



Gov't Agency
Conflict

Public
Opposition

Collin County
deserves fair
treatment

DALLAS PAYS
FOR WOODALL
RODGERS R.O.W.

FREE THE
DFW TURNPIKE

Local
Control of
Toll Roads

TEAR DOWN
LANCASTER
ELEVATED

NO LAND
ACQUISITION
FOR LBJ

ALIGN 190
AROUND
CARROLLTON

BUILD
RAIL, NOT
FREEWAYS

TEAR DOWN
S.M. WRIGHT
FREEWAY

No downtown
Fort Worth
Loop

NO LOOP 9
ON CAMPBELL

STOP
121
TOLLS

NO
ELEVATED
CENTRAL

STOP THE
I-45 ELEVATED

SAVE GRAND
PRAIRIE,
STOP 161

Keep Their
Toll Road
Out Of
Our Park

ELECTED
OFFICIALS

"I'M AFRAID WE HAVE A TRAFFIC JAM"

Planning, Controversy and Cancellations

Freeways and controversy. Since the early 1970s, you can't say one without the other in North Texas. If there is one near-certainty about any planned freeway or tollway project, it's that a controversy will erupt. And in North Texas there have been some tremendous controversies, turning freeway ambition into Texas-sized freeway battles.

The seemingly never-ending controversy is a consequence of the active and extensive planning process in North Texas. After all, if nothing is being planned or built, there won't be any controversy. North Texas has been among the leaders in the United States in terms of regional planning and building freeways and tollways—and consequently also among the leaders in controversy.

Freeway planners haven't always gotten what they wanted. The list of canceled freeways from past versions of the official regional transportation plan is long. But the North Texas freeway plan has always recovered from its setbacks, adapting to changing times and changing needs. In 2013 the North Texas regional transportation plan is the most ambitious in the United States in terms of new added capacity, nearly all of it via toll roads.

For North Texas, it seems certain that the future will be a lot like the past. Population will continue to increase, typically by around 100,000 people per year. The need for new freeways and tollways will grow. Planners will work to build the new capacity that the region needs. And controversies will rage.

PLANNING

Early Freeway Planning

The original freeway planning in North Texas began in the late 1930s in Dallas and Fort Worth, with each city working independently to plan and build their first freeways.

In Dallas, construction of Central Boulevard on the alignment of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad (H&TC) had been first proposed in 1911 and by the late 1930s the project became Dallas' top priority for civic improvement. In 1940 the project was designated to become a state-of-the-art, limited-access freeway. The City of Dallas acquired the H&TC railroad in 1941 and after World War II the project was finally ready to move forward to construction with the first section opening in 1949.

In Fort Worth, early efforts focused on present-day Interstate 35W south and Interstate 30 west. Preliminary planning for both freeways was underway in the late 1930s but was placed on hold due to World War II. In August 1945, the month the United States achieved victory over Japan, TxDOT resumed efforts to build both IH 35W south and IH 30 west. The first section of US 81, on the alignment of IH 35W, opened in September 1949.¹

The present-day Interstate Highway System began to take shape in the early 1940s, with the planning process well underway in January 1943 when a special committee appointed by President Roosevelt delivered a report

calling for a nationwide network of interregional express highways. The 1943 plan showed present-day Interstates 20, 30 and 35 converging on North Texas. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 officially authorized the construction of a 40,000-mile National System of Interstate Highways but provided no funding. The Interstate Highway System would be funded and large-scale construction would begin with the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956. In the meantime, it was still mostly the responsibility of state highway departments and local governments to plan and build freeways.²

In the early 1950s in both Dallas and Fort Worth, additional freeways were being planned on a freeway-by-freeway basis. In Dallas the alignment of the planned East-West Expressway was approved in 1953 and efforts to define the alignment of present-day Stemmons Freeway began in 1952. In 1952 business interests began efforts to build a freeway between Dallas and Fort Worth which became the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike, opened in August 1957. Fort Worth officials focused their efforts on present-day IH 35W north of downtown and present-day IH 20 on the south side of Fort Worth.

In February 1952 a delegation of 56 North Texas officials led by Dallas Chamber of Commerce President Ben Wooten went to Los Angeles to study the nation-leading



Dallas magazine, March 1952

California Dreaming In February 1952 a delegation of 56 North Texas officials led by Dallas Chamber of Commerce President Ben Wooten went to California to study the progress and success of the Los Angeles freeway system with the goal of bringing the knowledge back to North Texas to expedite freeway construction. Here the delegation is shown in front of the iconic “stack” interchange at the intersection of the Harbor Freeway (CA 110) and Hollywood Freeway (US 101). Posing for the photo from left to right: Harrison Baker, member of the California Highway Commission; W.W. Overton Jr, chairman of the board of the Texas Bank and Trust Company; Ben Wooten; Paul Harding, California assistant state highway engineer.²¹

Los Angeles freeway construction program and its success (see photo). In terms of freeway planning, Los Angeles had published its key planning documents in 1939, 1941 and 1943, formulating plans for a sprawling regional network which was well ahead of anything being planned for North Texas. Catching up with California would prove to be impossible in the following two decades as the California Division of Highways (now Caltrans) would go on in the 1950s and 1960s to become the mightiest freeway construction machine the world has ever known. But in the short term, seeing California’s progress surely inspired local officials and more comprehensive plans for North Texas freeways began to appear soon afterward.³

In January 1953 TxDOT approved a long-range plan

for Dallas which included present-day IH 30 (east and west), IH 35E south, the downtown Mixmaster interchange and IH 35E north. However, it was still more of an evolving freeway-by-freeway plan rather than a comprehensive long-term regional plan. A map published in the *Dallas Morning News* on February 21, 1954, showed the developing plan (see image page 49).⁴

Progress toward a comprehensive plan which became today’s Dallas freeway system accelerated in 1955. The preliminary blueprint for the Interstate Highway System, the so-called “Yellow Book” due to its cover color, added the eastern bypass loop around Dallas, present-day Interstates 635 and 20. In 1957 a map published in the *Dallas Morning News* showed a freeway plan which closely



Dallas Public Library²²

Freeway Desire This undated photo most likely from 1952 shows an event, possibly a press conference, to promote freeway construction in Dallas. In the background the poster shows “Dallas’ Dilemma Today”—traffic congestion and inadequate roads. An injection of engineering in the middle produces “Dallas’ Desire Tomorrow”—a modern four-level freeway interchange. In the front row from left to right: city manager Charles Ford, Citizens Traffic Commission (CTC) member Rex Leutz, CTC honorary chairman C.J. Rutland and CTC member George McBlair. Standing in back are Dallas Traffic Engineer Lloyd Braff (left) and Dallas Planning Director Marvin Springer. Springer (1914-2008) was among the most influential persons in planning the freeways and streets of Dallas, responsible for determining the alignment of many freeways. He is regarded as one of the leading urban planners of the post-World War II era and, through his consulting firm started in 1960, helped develop master plans for about 50 cities including Plano, McKinney and Grand Prairie.²³

resembles today’s freeway system.⁵

In Fort Worth a regional plan closely resembling today’s freeway system was released by TxDOT in 1955. It was dubbed the “dream” freeway plan in a *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* report, which described the plan as a “gigantic freeway ring around the outskirts of the city proper plus spokes radiating out from the center of the business district into all sections of the county.” The plan was modified in 1957 to swing the loop further west. But for the most

part, the dream freeway plan of 1955 became reality and still defines Fort Worth freeways today.⁶

The North Texas Freeway Grid

As freeway systems were planned for cities throughout the United States in the years after World War II, design patterns emerged based on regional geographic constraints and political boundaries. Regions with a single central urban focus and minimal geographic constraints adopted

Let's Hit the Jackpot!

Any way it's looked at, the highway proposal to be voted upon November 5 is a spectacular bargain for Dallas County motorists and taxpayers.

There's not a hitch, not a flaw. That is why the proposed \$17,272,000 right-of-way bond issue has the enthusiastic support of leading citizens all over the county.

It is the long-awaited opportunity to modernize a vast portion of our antiquated highway network. If this is done, substantial money savings will result to every citizen.

Dallas County's financial advisors estimate that the \$17,272,000 bond issue will cost only \$1.65 annually per average taxpayer!

Numerous other benefits are in prospect. Accidents are far more frequent on outmoded, congested highways. For many Dallas Countians, relieving traffic jams is a matter of life and death, health or invalidism.

Voter approval of the \$17,272,000 bond issue will bring Dallas County \$9,466,900 in matching right-of-way aid from the state. It will also bring \$53,600,000 in state-federal highway construction grants. If we do not approve the bond issue this total of \$63,000,000-plus in aid funds will go to other Texas counties that have right-of-way matching money.

