action. Kuzmiak also failed to mention TVA or local, grassroots organizations designed specifically to oppose large scale government-funded projects designed for regional economic development.⁶

In 1984, *The Myth of TVA: Conservation and Development in the Tennessee Valley, 1933-1983*, written by William Chandler at the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington D.C., directly mentions TVA planning and goals for damming in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Chandler chose, however, to focus on the origins and development of TVA, and not the local, state, or national opposition to the value of

⁵ William Bruce Wheeler and Michael J. McDonald, *TVA and the Tellico Dam, 1936-1979: A Bureaucratic Crisis in Post-Industrial America* (Knoxville: Univ of Tennessee Pr, 1986), 67.

⁶ D. T. Kuzmiak, "The American Environmental Movement," *The Geographical Journal* 3, no. 157 (Nov. 1991): 263.

political accountability in energy, economic, and environmental decision-making.⁷ Aelred J. Gray and David A. Johnson, both former TVA planners, wrote *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program: the Transformation of an Institution and Its Mission* in 2005. Their work focuses TVA's broad regional planning program which sought to create new 'model' towns and bring recreation-based tourism to areas like Fontana, areas they considered to be "one of the most seriously lagging regions of the U.S."⁸ Like Chandler, Gray and Johnson chose not to detail the effects of local, state, or national opposition to TVA plans for purchasing and purposely dam and flood thousands of acres under the guise of economic and social progress.⁹

Past works on the TVA and their efforts at regional planning focused exclusively on Authority policies and leadership that influenced decision making. The resultant effects of grassroots opposition to TVA plans and goals of regional planning never rose to the forefront of historical research. This research project examined the significance the efforts of the Upper French Broad Defense Association in keeping the French Broad a free-flowing river and preserving fertile farmland, analyzing specific instances where TVA lacked economic and environmental justification for their proposed regional planning and development program, and prove that grassroots opposition to TVA can be successful.

In 1931, Franklin Roosevelt established TVA, a federal corporation answerable only to the President and Congress. Roosevelt's prime directive with TVA was to take over Wilson Dam and Muscle Shoals "for development with special reference to electrical power, irrigation, fertilizers, and flood control."¹⁰ Expectations for this hydroelectric power with Congress as a

⁷William U. Chandler, *The Myth of TVA: Conservation and Development in the Tennessee Valley, 1933-1983* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Pub Co, 1984), 90.

⁸ Aelred J. Gray and David A. Johnson, *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program: the Transformation of an Institution and Its Mission* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Ltd, 2005), 78.

⁹ Gray and Johnson, *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program*, 78-83.

¹⁰ Tennessee Valley Authority Act. "Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933." [48 Stat. 58-59, 16 U.S.C. sec. 831] http://www.tva.com/abouttva/pdf/TVA_Act.pdf (Accessed 15 August 2013).

pipeline to the U.S. Treasury were undoubtedly high. By the late 1960s, however, TVA's annual expenditure would pass the one billion dollar mark, and in addition to multiple dams in Tennessee, the Authority would control installations in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Yet with all of this hydroelectric power, TVA would, by 1966, generate more than 90 percent of its electricity from coal.¹¹ And from this coal TVA smokestacks had, as UFBDA vice president Dr. Jere Brittain remembered, "stained Birmingham, and its strip mines destroy countless hillsides in Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana."¹²

The TVA grew rapidly and ominously from its inception, its work had become abundant by 1942. The pressures of World War II hastened the construction of Lake Douglass, and even before Douglass was completed TVA engineers, flushed with federal largess, were looking for new valleys to exploit.¹³ And in 1942, TVA published a massive development project for tributaries of the Tennessee River. TVA offered nine counties in western North Carolina economic growth, flood control, tourism, and recreation at federal expense and on an overpowering scale. Four counties—Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain—rose to the lure. Buncombe, Haywood, Henderson, Madison, and Transylvania counties balked at the proposal of artificial lakes and massive impoundments and channelization flooding some of their most fertile farming valleys.¹⁴

The French Broad rises in Transylvania among clusters of steep valleys, battered by the heaviest rainfall of Eastern North America. In 1957 Henderson and Transylvania invited the

¹¹1966 Annual TVA report, Book. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 7. File (1).

¹²Jere Brittain, interviewed by Scott Johnson, 17 October 1981, Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (12).

¹³Chandler, *The Myth of TVA*, 90.

¹⁴Brittain, interview.

North Carolina Soil Conservation Service (SCS) to make a study of their mutual flood problem.¹⁵ And, in 1961 citizens of Transylvania County endorsed the SCS recommendations for construction of headwater dams, largely on National Forest land, by voting for an annual tax for upkeep of the dams by a margin of five to one.¹⁶ To the residents of Henderson and Transylvania, this seemed to promise flood protection at a moderate cost and provide a legal barrier against more destructive schemes of flood control. Yet, after the French Broad suffered major floods in August of 1961, the Western North Carolina Regional Planning Commission and the State Department of Water Resources invited TVA to draw up a comprehensive development of resources in the area.¹⁷ County Commissioners in all five counties showed widespread support.

The continued backing of county commissioners, senators and congressmen during the early 1960s served as proof for officials in Knoxville and Washington that there was no substantive opposition to TVA plans for the Upper French Broad. This changed, however, as the UFBDA corresponding secretary Martha Gash Boswell recalled “when it became known that TVA claimed eminent domain on our tributaries and can construct dams whenever and wherever they so desired.”¹⁸ Opponents of TVA’s plans in western North Carolina were ripe for leadership and immediate representatives at the local, state and congressional levels. This ultimately became of paramount importance, as Jere Brittain remembered, because “political clout is the

¹⁵Martha Gash , Boswell, Grassroots along the Upper French Broad: The Valley People versus the Tennessee Valley Authority 1961-1972. Booklet. Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (5), p.3-5.

¹⁶ Cooperative Plan for Economic Growth. Tennessee Valley Authority. Study Knoxville, Tennessee. September, 1967. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (2).

¹⁷ Gray and Johnson, The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program, 66-67.

¹⁸ Boswell, interviewed by Scott Johnson, 21 October 1981. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (12).

only power recognized in Washington - where TVA decisions are ultimately made.”¹⁹ TVA pressed forward with their plans for the Upper French Broad with unanimous support from county commissioners and Congress as their pipeline for funding.