Dallas County motorists "own" the prospective \$63,000,000-plus in aid funds. They have paid it in gasoline taxes, license fees and other state and federal highway-use levies. But they won't get it back unless the bond issue carries.

That's the proposition. By all odds it's the greatest highway opportunity in Dallas County's history.

Let's pull the "for" lever on November 5 and hit the jackpot!



↑ DO YOU WANT THIS



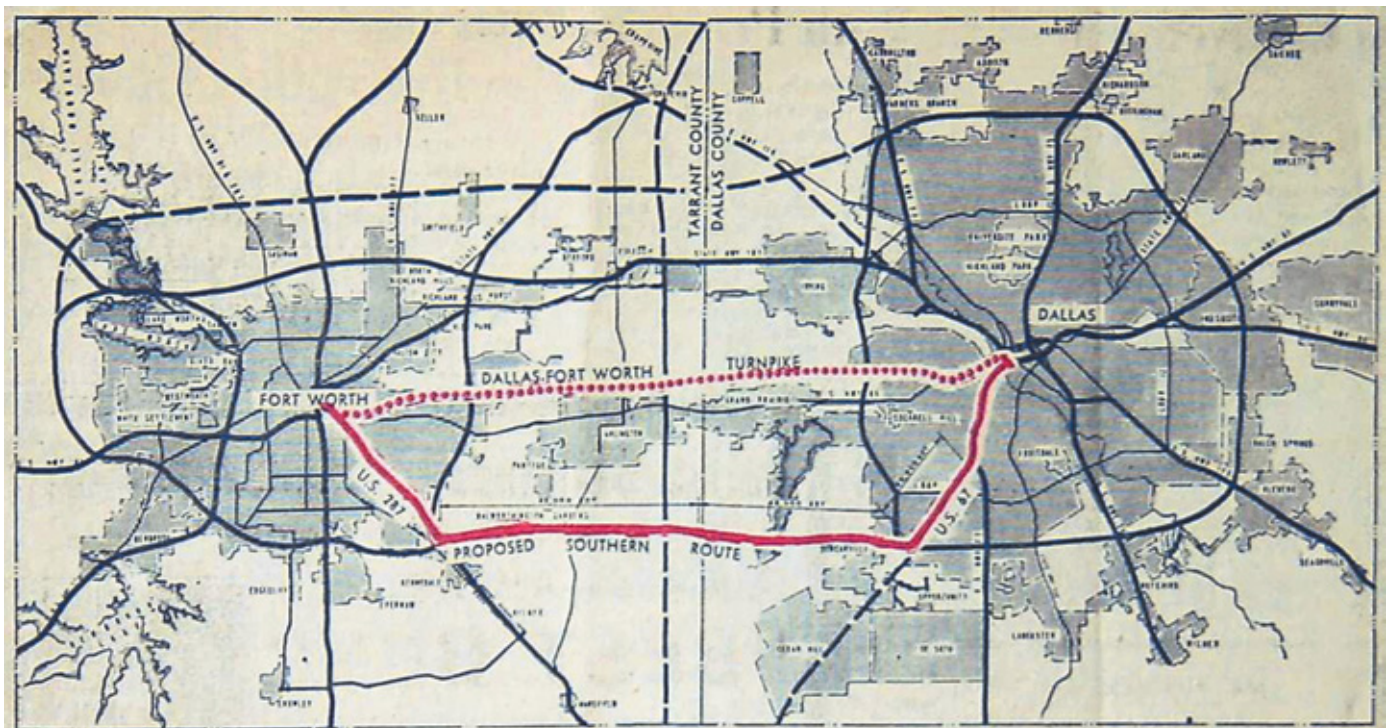
... OR THIS? ↑

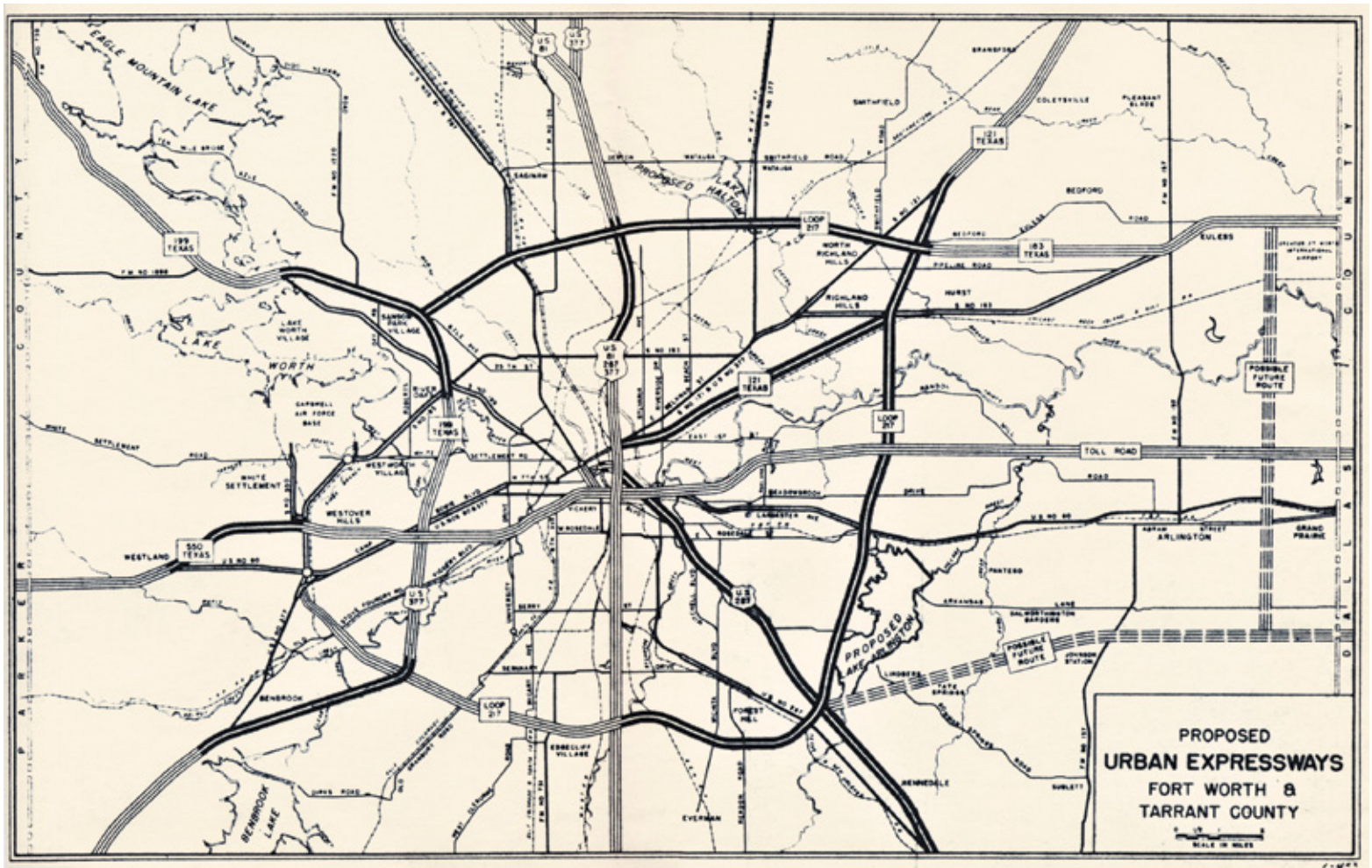
VOTE NOV. 5 FOR BETTER, SAFER HIGHWAYS
for fast-growing Dallas County

Freeway Jackpot Local governments were responsible for a share of the right-of-way costs for new freeways, and this 1957 brochure was in support of a bond issue to cover Dallas County's share. The \$17.3 million bond issue (\$143 million in 2013 dollars) passed with 86% of the vote in favor.²⁴



These maps published in the *Dallas Morning News* show the development of the Dallas and North Texas freeway plans during the period from 1954 to 1957. The map on the left, from the February 21, 1954, edition of the newspaper, shows the first completed freeway, Central Expressway, and three planned new freeways converging on downtown. The freeway plan was substantially expanded in the mid-1950s and the map below, from July 2, 1957, shows the planned regional freeway network which generally resembles the system which was actually built. In October 1957 the freeway alignments in west Fort Worth were adjusted to more closely match the as-built system.





This planning map shows Fort Worth's "dream" freeway plan which was unveiled to the public in July 1955. The freeway plan on the west side of Fort Worth was adjusted in October 1957 to remove the north-south freeway through the west side (signed with Texas 199 and US 377) and align the west loop further to the west near its actually built location.²⁵

the loop and radial system, with numerous freeway spokes converging on downtown and one or more loops encircling the region. This is the most widely used pattern, with Houston, Atlanta and Washington DC the largest regions using this pattern. Houston, with its two complete freeway loops and third loop under development, has the most extensive loop and radial design pattern in the United States. Regions with multiple urban focus points and minimal geographic constraints adopted a grid system with varying degrees of radial service to the urban focus points. Los Angeles has the most extensive freeway grid system, followed by Dallas-Fort Worth and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Geographically constrained regions adopted freeway networks suitable to their geography, often with both grid and radial elements. The New York City region, Chicago, San Francisco Bay Area region and South Florida are the largest regions with these hybrid patterns.