In May of 1966, TVA naysayers found the political support it had been searching for when the Republican Party elected little known Charles Taylor for the North Carolina State House of Representatives. He had a “crucial pillar” in his campaign, as Brittain recalled, “Stop TVA!”. Young Charles Taylor proved to be both exciting and convincing in political encounters. As Martha Gash Boswell recalled, “he was concerned with issues and politics, and always ready to meet any gathering, large or small.”²⁰ Taylor, and his ability to effectively communicate with locals and elected officials, would ultimately benefit the UFBDA and serve as a conduit for important hearings and discussions with TVA members. Before Taylor’s election, opposition to TVA plans and requests for meetings with TVA fell on deaf ears. Now the opposition to TVA had a friend and a voice in Raleigh who could take on the nitty gritty of party organization and define their objectives on local and state levels.

Without support from television or radio, stopping TVA plans was still a formidable task for Taylor and the UFBDA. The Democratic Party still had complete control of election machinery and great skill in its use. So, to rally support, Taylor and the UFBDA had to turn to grassroots methods of political organization. Boswell recalled that “it was really the Scott sisters and Ruby Hooper, who formed telephone circles that worked for weeks to recruit their neighbors with unexpected success.”²¹ These were residents of Transylvania County and UFBDA members whose efforts to rally political support from Republicans and Democrats became emblematic of

¹⁹ Brittain, “1966 Annual Report to the UFBDA.” Copy of Speech, Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (3).

²⁰ Boswell, Grassroots along the Upper French Broad, 9.

²¹ Boswell, interview.

the cooperation needed to ultimately sway public opinions and thwart TVA's grandiose plans for regional planning and development of the Upper French Broad. In 1966, and subsequent elections, these grassroots organizing groups became a substantial factor in Taylor's success. Moreover, Taylor's surprising successes signaled a shift in public opinion against TVA's blessings of massive impoundments. For the next five years, TVA would find itself up against an entrenched and growing local opposition to their plans for flood control, hydroelectric power, and lake-based recreation in the Upper French Broad and its tributaries.

TVA responded to rising numbers of local opposition to the Upper French Broad plans by looking to connect with citizens of western North Carolina. Created in 1961 to replace the Western Regional Planning commission, the Upper French Broad Economic Defense Committee (UFBEDC) enjoyed the function of channeling federal funds and state grants to local projects.²² In Raleigh the UFBEDC was considered as fully representing the interests and will of the people involved, "the valley folk," as Boswell remembered.²³ However, the true function of the UFBEDC was defined for Congress in no uncertain terms. As TVA chairman Aubrey Wagner recalled in a 1967 Senate hearing, the UFBEDC was "established under state law specifically to work with TVA in development programs in the five-county portion of western North Carolina . . . to work closely with TVA in developing the present plan."²⁴ Yet as Boswell remembered, "the chairman should have used the word *implementing*, not *developing*; for the plan remained TVA's until the last spadeful of earth"²⁵

The years from 1968 to 1972 ultimately became of great significance to the "Dam Fighters" along the Upper French Broad. By January of 1968, the UFBDA began to get a clearer

²² Gray and Johnson, *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program*, 69.

²³ Boswell, interview.

²⁴ Aubrey Wagner, Copy of speech before Senate. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box . File (5).

²⁵ Boswell, interview.

view of TVA's resources and the odds of successfully thwarting TVA's plans seemed heavier. On 17 January 1968, the Asheville *Citizen-Times* bore a full-page spread, "Economic Commission Boosts Five-County Area." The UFBEDC had, "through its endorsement, obtained \$332,000 for Haywood County schools, \$50,000 for Memorial Mission, and \$140,000 for Bald Mountain Access Road." The *Citizen-Times* reported that requests for Appalachian funds in 1968 totaled \$2.89 million. Brittain stated in the article that "no one has asked what oversight was required for the dispersal of \$3 million a year in federal funds or why Appalachian appropriations should pay for a road for a real estate development."²⁶ TVA's ability to pipeline funds to support the local economies in western North Carolina undoubtedly made the task of preventing TVA's plans for 14 massive impoundments and 74 miles of channelization along the Upper French Broad doubly difficult.

1969 was a year in which fertile groundwork was laid in opposition to TVA's plans for the Upper French Broad. In February of 1969, the *Times News* in Hendersonville reported a meeting between TVA officials and the county people on the plan for Mills River²⁷, the first sight TVA planned to build a massive impoundment along the Upper French Broad. Martha Boswell remembered that the first meeting in Mills River "stretched for four hours, in such a shouting match that thereafter TVA speakers and their echoes of UFBEDC refused all invitations to joint debate or discussion."²⁸ At a planned discussion at the Asheville YWCA UFBEDC

²⁶ "Economic Commission Boosts Five-County Area," Asheville Citizen-Times, January 17, 1968, Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

²⁷ Mills River is a tributary of the French Broad located in Henderson County.

²⁸ Boswell, "Letter to the Editor" Times News. 2 November 1970. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (12).

executive secretary, David Felmont, refused to share the platform and when presented alone would answer no questions on the TVA project.²⁹

TVA officials came across as aloof at the state level in Raleigh too. UFBDA chairman Hap Simpson recalled in a *Times News* article that, while in Raleigh presenting at an environmental conference, “on the demand of TVA representatives, our invited spokesmen were relegated to sitting on the floor.”³⁰ With several area newspapers firmly committed to covering the opposition to TVA plans, citizens of western North Carolina now got a better picture of TVA’s unwillingness to work with the citizens living in the Upper French Broad basin to develop, and not simply implement a comprehensive flood control plan.

The crown of the efforts in 1969 was an address given by Jere Brittain to the Conservation Council of North Carolina. Dr. Brittain, a sociologist and engineer, emphasized the right of TVA to use eminent domain as justification for the plans for the Upper French Broad. He claimed that citizens of the valley have “for too long tended to accept without question an exploitative system of values which carries the implication that man-made lakes are better than rivers.” This idea had become so ingrained that “we have allowed TVA to employ eminent domain on our river.”³¹ The reminders that TVA has control of ‘our’ rivers and this is ‘our’ duty to stop them had a lasting impact on the members of the Conservation Council of North Carolina. Brittain’s speech was so moving that Special Representative to the Council James S. Lewis, Jr. called on TVA to “immediately suspend all activities until an impartial agency to

²⁹ Boswell, “TVA and the Mills River Reservoir.” Open Letter. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (6).

³⁰ Hap Simpson, “Letter to the Editor” *Times News*. 8 June 1969. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 7. File (1).

³¹ Eminent domain is the power to take private property for public use by a state, municipality following the payment of just compensation to the owner of that property.

assess the total impact of the project.”³² This was the first statewide endorsement for the UFBDA, and the first sign of the cooperation and dedication needed to stop TVA plans for the Upper French Broad.

The tide again turned against TVA and their plans for the Upper French Broad on 1 January 1970 when the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) became effective. This “Magna Carta” for ecologists required full justification for the impact of any major construction on the environment and the economy. The NEPA act opened new grounds on which opposition to TVA could be founded. The NEPA required all projects such as the Upper French Broad submit an Environmental Impact Statement to prove they were not damaging what many were now considering a highly fragile environment. Projects which failed to file such statements or those whose statements were considered inadequate were subject to legal action by the government or private citizens and could be terminated.³³

The UFBDA requested an environmental impact statement from TVA shortly after the enactment of the NEPA. Dr. Brittain filed a Citizen’s Report with the President’s Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), calling for economic and environmental justification and a detailed critique of project “benefits” alleged by TVA. During the time in which TVA was preparing their environmental and economic statement for justification for the Upper French Broad Basin plans, UFBDA members Hap Simpson, Jere Brittain, Alex Duris, and Elmer Johnson began preparing a masterful presentation they hoped to be able to ultimately present before Congress. Hap Simpson flew his personal plane to Lake Douglass each week, taking pictures of acres of mud, of the bottom of the lake covered with snow, and of the various trees

³²Brittain, “1969 Annual Report to the UFBDA,” Copy of Speech. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (3).

³³ "National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) | Compliance and Enforcement | US EPA." US Environmental Protection Agency. <http://www.epa.gov/compliance/nepa/> (accessed 28August 2013).

affected by blight along the shore. Elmer Johnson prepared overlays that graphically presented the shores of proposed impoundments at Little River at various stages of the planned drawdown. Nevertheless, the Authority dragged its feet trying to comply with the new NEPA laws, but the UFBDA now had new grounds upon which to oppose the proposed plans for the Upper French Broad.³⁴

The NEPA clearly placed a burden on government agencies to determine the adverse effects of proposed projects. When opponents asked TVA for environmental impact studies and justification, the Authority ran into its first trouble with the project. TVA's environmental impact statement, released in June of 1971, the Authority only devoted four sentences to a section titled "Adverse Environmental Effects which cannot be avoided should the proposal be implemented." TVA also stated that "an estimated 50 families will have to be relocated because of the proposed reservoir." Their environmental statement claimed that "the Upper French Broad basin presently has virtually no water-based recreation."³⁵ TVA had constructed "lakes of prosperity," as Authority members called them, in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties during the late 1930s and early 1940s with intentions of creating water-based recreation and hydroelectric power. Thus, many western North Carolinians saw the latter claim as an affront to the public and a flagrant abuse of both the spirit and the letter of the National Environmental Policy Act.

1971 was a pivotal year for the "Dam Fighters." As the nation became more aware of how excessive construction negatively impacts the earth, the UFBDA again found cooperation and seized an opportunity to sway public opinion against TVA's plan. On 19 May 1971, before TVA released its environmental statement to the public, the UFBDA sent a delegation to

³⁴ Alex Duris, letter to Martha Gash Boswell, 18 August 1970. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (2).

³⁵ Environmental Statement - Mills River Dam and Reservoir, Tennessee Valley Authority, Office of Health and Environmental Sciences. Chattanooga, Tennessee. June, 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 3. File (11).

Washington. This was a major accomplishment considering the lack of support and recognition, locally, statewide, and nationally, for the UFBDA. Charles Taylor had arranged for a delegation of UFBDA members to speak before a Senate committee, a committee that had denied UFBDA requests since 1966.³⁶ UFBDA members Hap Simpson, Jere Brittain, Alex Duris, and Elmer Johnson now had a golden chance to state their objections in a presentation they had been working on for over a year.

Brittain narrated the presentation and gave a telling summary of the TVA proposals, exposing the plans for the Upper French Broad as inadequate, ambiguous and ill-conceived. Dr. Brittain indicated that TVA's statement only addressed the Mills River project, just one of 14 proposed dams for the Upper French Broad. "This project's environmental impact should be considered in its entirety," Brittain stated, and "not one project at a time, which essentially places each project out of context." Brittain indicated that TVA sought to improve water quality by "diluting the pollution," or "by – another name for this toy is reservoir drawdown or 'where did all the water go?'" Brittain detailed the plans as ill-conceived because TVA's claim that "no historical or archaeological interest are known to be affected by the dam and reservoir."³⁷ In the Mills River Valley, however, 75 families would be displaced, and their historic church, founded in 1834, would be completely submerged.³⁸ Kenneth J. Bousquet Chairman wrote a letter to the UFBDA on 3 June remarking that Brittain's testimony was "one of the finest and most documented" he had ever heard given before a committee he had been the chairman of for twenty years.³⁹

³⁶ Boswell, interview.

³⁷ Brittain, copy of speech before Senate Subcommittee on Public Works. 19 May 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (5).

³⁸ "TVA CONTROLS OUR RIVERS!" Flyer. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (11).

³⁹ Kenneth J. Bousquet, letter to the Upper French Broad Defense Association. 3 June 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (3).

When the UFBDA delegation returned from D.C., they swayed public opinions about the dams and continued to rally support for their common interest of stopping TVA's dams for the Upper French Broad. Several times Charles Taylor had framed a bill requiring TVA to grant a hearing the UFBDA had been requesting since 1963. Taylor pushed through an amendment that required the reluctant TVA to announce that they would agree to a public hearing held in the affected neighborhood before any construction had begun that involved the channelization of a state stream. This sly addendum passed through the bureaucratic phalanx in the Senate, and TVA shortly announced a hearing for 31 August in the Humanities Lecture Hall at UNC-Asheville.⁴⁰ On the heels of announcing the hearing, TVA spokesman John B. Marius surprisingly claimed that "if the people don't want this project, we won't build it."⁴¹ To the UFBDA, TVA's promise to hold a hearing represented cooperation from a most unexpected place, and they would be ready to pounce.