So which pattern is best? As jobs and population dispersed to the suburbs in the period from 1950 to 2000, travel patterns shifted from the suburb-to-downtown

commute toward the suburb-to-suburb commute. The loop and radial freeway system performed poorly with the increasing prevalence of the suburb-to-suburb commute as traffic funneled onto the loops, causing severe congestion at bottleneck points on the loops. Downtown interchange complexes designed for originating and terminating traffic performed poorly for through-traffic.

The freeway grid design pattern does a better job of handling the suburb-to-suburb commute due to its dispersion of traffic throughout the grid and greater number of alternative routes for traffic. However, freeway grids were still plagued by traffic bottlenecks at major activity points, for example downtown Los Angeles, Interstate 405 (the San Diego Freeway) at numerous points in the Los Angeles region, the downtown Dallas Mixmaster and Interstate 635 (LBJ Freeway) in north Dallas.

With Dallas on the east, Fort Worth on the west and many other politically viable cities around the region, North Texas was tailor-made for the superior grid system. By 1957 plans for the grid network were in place, with

the regional plan showing three parallel freeways connecting the east and west sides of the region. A third focus point was added to the North Texas freeway grid in 1965 with the designation of the site for the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport. In September 1967 TxDOT updated the regional freeway plan to make the airport a freeway hub. In March 1970 the *Dallas Morning News* reported that “Grapevine, a once-sleepy town with an economy dependent upon farming, will become a major freeway hub as a result of its geographic location and construction of the 18,000-acre regional airport on its south doorstep.” With the completion of the \$1.1 billion DFW Connector project in 2013, which expanded the freeway complex on the north side of the airport, North Texas’ third freeway focus point is positioned to become an even busier freeway hub.⁷

Geographic, political and development factors all were favorably aligned to build one of the world’s most extensive freeway networks in North Texas. Only Southern California has a more extensive grid, although it serves a population base about three times as large as North Texas. North Texas, with long-term plans for an outer loop around most of the existing grid, is the only region which is positioned to develop a freeway network which rivals Southern California.

Regional Planning and the Monumental 1967 Plan

While freeway planning had proceeded mostly independently in Dallas and Fort Worth during the formulation of the original freeway plans in the mid-1950s, the era of regional freeway planning arrived with the monumental 1967 *Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study*. It was monumental in the sense that it proposed a very dense network of new freeways around downtown Dallas and a regional freeway grid which began to rival the extensive Southern California plan.

The 1967 freeway plan had its roots in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962 which required all cities with a 1960 population exceeding 50,000 to have a comprehensive, cooperative and continuing transportation plan—the so-called “3C” process. Local authorities launched a transportation study in 1964 to develop plans for projected 1985 traffic volumes. For the next three years the study team collected and analyzed data, then devised a plan. The final report and its recommended freeway network for 1985 was published in 1967 in a multi-volume document.

The study team recognized emerging trends in North Texas transportation and designed the plan to meet those future needs. The team realized that fewer and fewer daily trips would originate or terminate in downtown Dallas, and traffic passing through the downtown interchange complex going to other destinations would eventually cause gridlock. To handle this need, the planners added a second loop of freeways around downtown about 1-2 miles beyond the first loop, with new radial freeways connecting to the loop to take motorists to suburban destinations. The team also recognized the growing importance of the

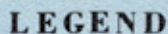
suburb-to-suburb commute and strengthened the grid network of freeways around North Texas.

When the study team began its efforts in 1964, new freeways could be built through residential areas with little or no opposition and it was less costly to build new freeways on new alignments than it was to expand existing freeways. Consequently, an extensive network of new freeways was recommended to cut through generally declining residential areas and industrial zones in the inner city. The proposed freeways are shown in the views of historical planning maps on the following pages, and are also shown in the map of canceled freeways on page 71 and the tabular list of canceled freeways on page 72.

While the team was clairvoyant in predicting future transportation patterns and needs, it did not recognize other trends which were developing far more quickly: public opposition to inner-city freeways, declining political support for controversial projects and diminishing financial resources for freeway construction combined with skyrocketing construction costs. Still, the proposed new freeways remained in the 1971 update of the regional transportation plan as the climate for new freeways was becoming hostile. In June 1974 reality finally set in. The regional planning authority, now NCTCOG, erased all the inner-city Dallas freeways except the Trinity Parkway from the plan. Several freeways in the Dallas north suburbs and a Fort Worth freeway were also deleted (see comparison of freeway plan maps on page 57).⁸

The proposed inner-city Dallas freeways never had any chance of actually being constructed. Due to the collapse in highway construction funding, just completing the previously planned downtown freeway system turned out to be a huge challenge. After a long delay, the Woodall Rodgers Freeway opened in May 1983. It was expected to be the last freeway to be built in the interior of Dallas, but one last project, the highly controversial Trinity Parkway tollway (page 328), could still be built.

The authors of the 1967 plan deserve credit for accurately predicting future needs and proposing a plan which would have solved the problem. The freeway routes proposed in the 1967 plan would be a godsend to today’s motorists. But a solution suitable for a certain era of time, the 1950s through the mid-1960s, became unsuitable as times changed. The problem of downtown Dallas traffic has remained, and in 2013 the proposed solution for downtown freeway congestion is the Trinity Parkway tollway, a new bypass route around downtown in the Trinity River floodway. Plans for expanding and modernizing existing downtown freeways were developed during the Project Pegasus study from 2001 to 2005, but in 2013 only the downtown Mixmaster interchange is funded for improvement and no work on the rest of downtown Dallas freeways is planned prior to 2035.



———— THOROUGHFARE STREETS

FOREIGN'S (Kaiser, Under Construction, or Demolished)

SECONDAZIONE EROGATA DA: *Esclusivamente*

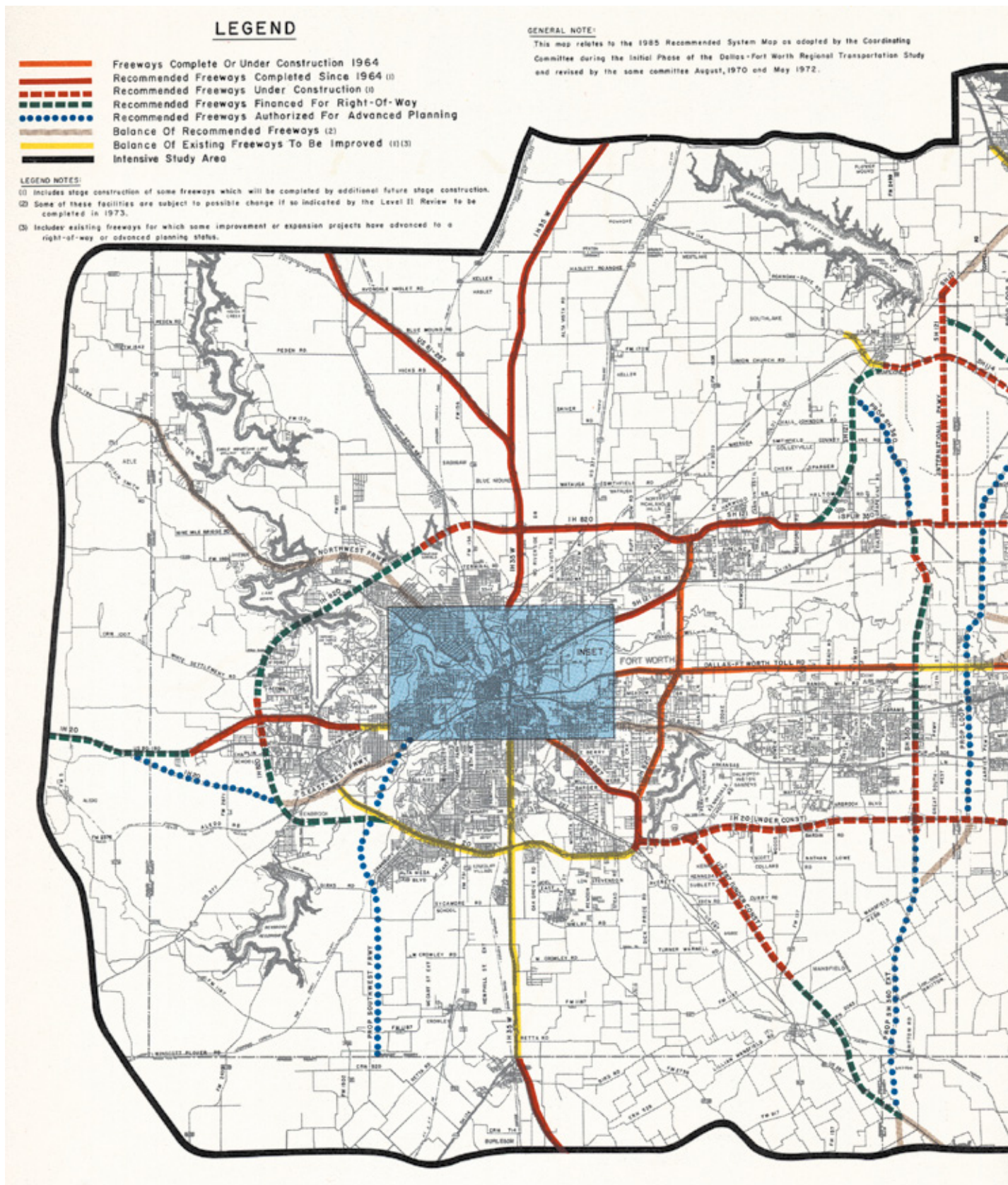
RECOMMENDED: Fullway on E-Drive Sport. 11/11/11