The opening of the hearing was not auspicious. Of the first ten speakers, eight were for and of TVA. The first testimony was thirty minutes of official TVA justification. UFBDA attorney Mr. George Ward Hendon asked for equal time for Jere Brittain, but was told that he would have five minutes like everybody else. For the opening TVA had full coverage by press and radio; UFBDA speakers, however, seemed, as Boswell remembered, "to be scheduled at less productive hours when the TV cameras and news reporters were likely to have already left."⁴² UFBDA supporters saw this as an affront to the legitimacy of the hearing as an unbiased public question and answer session.

⁴⁰ Boswell, interview.

⁴¹ Arthur Whiteside, Copy of editorial Read Aloud on WLOS Friday Night Broadcast 1 October 1971. Paper Copy. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 3. File (10).

⁴² Boswell, interview.

Yet an immediate advantage had already been won for the UFBDA as public opinion continued to mount against TVA. Member Arthur Dehon had designed a yellow scarf and provided one for every "dam fighter." The brilliant triangle⁴³, worn across the shoulders, labeled every supporter UFBDA. The hall blossomed yellow, proclaiming that more than two-thirds of the audiences each day opposed TVA's plans for the Upper French Broad. Another pleasant plus was the unfailing supply of prime country food from the valley kitchens in a nearby classroom.⁴⁴ This was critical in keeping the Humanities Hall packed with opposers to TVA's plans for cameras and news crews to document.

Support for the UFBDA during the hearings was widespread. Among those testifying for the UFBDA were officials of the Sierra Club, Conservation Council, Friends of the Earth, National Parks and Conservation, and North Carolina Wildlife. There were three professors from Georgia universities, eight graduate students from the University of Georgia, and five faculty members from Warren Wilson College.⁴⁵ The hearings were a testament to the spirit of cooperation and dedication that the UFBDA rallied to sway public opinion against TVA and preserve the Upper French Broad as a free-flowing river to be enjoyed for generations to come.

Initial reactions to the first day of the hearings showed mixed results. The *Asheville Citizen* found the hearing "unique" and "unorthodox", as "applause and standing ovations went unchecked." Helen McKelvey, when interviewed by the *Asheville Citizen*, aptly found the Humanities Building "an inappropriate setting for the grim details of dam building." Area newspapers agreed that 90 percent of the speakers opposed the TVA's project, but the *Times News* of Hendersonville alluded to an expected outcome in stating that "it is probably a very good thing that the decision on this project will be made by uninvolved objective environmental

⁴³ See appendix B.

⁴⁴ "Hearing on Dam Project," Times News. August 29, 1971. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

⁴⁵ Brittain, interview.

experts."⁴⁶ The reporter was alluding to Senator Jordan and Representative Roy Taylor⁴⁷, both of whom were in Asheville at the time of the hearing, but neither came to hear the pros and cons.⁴⁸ This was typical of the lack of support that the UFBDA regularly found, yet they continued to change public opinion about the project by uniting the community against TVA.

For instance, two strangers stopped by the hearing and asked for yellow kerchiefs but were persuaded to take front seats without the UFBDA label. The little strategy paid off; the two were invited to testify. Each rose and announced, "I give my five minutes to Dr. Brittain." When Brittain was finally called he spoke for twenty minutes without interruption.⁴⁹ Among Jere Brittain's exhibits for the TVA hearings was a graph showing population curves of the four counties "developed" by TVA during the 1940s and the French Broad counties that had rejected TVA's "lakes of prosperity." On the 1970 census a table was constructed (see appendix A) that, as Brittain recalled, "Made the newspapers from Charlotte to Knoxville and was printed by a reluctant *Transylvania Times*."⁵⁰ The information presented in the table shattered the myth that TVA's "lakes for prosperity" had stopped out-migration by attempting to create lake-based recreation in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties.⁵¹ With such comparisons the UFBDA was well fortified and the Asheville hearing, scheduled for one day, could not accommodate all who wished to speak in three days.

⁴⁶ "TVA Extends Hearing on Dam Project, Asheville Times. August 27, 1971. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (7).

⁴⁷ No relation to Charles Taylor

⁴⁸ Boswell, "We Need Your Help," Letter to Roy Taylor. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (5).

⁴⁹ Betty Waters, "TVA Hearing Opens." Asheville Times. 28 August 1971. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

⁵⁰ Brittain, interview.

⁵¹ Between 1940 and 1960, the 201 of the Tennessee Valley region lost more than 1.3 million people to migration. Out-migration had become such a problem in the state by the mid-50s that Tennessee proclaimed the annual loss of ten thousand young people its number one problem. For a comprehensive review of out-migration in the Tennessee Valley region see Chad Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 103-104.

At home the impact of the hearing was not lost. Governor Robert Scott of North Carolina, now firmly opposed to TVA plans for the Upper French Broad, called for a new impact statement from TVA. Scott asked that a new statement “take into account the objections raised by his office and various state agencies, as well as objections by citizens . . . who, he said, until lately have seemingly not had much opportunity to be heard.”⁵² Governor Scott found that TVA expressed no concern for displaced families, gave no firm figures on agricultural losses made misstatements on recreation, wildlife and water quality. With the governor clearly in opposition to TVA plans, the momentum in this political struggle shifted to the side of the “Dam Fighters” as elected officials in North Carolina and supporters of Authority plans would soon take a more flexible stance.

Governor Scott firmly supported the UFBDA, and Mayor Charles Campbell of Brevard was moving Region B, the successor to the UFBEDC, in a new direction. Brittain reported at a 23 October 1971 UFBDA meeting that Region B had not endorsed the TVA plan and that state support was now limited to Col. Pickett, a staunch supporter of TVA’s plans and director of the North Carolina Department of Water and Air Resources. UFBDA’s major opponents in Washington remained Representative Roy Taylor and Senator Jordan, the latter on the eve of retiring. On the local level, Mayor Whitmire of Hendersonville and some members of Asheville organizations were leaning in the direction of the UFBDA. But with Representatives Taylor and Evins in the House and Senator Jordan speaking for the members of the Senate Sub-committee on Public Works,⁵³ the odds seemed to be stacked against the UFBDA yet again.

Waning local support and state support ultimately turned the tide against TVA’s plans for the Upper French Broad for a final time. UFBDA influence had been seeping into the *Asheville*

⁵² Donald Remer, “French Broad Plan Irks Asheville” Asheville Citizen Times. 8 September 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 7. File (1).

⁵³ Brittain, interview.

Citizen's editorial rooms. On 30 October 1972 appeared an enthusiastic if delayed endorsement of the Upper French River Basin, "French Broad River Is a Unique Resource," which resembled the clever and witty writing of a UFBDA member.⁵⁴ It should be noted that Representative Roy Taylor and State Senator Cecil Hill made the same belated discovery in late October after receiving a shower--indeed a rain of cards in the mail from UFBDA supporters, reminding them of Governor Scott's forthright stand against TVA.⁵⁵ Then, on 14 November 1972, eleven years after the Western North Carolina Regional Planning Commission and the State Department of Water Resources invited TVA to draw up a comprehensive development of resources in the area, the Tennessee Valley Authority announced that all plans were abandoned for the project on the Upper French Broad River Basin. Chairman Aubrey "Red" Wagner explained that "wide support had existed in 1966," but "an assessment today indicated that adequate local support and commitment no longer exists."⁵⁶

The press in varying degrees recognized the role of the Defense Association. The *Asheville Citizen* admitted that "as the Upper French Broad Defense Association has amply demonstrated a great many valid questions can be raised for which TVA could offer no completely satisfactory answers." The editor added, "we repeat the wish of Dr. Jere A. Brittain, chairman of UFBDA, that we reassess our great wealth of water resources in the French Broad Valley,' and that city, county and state leaders will now provide 'vigorous initiative in planning and developing these resources.'" While the *Citizen* still plugged for channelization, the Upper

⁵⁴ "French Broad is a Unique Resource" *Asheville Times*. 30 October 1972. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 1. File (3).

⁵⁵ Roy Taylor, "Withdraw of Support for TVA Project." September 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 4. File (5).

Boswell, "We Need Your Help," Letter to Roy Taylor. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (5).

⁵⁶ John Barron, Statement made by Director of Tributary Area Development of TVA. 14 November 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville NC. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 4. File (9).

French Broad River basin had at last been recognized as "valuable beyond price."⁵⁷ Downriver, *The Knoxville Journal* wrote in a front page headline that the project for the Upper French Broad had been "Stopped in Its Tracks!" The *Journal* found the TVA withdrawal "an all too rare display of bureaucratic obedience to clearly expressed public will."⁵⁸

Charlotte Observer also lauded the efforts of the UFBDA through their preeminent publicity. Failing to reach Jere Brittain, the *Observer* found Asheville's Mayor Richard A. Wood "saddened and surprised," but Brevard's Mayor George Campbell "very happy." The *Observer* then secured an interview with Brittain on future planning for the river valleys, which he saw as a major objective for the new Region B, chaired by Brevard's Mayor Campbell.⁵⁹ In the Sunday issue of 26 November the *Observer's* Mark Ethridge III summarized the UFBDA's long contest under the heading "Democratic Processes Beats the TVA." Ethridge noted that "some will see the result as a spin-off from the general environmental concern," but, "sooner or later nearly everyone points to the work of Dr. Jere Brittain and his Upper French Broad Defense Association as the primary force behind the movement to fight the TVA and the Dams."⁶⁰ Brittain and his fellow "Dam Fighters" would ask for no higher praise.

Charles Taylor's major contribution to the conflict between the UFBDA and the TVA was two-fold. While the momentum needed to sway public opinions against TVA's plans came from grassroots activists like Danny Youngblood, politicians had to be brought in to establish

⁵⁷ Bob Terrell, "Unexpected Support" Asheville Times. November 15, 1972. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

⁵⁸ J. Miles Cary, "Stopped in Its Tracks." The Knoxville Journal. November 15, 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (7).

⁵⁹ Dan Reynolds, "TVA Cancels Plans." The Charlotte Observer. 16 November 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (9).

⁶⁰ Mark Ethridge III, "Democratic Processes Beats the TVA." The Charlotte Observer. 26 November 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (9).

political clout—the only power recognized in Washington, where TVA ultimately made its decisions. Taylor defined the objectives of those opposed to TVA’s plans for the Upper French Broad and acted as a conduit for meetings between the UFBDA and TVA officials. In the second place from the State Legislature Taylor provided the UFBDA with the tools for victory. In the pivotal election years 1968 and 1970, Taylor’s ability to appeal to both Democrats and Republicans, during a time in which that was a rarity, assured his reelection. And, most importantly, Taylor shepherded a bill that required the reluctant TVA to announce the Asheville hearing. The UFBDA started in 1965 without the backing of any elected official on the local, state, or national level. Thus, Taylor’s spirit of dedication and support for the UFBDA’s mission to keep the Upper French Broad a free-flowing river and avoid the displacement of over 600 families represented the cooperation needed for the UFBDA to successfully defeat the TVA – a task that other grassroots organizations had found little success.

The legacy of the Upper French Broad Defense Association did not end with TVA’s decision to cancel their plans for the Upper French Broad. In June of 1990, residents opposed to plans to include Mills River as a possible drinking source for nearby municipalities revitalized the UFBDA nearly two decades after their victory against the TVA. “The organization will be comprised of many of us who are fighting to keep the river like it is . . .,” according to Phyllis Brittain, Acting Chairwoman and daughter of Dr. Jere Brittain. “The group was organized for the same purpose,” Brittain said, “except that it’s not TVA this time, but different municipalities.” Brittain stated that “the group would fight to keep any dams or impoundments off the river.” The outcries began when a study by Asheville-Buncombe Water Authority listed Mills River as a

possible drinking water source for Buncombe County.⁶¹ The revitalization of the UFBDA in the early 1990s indicated that, a generation later, residents of the Upper French Broad were intent on fighting for a cause they believed in, just as previous generations had.