NOTE: This Plan shows general locations only. Responsibilities for design and construction have not been assigned to any agency. Specific route locations, time of construction, and construction priorities will be established later.

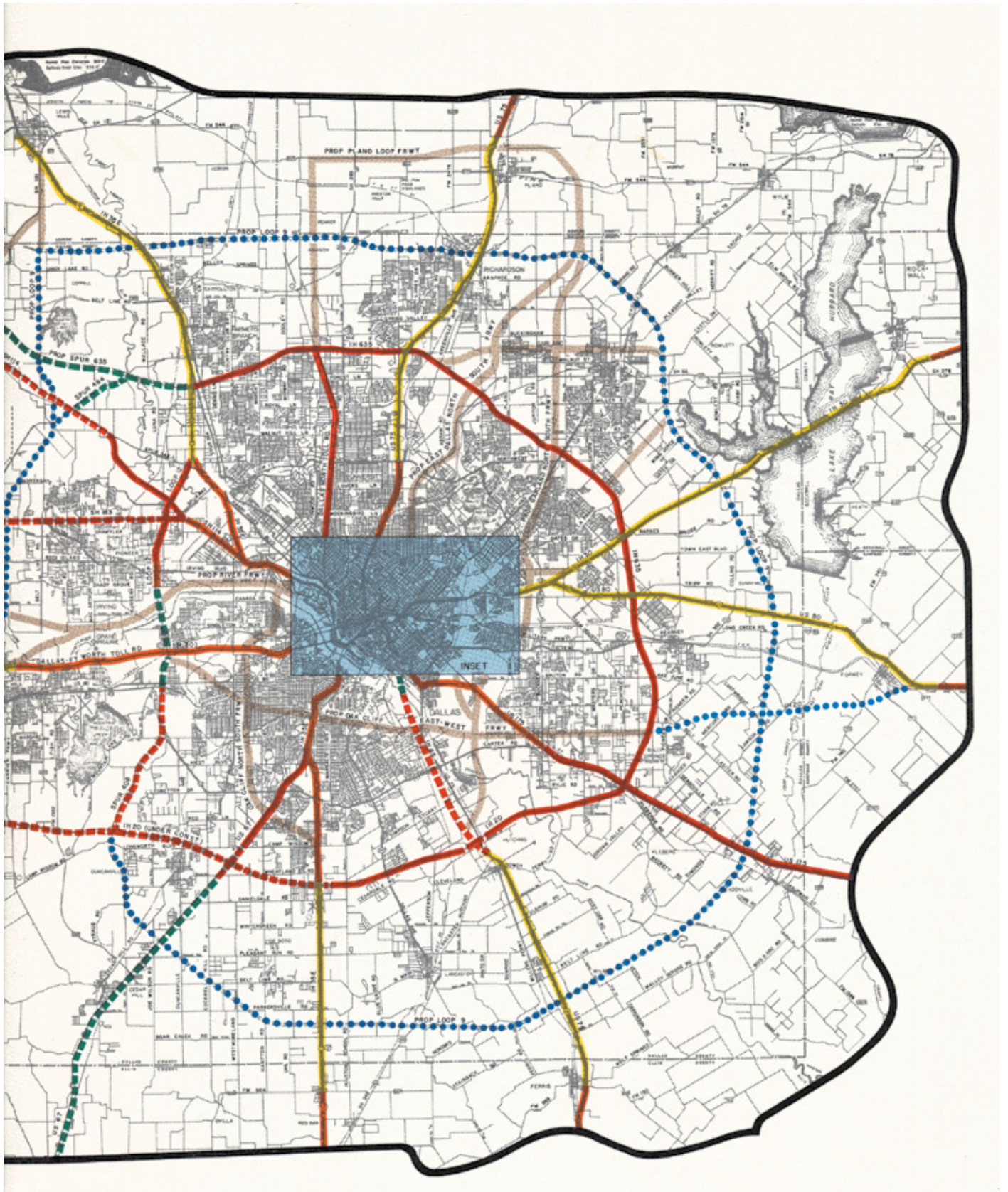
This map of the planned freeway system for Fort Worth is from the 1967 *Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study*. The freeway plan for Fort Worth was not as ambitious as the Dallas plan, and only three freeways were later canceled. Nearly all of the South East-West Freeway was canceled in 1974; only the far west section west of Loop 820 was built, opening in 1986 as Interstate 20. The Northwest Freeway inside Loop 820 and the North Side Freeway on the north and west sides of downtown were canceled in 2000. This freeway plan shows a convergence of three freeways on the southwest side of downtown, which would have potentially been an impressive interchange complex if it had moved forward to construction.



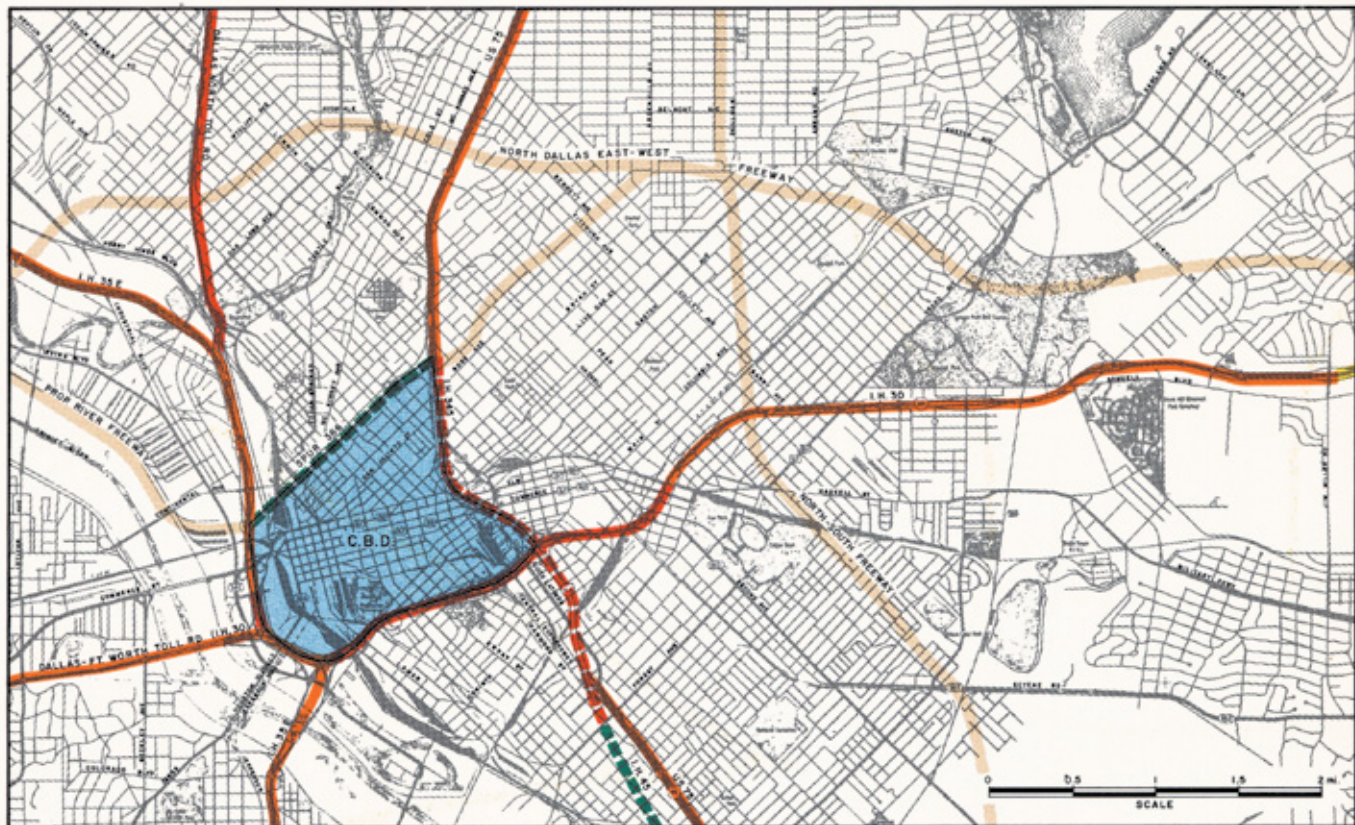
This map of the planned freeway system for Dallas is from the 1967 *Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study*. Numerous new freeways were proposed in central Dallas to form a second freeway loop around downtown about 1-2 miles from the actually built downtown freeway loop. The dashed lines show two alternatives for the alignment of the North Dallas East-West Freeway. The final alignment of the North Dallas East-West Freeway and a better view of the proposed freeways is shown in the 1971 map on the following pages.