When the Upper French Broad Defense Association was formed on 19 September 1965, they knew they faced an uphill fight. The odds against the UFBDA were heavy, with the TVA project already receiving authorization by congress and the UFBEDC established as the local sales representative for the Upper French Broad plans. With the distinguished exception of Charles Taylor of Transylvania County, county, state and national officials appeared to be joined in lock-step support for the TVA project. The UFBDA and their supporters helped establish legislation, both state and national, promising some protection this fragile earth. Opponents to large-scale bureaucratic projects with claims of eminent domain now know where to look for leadership and how to power a campaign. The “Dam Fighters” fought for the French Broad for eleven years to keep the Upper French Broad a free-flowing river – an asset now recognized as a priceless asset by many who originally opposed UFBDA commitment. The efforts of UFBDA and its supporters encouraged an appreciation for all natural resources, as evidenced by the revitalization of the Defense Association. The example set by the UFBDA in rallying support and dedication to a common interest showed that grassroots opposition to TVA can be successful.

⁶¹ U.S. Representative James McClure was present at the meeting to discuss legislation he introduced that would protect Mills River for six years while it was being studied for possible Wild and Scenic designation. Times-News staff writer, “Defense Association Revitalized for River,” Hendersonville Times News, 16 June 1990.

Appendix A

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Population	1930	1940	1960	1970	{1940-1970}
			<u>After TVA</u>	<u>Built</u>	<u>7 Lakes</u>
Cherokee	16,151	18,813	16,335	16,330	2,483 Loss
Clay	5,434	6,405	5,526	5,180	1,225 Loss
Graham	5,841	6,418	6,432	6,562	154 Gain
Swain	11,568	12,177	8,387	7,861	4,316 Loss
<u>Without</u>	<u>TVA</u>	<u>“Lakes for</u>	<u>Growth”</u>	<u>{1940-1970}</u>	<u>Gains</u>
Buncombe	97,937	108,755	130,074	145,056	30,301 Gain
Henderson	23,404	26,049	36,163	42,804	16,755 Gain
Transylvania	9,589	12,241	16,372	19,713	7,472 Gain

Appendix B

⁶² Dr. Jere Brittain collected data for this table from 1970 census records. Information in the table can be found in: Jere Brittain, “Pros and Cons of TVA Dispute” Asheville Citizen-Times. 20 August 1971. Org. 19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (4).



- * TVA – Tennessee Valley Authority
- * UFBDA – Upper French Broad Defense Association
- * SCS – North Carolina Soil Conservation Service
- * UFBEDC – Upper French Broad Economic Defense Committee
- * CEQ – Council on Environmental Quality
- * NEPA – National Environmental Policy Act

Primary Sources

Barron, John. Statement made by Director of Tributary Area Development of TVA. 14 November 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville NC. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 4. File (9).

This letter officially states TVA's plans to cancel the dam and channeling project along the upper French Broad River. Barron and TVA claimed "waning lack of local support" caused them to stop the project.

Bousquet, Kenneth J. Letter to the Upper French Broad Defense Association. 3 June 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (3).

This letter praises the work of the UFBDA and the presentation given by Dr. Jere Brittain to a Senate subcommittee on public works. The letter shows the dedication that UFBDA members had for stopping TVA's plans for bringing prosperity to western North Carolina.

Boswell, Martha Gash, *Grassroots along the Upper French Broad: The Valley People versus the Tennessee Valley Authority 1961-1972*. Booklet. Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (5).

Boswell wrote this booklet after TVA's decision to cancel the damming project. The booklet emphasizes and sheds light on the political developments in Transylvania County and UFBDA's trip to present their proposal before congress. She sheds light on the activities of many supporters of the UFBDA, some of them unknown, some soon forgotten.

Boswell, Martha Gash. Interview by Scott Johnson, 21 October 1981. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (12).

This interview was conducted in 1981 and shows the commitment that Boswell had for stopping TVA's plans. The interview also provides colorful quotes that I will use throughout the paper.

Boswell, Martha Gash. "Letter to the Editor" *Times News*. 2 November 1970. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (12).

Boswell, the chief corresponding secretary for the UFBDA, wrote this letter to the editor in the local newspaper in Hendersonville. She called for public support and used many personal pronouns in doing so. The letter illustrates how the damming project would ultimately damage the land that everyone in Western North Carolina enjoys, and it is the duty of the citizens to help save it from destruction.

Boswell, Martha. "TVA and the Mills River Reservoir." Open Letter. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (6).

This letter highlights TVA's plans for the Mills River Reservoir, which was ultimately one of the more costly aspects of the Upper French Broad project. The letter shows TVA's lack of planning and unwillingness to present Western North Carolinians an economic proposal.

Boswell, Martha Gash. "We Need Your Help." Letter to Roy Taylor. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (5).

Gaining support in the US Senate or Congress was certainly important for the UFBDA to be successful. Roy Taylor was the Senator who arranged for the UFBDA to present their proposal to stop TVA's plans to dam and channelize the Upper French Broad.

Brittain, Jere. Interview, by Scott Johnson, 17 October 1981, Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (12).

This interview was conducted in 1981 and shows the commitment that Brittain had for stopping TVA's plans. The interview also provides interesting quotes that I will use throughout the paper.

Brittain, Jere. "1966 Annual Report to the UFBDA." Copy of Speech. Brittain, Jere. "1966 Annual Report to the UFBDA." Copy of Speech. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 1. File (3).

This speech details the need for the UFBDA to find a political ally who could coordinate hearings between TVA and opponents to the plans for the Upper French Broad. Brittain describes the failed attempts for communication between the UFBDA and TVA in the early 1960s.

Brittain, Jere. "1969 Annual Report to the UFBDA." Copy of Speech. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (3).

This report highlights the decision of the Conservation Council of North Carolina to stop backing TVA's plans for the Upper French Broad. This was the first state-wide recognition of the UFBDA, as well as the first public condemnation of TVA's plans.

Brittain Jere, "Pros and Cons of TVA Dispute" *Asheville Citizen-Times*. 20 August 1971. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (4).

This editorial was published on the heels of the hearing at UNCA and gives an overview of the pros and cons of TVA's plan, as seen from the viewpoint of the citizens to be displaced as a result of the Upper French Broad project. The article also contains information that Jere Brittain used in the congressional hearing to show that Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties had increasing rates of outmigration of citizens after TVA constructed their "lakes of prosperity" in the 1940s.

Brittain, Jere. Copy of speech before Senate Subcommittee on Public Works. 19 May 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (5).

This speech highlights the ground upon which Brittain found TVA's plan "inadequate" and "ill-conceived."

Cary, J. Miles. "Stopped in Its Tracks." *The Knoxville Journal*. November 15, 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (7).

This article shows the credit that was given by regional press to the UFBDA for their role in stopping TVA's plans to build 14 dams and channelize 74 miles of the Upper French Broad. The *Journal* found the TVA withdrawal "an all too rare display of bureaucratic obedience to clearly expressed public will."

Cooperative Plan for Economic Growth. Tennessee Valley Authority. Study Knoxville, Tennessee. September, 1967. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (2).

This is the only plan that I have found thus far in which TVA explains their plans for the Upper French Broad project. TVA claimed to bring "custom-built prosperity" to the region as they had in the neighboring Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The plan describes the relationship between TVA and the SCS, the agency that made recommendations for construction of headwater dams, largely on National Forest land. This was endorsed by citizens of Henderson and Transylvania by voting for an annual tax for upkeep of the dams by a margin of five to one, yet TVA was still invited to draw up a comprehensive development of resources in the area.

Duris, Alex. Letter to Martha Gash Boswell, 18 August 1970. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 2. File (2).

This letter highlights the efforts of UFBDA members Hap Simpson, Jere Brittain, Alex Duris, and Elmer Johnson in preparing a masterful presentation they hoped to be able to ultimately present before Congress. The letter contains strategies the UFBDA would use in portraying TVA plans as unnecessary and ill-conceived.

“Economic Commission Boosts Five-County Area,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, January 17, 1968, Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

This article illustrates the funds that were available to the UFBEDC. The excess of TVA’s resources made the odds of successfully thwarting TVA’s plans seemed even heavier.

Environmental Statement – Mills River Dam and Reservoir. Tennessee Valley Authority, Office of Health and Environmental Sciences. Chattanooga, Tennessee. June, 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 3. File (11).

This was TVA only statement released for their plans for the Upper French Broad. The Mills River Project was only one of 14 proposed dams for the Upper French Broad, and thus the environmental statement places each project out of context with the others.

Ethridge, Mark III. “Democratic Processes Beats the TVA.” *The Charlotte Observer*. 26 November 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (9).

This article shows the credit that was given by regional press to the UFBDA for their role in stopping TVA’s plans to build 14 dams and channelize 74 miles of the Upper French Broad. Ethridge noted that “some will see the result as a spin-off from the general environmental concern,” but, “sooner or later nearly everyone points to the work of Dr. Jere Brittain and his Upper French Broad Defense Association as the primary force behind the movement to fight the TVA and the Dams.”

“Hearing on Dam Project.” *Times News*. August 29, 1971. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

This article illustrates the support and dedication that the UFBDA found at the hearing at UNCA. The article also highlights the local press as starting to show support for the UFBDA after opposition to TVA was made clear.

“National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) | Compliance and Enforcement | US EPA.” US Environmental Protection Agency. <http://www.epa.gov/compliance/nepa/> (accessed August 18, 2013).

The NEPA act holds that government-funded projects which failed to file such statements or those whose statements were considered inadequate were subject to legal action by the government or private citizens could be closed down. This was what forced the TVA to release their statement on the Mills River project which ultimately showed the TVA plan for the Upper French Broad as inadequate.

Remer, Donald. “French Broad Plan Irks Asheville” *Asheville Citizen Times*. 8 September 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 7. File (1).

This article highlights the growing discontent within Asheville for TVA plans. The article also highlights the waning support of governor Scott of North Carolina for TVA's Upper French Broad Plans.

Reynolds, Dan. "TVA Cancels Plans." *The Charlotte Observer*. 16 November 1972. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (9).

This article details Brittain views for future planning for the river valleys, which he saw as a major objective for the new Region B, chaired by Brevard's Mayor Campbell.

Simpson, Hap. "Letter to the Editor" *Times News*. 8 June 1969. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 7. File (1).

This article shows the unwillingness of TVA officials to cooperate with the UFBDA. Simpson recalls that the invited UFBDA spokesmen were "relegated to sitting on the floor" at an environmental conference in Raleigh.

Taylor, Roy A. "Withdraw of Support for TVA Project." September 1971. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C. Upper French Broad Defense Collection. Box 4. File (5).

Taylor finally withdrew his support for the TVA's proposal for the Upper French Broad, and this was his official statement making that declaration. This source shows that TVA had lost all support for the project from the two senators from North Carolina.

Terrell, Bob. "Unexpected Support" *Asheville Times*. November 15, 1972. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

This article draws attention to the growing support for the UFBDA. The article also mentions that it was not just retirees coming out to support UFBDA.

Tennessee Valley Authority Act. "Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933." [48 Stat. 58-59, 16 U.S.C. sec. 831] http://www.tva.com/abouttva/pdf/TVA_Act.pdf (Accessed 15 August 2013).

This TVA's statement when Franklin Roosevelt established them as a federal corporation, answerable only to the President and Congress. TVA proposed to "improve the navigability and to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River; to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said valley." Unsurprisingly, TVA made no reference in 1933 to water quality control, water supply, recreation, and/or shoreline development.

Times-News staff writer, "Defense Association Revitalized for River," *Hendersonville Times News*, 16 June 1990.

This article highlights the revitalization of the UFBDA in 1990 when Buncombe County claimed Mills River as a possible drinking source. I will use this article to illustrate the lasting significance of the UFBDA.

“TVA Extends Hearing on Dam Project. *Asheville Citizen Times*. August 27, 1971. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (7).

This article explains that a public talk between TVA and the community would be extended another day. This illustrates the massive protest that had grown in opposition to TVA’s plans. The hearing lasted three days, and not everyone had enough time to talk.

“*TVA CONTROLS OUR RIVERS!*” Flyer. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 2. File (11).

This flyer was passed out during UFBDA’s quest to stop the TVA proposal. It, like a lot of UFBDA propaganda, made strong use of the pronoun “our” and drew attention to the need for all western North Carolinians to participate and not estrange the land which served to benefit them all. Flyer contains information on the Mills River Baptist Church, built in 1834. TVA claimed that there were no historical sites that would be damaged by their plans for Mills River.