This map of the Fort Worth region from the 1971 *Regional Transportation Study* shows the same freeways as the 1967 map and fully defined the freeways on the north side of Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport.

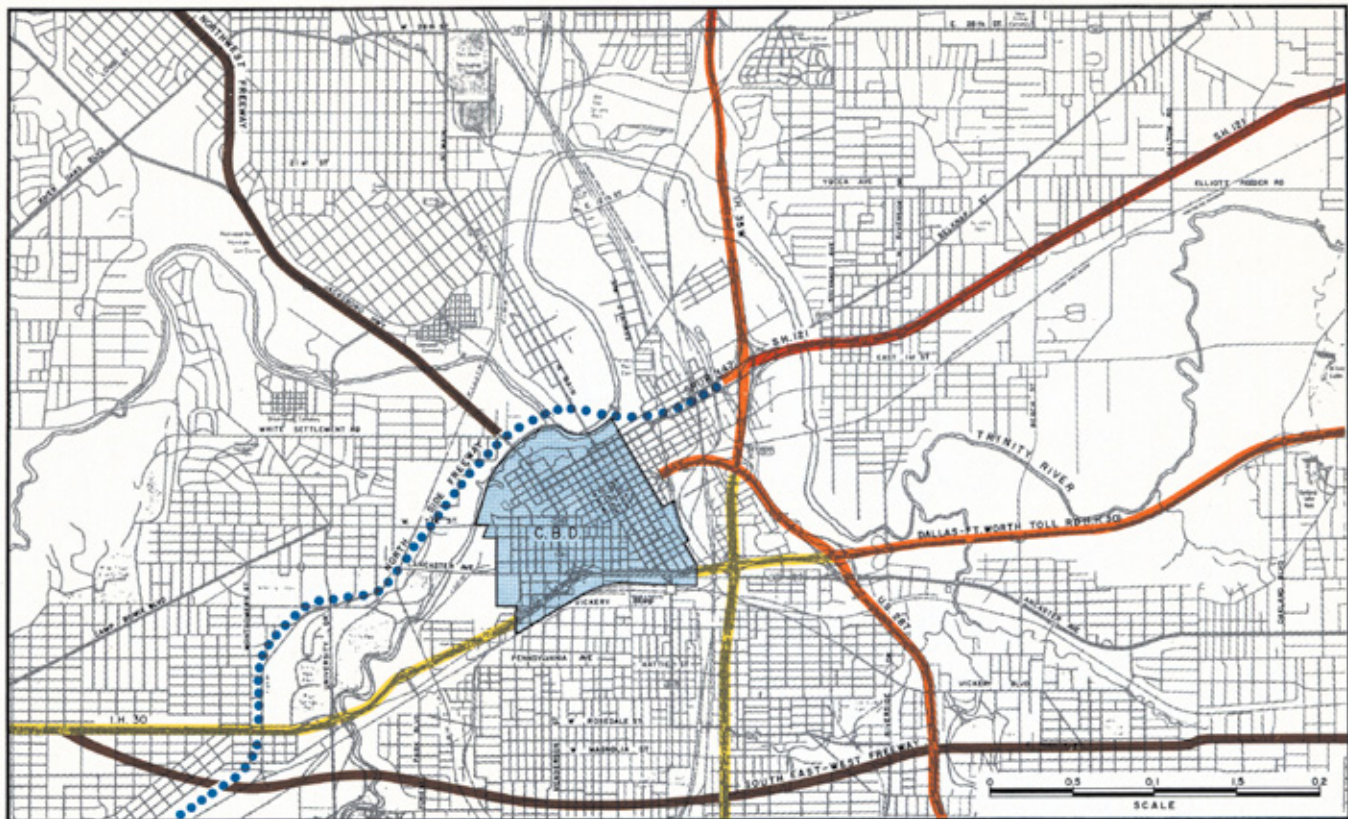


This map of the Dallas region from the 1971 *Regional Transportation Study* provides a better view of the freeways first proposed in the 1967 plan. The proposed freeways are indicated by the brown lines.

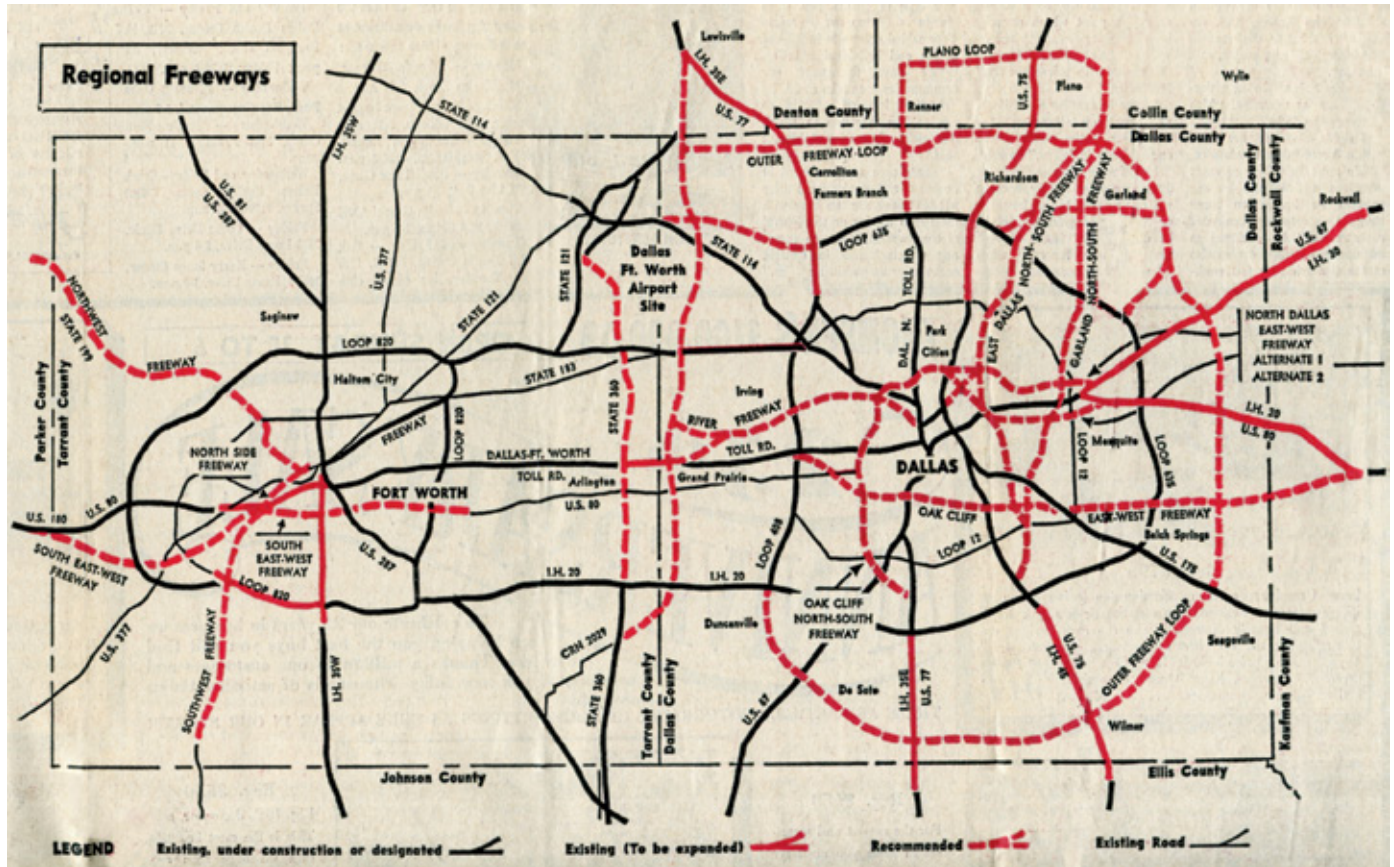


DALLAS CENTRAL CITY INSET MAP

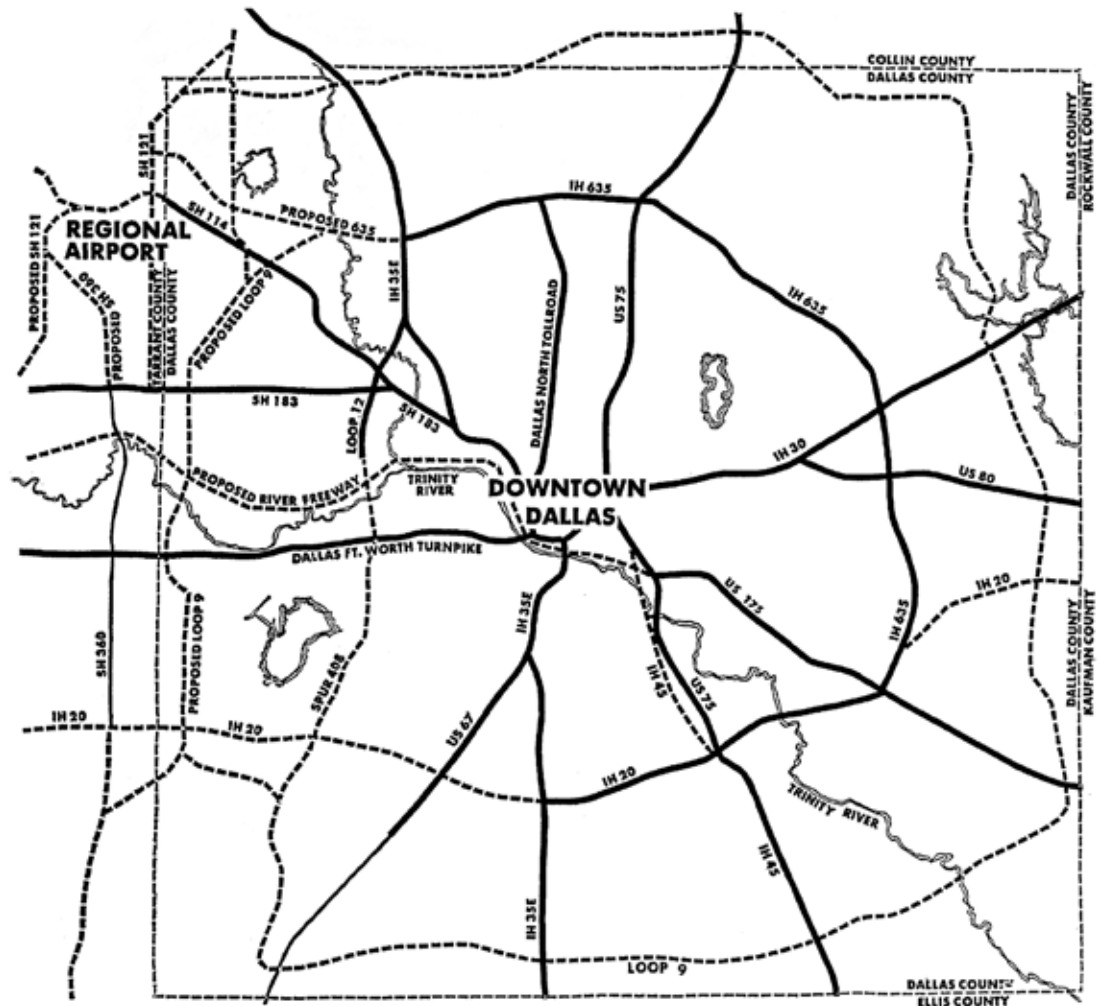
These views of downtown Dallas and Fort Worth from the 1971 *Regional Transportation Study* show the proposed freeways in the downtown areas. The alignment of the North Dallas East-West Freeway was just south of exclusive Highland Park. But officials soon realized it would be impossible to build new freeways anywhere in urban areas, even through decayed areas of Dallas.

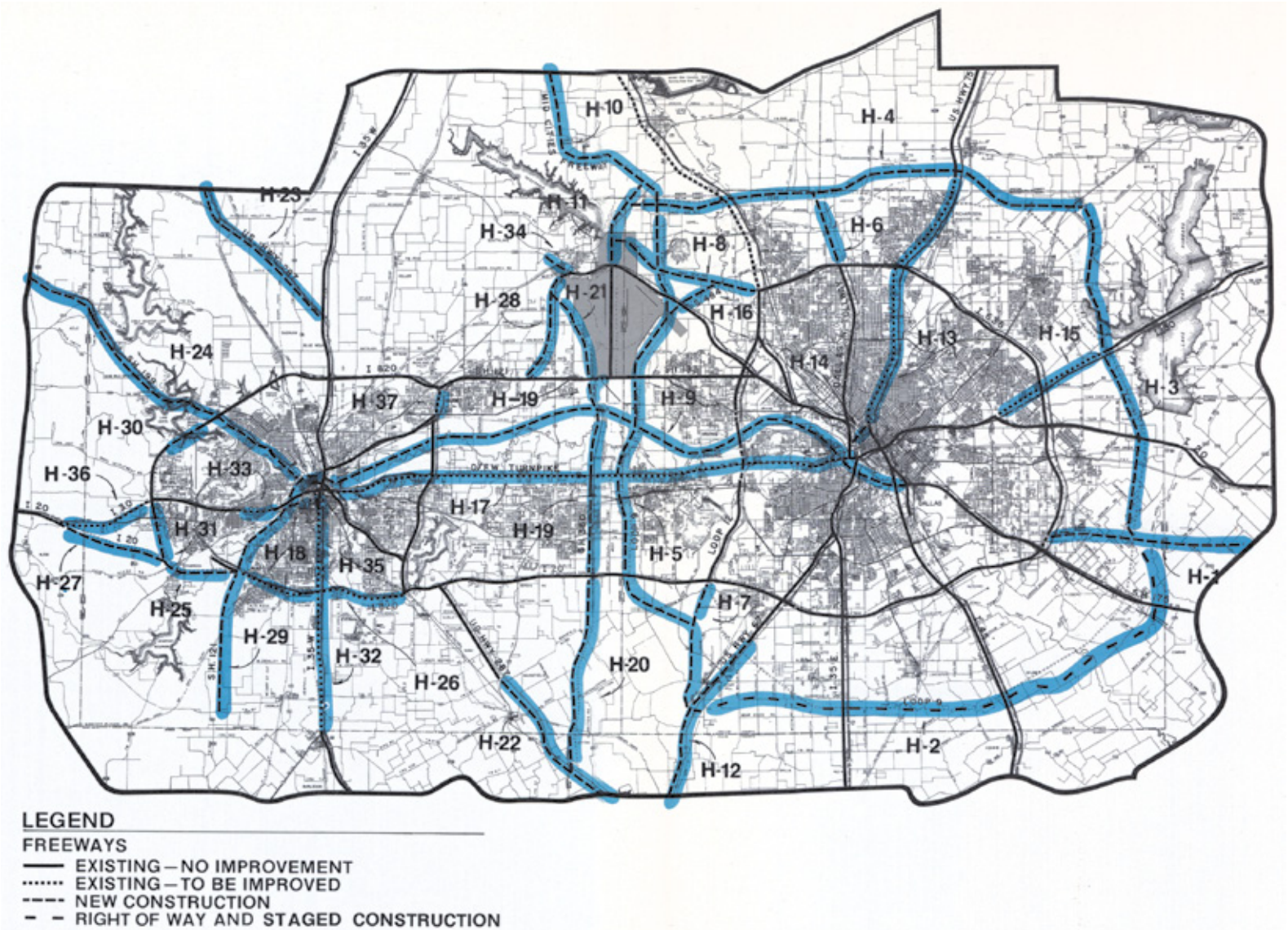


FORT WORTH CENTRAL CITY INSET MAP



These maps from the *Dallas Morning News* show the regional freeway plan before and after the 1974 adjustments. The above view, from September 17, 1967, shows the extensive network of proposed new freeways including the incredibly dense network around downtown Dallas and in northeast Dallas into Garland. The lower view from June 17, 1974, shows the plan after nearly all the proposed freeways in Dallas were deleted.