Wagner, Aubrey. Copy of speech before Senate. Org.19, Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (5).

TVA chairman Aubrey Wagner recalled in a 1967 Senate hearing, the UFBEDC was “established under state law specifically to work with TVA in development programs in the five-county portion of Western North Carolina . . . to work closely with TVA in developing the present plan.”

Waters, Betty. “TVA Hearing Opens.” *Asheville Times*. 28 August 1971. Pack Library. Asheville, N.C. microfilm collection.

This newspaper article announced the public talk/ question and answer session with TVA. If the UFBDA had not gained support from local news outlets, especially the popular *Asheville Times*, their efforts to rally support would certainly have been less successful.

Youngblood, Danny, letter to Aubrey Wagner, Oct 23, 1970. Upper French Broad Defense Association: General Records, State Archives of North Carolina, Western Regional Archives, Asheville, NC, USA. Box 3. File (5).

This letter was written by a 15-year-old citizen of Hoppers Creek, an area that was to be flooded by the TVA. The letter shows that the opposition against TVA's plans was widespread among the various citizens of western North Carolina who opposed TVA's plans. I plan to use this quote as an impact quote at the beginning of the paper.

Author Unknown. *1966 Annual TVA report*, Book. Ramsey Library. Asheville N.C.

This book, released by TVA, illustrates the significant changes in TVA's mission from what FDR had established in 1933. I plan to use this book to illustrate how TVA's goals had expanded outside the valley region.

Secondary Sources

Berry, Chad. *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
Berry tells the story one of the largest internal migrations in U.S. history, the great white migration and how it left its mark on virtually every family in every southern upland and flatland town. This book will contribute to the discussion of TVA's claims that western North Carolina suffered from out-migration.

Chandler, William U., *The Myth of TVA: Conservation and Development in the Tennessee Valley, 1933-1983*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Pub Co, 1984.

William Chandler was the first director of Advanced International Studies at Battelle Memorial Institute's Pacific Northwest National Laboratory. Chandler's book explicates the many fallacies in TVA planning and policies from its genesis to the early 1980s. I plan to use this source to develop an argument that TVA policies were not justified – especially the damming in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, and Swain counties during the late 1930s and early 1940s. *The book was prepared by Chandler at the Environmental Policy Institute (EPI) in Washington. The EPI is a non-profit research, educational, and policy development organization. Founded in 1974, EPI conducts studies and provides information on energy, water, and agricultural resource issues for use by citizen groups, industry, government, and the media. Ballinger Publishing Company is a subsidiary of harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.*

Gray, Aelred J. and Johnson, David A., *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program: the Transformation of an Institution and Its Mission*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Ltd, 2005.

This book reviews how the Tennessee Valley Authority as a world-renowned model for regional planning and development through the decades. I plan to use this book to show how the TVA purportedly pioneered land-use planning to create state parks alongside the Tennessee River's hydroelectric power stations and dams, how it developed model towns, influenced city planning and introduced the landmark Flood Damage Prevention program. These are the policies that I plan to prove were outside the limits of what TVA

was founded to achieve. Moreover, this will serve as yet another example TVA's lack of economic and environmental planning.

Hargrove, Erwin C., *Prisoners of Myth: The Leadership of The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1990*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Erwin C. Hargrove, in his *Prisoners of Myth*, argued that, beginning in the late 1940s, members of the TVA board of directors became haunted by the Authority's early history and have made decisions based not on the needs of their own time but on an outdated conception of the agency's mission. Similar to McDonald and Muldowny's research, Hargrove offered scant attention to organized opposition to TVA's removal plans within the Valley, deciding rather to focus on Authority policies and leadership that influenced decision making.

Kuzmiak, D. T., "The American Environmental Movement," *The Geographical Journal* 3, no. 157 (November, 1991): 263.

Kuzmiak's article explains the significance of the evolution of the American environmental movement from its beginnings to the contemporary era where environmental concerns influence the decision-making process. I plan to use this source to show how the UFBDA utilized a growing awareness of the importance a growing sense of environmental consciousness – especially the rise of ecology – to harness support on a national, state, and local level. Environmental laws that were created during the late 60s and early 70s (Earth Day, the EPA, NEPA (1970) ultimately became a contributing factor.

McDonald, Michael J. and Muldowny, John, *TVA and the Dispossessed: the Resettlement of Population in the Norris Dam Area*. Knoxville: Univ of Tennessee Pr, 1985.

In *TVA and the Dispossessed*, McDonald and Muldowny examines three aspects of the removal of people from the Norris Dam area just north of Knoxville: buying the land, relocating the families, and reburying the dead. I plan to use this source to show that TVA did not take these considerations when planning the upper French Broad dams. *TVA and the Disposed* also show that the plans to stop outmigration by building the Norris Dam actually increased it – as was the case in the upper French Broad plans.

Newfont, Kathryn, *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Dr. Newfont examines the environmental history of western North Carolina over the course of three hundred years, identifying what she calls commons environmentalism—a cultural strain of conservation in American history that has gone largely unexplored. This seminal work will help me illustrate that the activists that most effectively hitched its cause to local residents' commons culture usually won – as was the case with the

UFBDA. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Newfont failed to mention the TVA or the UFBDA in what has been a critically acclaimed and historically significant book.

Wheeler, William Bruce and McDonald, Michael J., *TVA and the Tellico Dam, 1936-1979: A Bureaucratic Crisis in Post-Industrial America*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986.

This book explains the controversy of TVA's decision to build the Tellico Dam in defense of its new mission as the agency that could bring change to life in the tributary areas. This occurred in the early 1960s at the local, state, and national levels. Construction of the Tellico Dam marked a turning point in American attitudes toward dam construction, for by the late 1970s most of the best potential dam sites in the United States had been utilized and it became increasingly difficult to justify new dams, but TVA pushed on. I plan to use this source to show how opposition to the Tellico Dam was less organized, more divided, and more localized than the UFBDA. This was a main reason why TVA felt that it could push the project through quickly and easily. The Tellico Dam had been on the drawing board since 1936, and its construction began in 1965. The project would not be completed in 1979, thus illustrating TVA's poor planning during the years in which the UFBDA successfully defeated TVA's plans for the Upper French Broad River.