This map from the 1978 regional planning document shows the new plan which emerged after the adjustments made in the mid-1970s. Most of the planned freeways in this plan were built, many as toll roads. Some of the interesting proposed freeways which were later canceled are the "Mid-Cities Freeway" north of Dallas-Fort Worth Airport, the extension of Loop 12 (present-day Spur 408) south of Interstate 20 in southeast Dallas and the proposed freeway along the Trinity River between downtown Dallas and downtown Fort Worth. This plan does not include several new freeways and tollways which were later added to the plan and actually built, including SH 121 north of Dallas, the extension of the Dallas North Tollway, SH 114 through Southlake and SH 170 in north Fort Worth.²⁶

The Toll Road Moves to the Forefront

In the 1990s and 2000s the most dominant and influential trend in North Texas planning has been the shift to toll-based financing of highway facilities. In 2013 nearly all planned projects scheduled for construction before 2035 are tolled facilities or include a combination of new regular (non-tolled) lanes and tolled lanes. The shift toward toll-dominated highway financing is the result of insufficient and stagnant revenue from traditional sources of highway funding, mainly the gasoline tax, as inflation erodes the fixed-value fuel tax and the better gasoline mileage of new

vehicles reduces gasoline consumption. As a general pattern, dwindling revenue from traditional sources is being used to maintain and rebuild existing free lanes, while most new capacity is being financed with tolls.

The shift toward reliance on tolls began in August 1991 when political leaders endorsed greater use of tolls and the regional planning council (NCTCOG) studied the conversion of 18 planned new freeway projects into toll road projects. In 1991 transportation planners also began to promote the idea of adding tolled express lanes to existing freeways, saying tolled lanes would likely be the

North Texas vs. Houston

Dallas-Fort Worth has outperformed Houston in terms of freeway centerline miles and centerline miles of all limited-access highways, which includes both freeways and tollways. While the population of the Houston region has averaged about 91% of North Texas since 1950, Houston has only 69% the freeway centerline miles and 77% the overall limited-access highway centerline miles as Dallas-Fort Worth.

The chart below summarizes the reasons why North Texas has outperformed Houston in freeway centerline miles. For freeways, the critical period was the 1950s when the original master plans for both cities were formulated. North Texas developed a grid-style network with more freeways and stronger political advocacy propelled the freeways to construction.

While North Texas was an early leader in toll roads

with the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike, opened in 1957, and the Dallas North Tollway, first opened in 1968, Houston has pulled slightly ahead of North Texas in toll road centerline miles. Still, Houston's edge in toll roads is negligible compared to the 162-mile North Texas lead in freeways.

So why did Houston interests stand by and let Dallas-Fort Worth get ahead? In reality, the difference in centerline miles is really a consequence of differing priorities since highway funding is proportional to regional population over the long run. While Houston has fewer freeways, they typically have more lanes and include frontage roads more often than North Texas freeways. In terms of lane-miles, the ratio of Houston to Dallas as reported by the Texas A&M Transportation Institute is 89%, very close to the population ratio of 91%.

North Texas vs. Houston, Centerline Miles and Lane-Miles				Houston percent of North Texas
		North Texas	Houston Region	
Centerline Miles*	Freeway	519	357	69%
	Toll road	141	151	107%
	Total limited access	660	508	77%
Lane-miles†	Freeway and toll road	3705	3309	89%

* Values computed by the author in 2012. The limit for radial freeways is the approximate edge of the urbanized area. † Lane-miles are from the Texas A&M Transportation Institute 2012 *Urban Mobility Report*. Limits do not correspond to the centerline miles values.

Population of North Texas and Houston			
	Metropolitan area population, millions‡		Houston, percent of North Texas
	North Texas	Houston	
1950	0.971	0.914	94%
1960	1.74	1.43	82%
1970	2.35	2.06	88%
1980	3.05	2.95	97%
1990	3.99	3.77	94%
2000	5.16	4.72	91%
2010	6.37	5.95	93%
Average			91%

‡ Population is from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1951, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2012 editions.

Why North Texas Has More Freeways than Houston	
1940s and 1950s	
More political advocacy	Both Dallas and Fort Worth worked independently to plan and fund freeway systems, while Houston had only one advocate.
Freeway grid	The grid design for North Texas freeways results in more centerline miles of freeway as compared to the loop and radial system used in Houston.
The Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike	The 29.6-mile toll road opened in 1957 would have consumed substantial funding if built as a freeway. State highway funds which would have been used for a Dallas-Fort Worth freeway were available for other projects. Houston did not build any toll roads until the 1980s.
More land donations	Large land donations were received for IH 35E north of downtown Dallas and a long section of the Carpenter Freeway (SH 183 and SH 114). Houston received only one large donation, for US 59.
1950s and 1960s	
More interstate highways	North Texas has Interstates 20, 30, 35E, 35W, 45, 345, 635 and 820. Houston has only Interstates 10, 45 and 610. (US 59 in Houston is in the process of being co-signed with IH 69 in 2013.)
1960s and 1970s	
Lower-cost construction allowed available funding to build more miles	Frontage roads were omitted from many sections of North Texas freeways, while they were always included in Houston when feasible. Low-cost designs were often used for North Texas freeway-to-freeway intersections, for example the original IH 635/US 75 interchange and the freeway intersections in Irving around the site of the former Texas Stadium. Houston consistently used multilevel interchanges. In general, North Texas freeways have fewer lanes than Houston freeways.
Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport	The site was designated in 1965 and in 1967 political leaders announced plans for a network of freeways to serve the airport. This created a third hub for North Texas freeways and kept new freeway construction at full speed in the early 1970s while Houston construction was in decline.

only way to add new capacity to certain congested freeways. In 1992 Dallas County expressed its desire to take control of the two tolled facilities in North Texas from the Texas Turnpike Authority in order to ensure that the revenue generated from the facilities remained in Dallas County. In 1994 elected officials endorsed converting the largest freeway project awaiting funding, SH 190 (now the Bush Turnpike), into a toll road.⁹

In 1996 the statewide Texas Turnpike Authority was still responsible for toll roads in North Texas, and political leaders began efforts to create a regional North Texas toll road authority to build and manage toll roads, and, most importantly, keep revenue and control in North Texas. On September 1, 1997, the North Texas Turnpike Authority (NTTA) was formed and began operation. The NTTA would take a greatly expanding role in North Texas highway construction. New state legislation in 2003 promoted private investment in toll roads, and Governor Rick Perry's appointees to the Texas Transportation Commission, particularly Ric Williamson from Weatherford, demanded increasing use of toll roads. Long-term highway plans for North Texas have steadily become more reliant on toll financing, and the latest version of the North Texas highway plan, Mobility 2035 (approved in June 2013), continues the trend toward a toll-dominated highway network.¹⁰

Mobility 2035

Since the 1970s the long-term regional freeway plan has steadily evolved to meet changing needs and conform to available funding and political realities. Additional cancellations have occurred (see pages 70-75), and new routes have been added where newly developing demand is the greatest and the political environment is most favorable. In general, most new planning and construction is occurring in the northern suburbs of North Texas.

Two maps from the current version of the long-term



Justin Cozart

The birth of the next major North Texas transportation corridor This January 2012 view shows the first section of the Collin County Outer Loop, looking east just east of US 75. Approximately 18 miles of the Collin County Outer Loop are currently planned to be built before 2035. This first section includes only a two-lane roadway which will ultimately become a frontage road. Long-term plans include the addition of the second frontage road and the tolled main lanes.

regional transportation plan, Mobility 2035, show the projects expected to be built in the next 20 years and the long-term blueprint for the potential ultimate buildout of North Texas freeways and tollways. The map titled the "Roadway Vision Considerations of Unfunded Controlled-access Facility Needs" (page 63) includes a complete, entirely new outer loop around the North Texas region. In the current plan, only the section in Collin County is shown in green, indicating it is planned for construction before 2035. An ultimate buildout of the vision would provide a highway network to rival Southern California, albeit with a much greater percentage of tolled facilities. As a plan that is subject to ongoing refinement and financial limitations, it remains to be seen how much of the vision will be realized. But it's a good bet that one factor will remain constant. North Texas highway planners will keep their Texas-sized ambition and do everything possible to meet North Texas transportation needs.¹¹

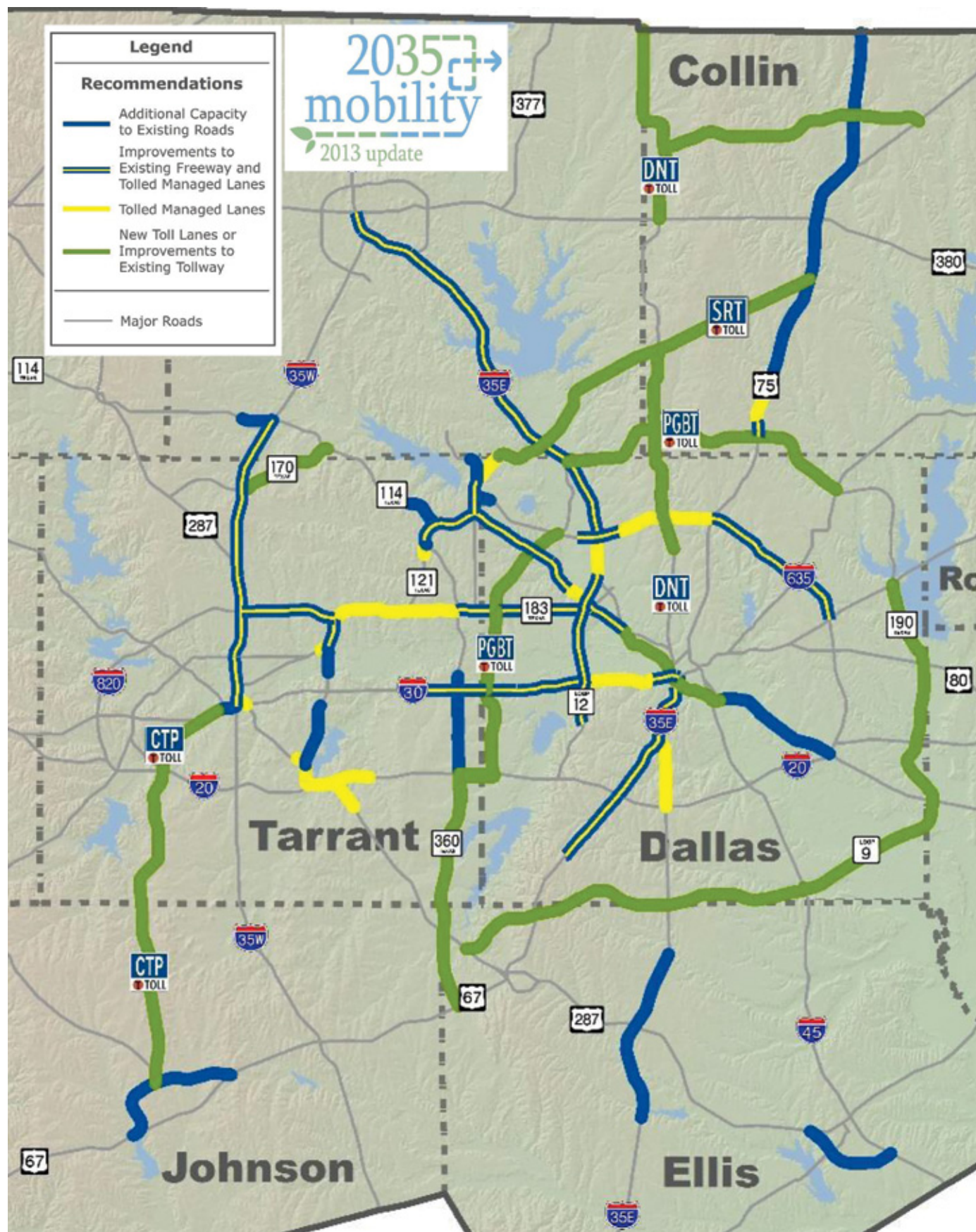
Major Mobility 2035 Projects Planned for Completion Prior to 2035

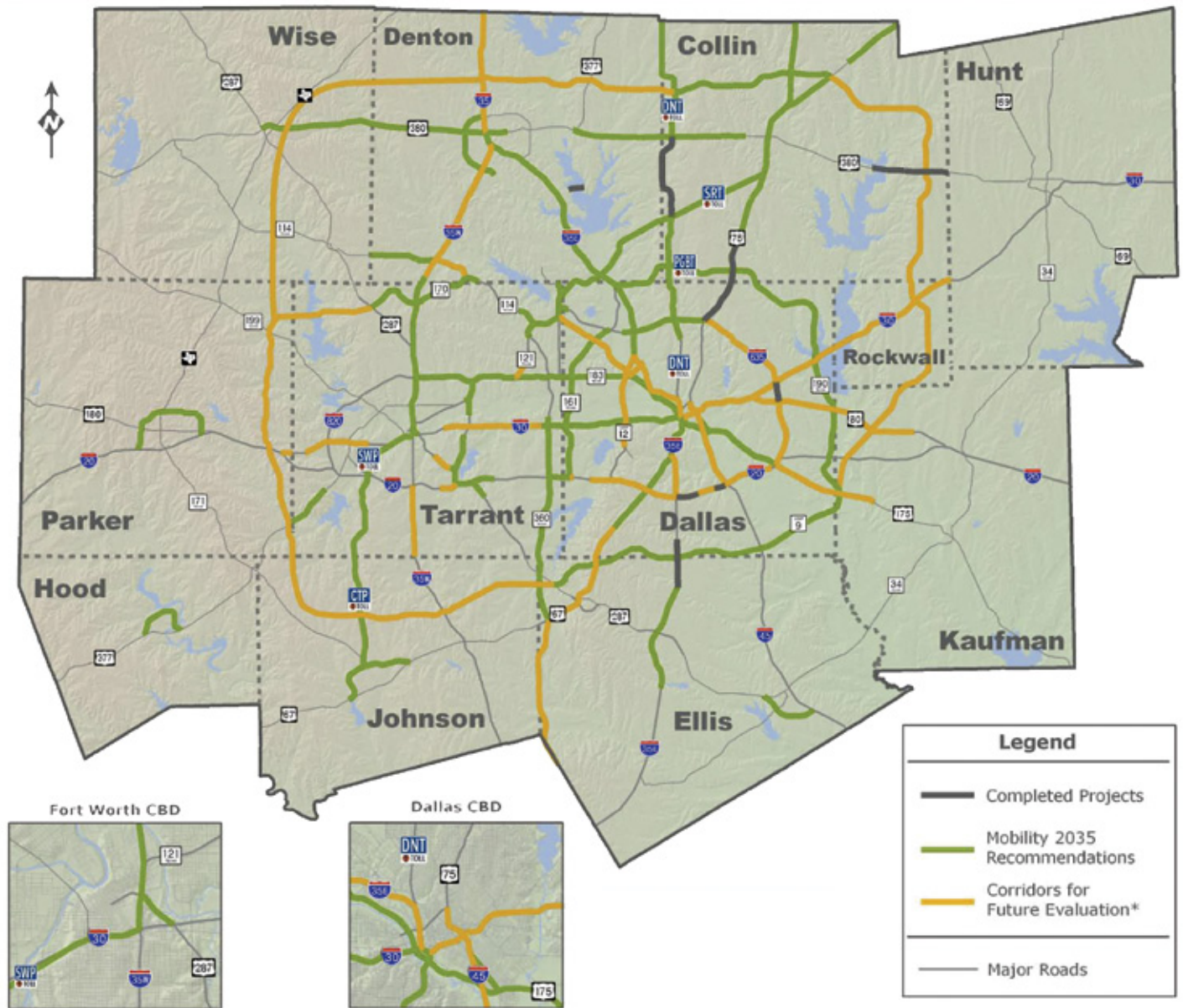
Based on North Central Texas Council of Governments Mobility 2035 plan, 2013 update

Project Name	Cost	Routes and/or Limit	Description	Status	Completion
Bush Turnpike	\$414 million	SH 161, final 6.5-mile section in Grand Prairie	Add tolled main lanes and new interchanges	Opened October 2012	All work done by early 2013
DFW Connector	\$1.0 billion	SH 121 and SH 114 north of DFW Airport	Major expansion with the addition of regular and managed lanes	Complete	August 2013
Chisholm Trail Parkway	\$1.4 billion	Formerly SH 121, the Southwest Parkway in southwest Fort Worth	New 27.6-mile toll road	Under construction	2014
LBJ Express	\$2.7 billion	IH 635 between IH 35E and US 75, and IH 35E from Loop 12 to IH 635	Add managed lanes; rebuild IH 635 existing regular lanes	Under construction	2015
North Tarrant Express	\$4.1 billion	IH 35W north of downtown Fort Worth; IH 820 between IH 35W and SH 121; SH 121 from IH 820 to SH 183	Add managed lanes to all highways; add regular lanes to IH 820 and IH 35W	Under construction	2015-2018
Horseshoe Project	\$798 million	IH 35E and IH 30 in downtown Dallas	Rebuild and expand the Trinity River bridges and Mixmaster interchange	Under construction	2017
35E Express	\$1.5 billion for phase 1	IH 35E from IH 635 to Denton	Add regular lanes and reversible managed lanes; downsized from original \$5 billion plan	Work underway in 2014	2016-2018
SH 360	\$600 million	South of IH 20 to US 287	Tolled main lanes, 9.7 miles		Est. 2017
SH 183	\$1.8 billion, including the Diamond Interchange Phase 2	IH 35E in Dallas to SH 360 near DFW Airport	Expand main lanes and add managed lanes on 9 miles in Dallas and Irving	In the proposal phase to select private partners in 2014	Three-phase construction planned
SH 114		In Irving, Loop 12 to SH 121	Add regular & managed lanes	Likely to be combined with SH 183	Potentially 2015-2020
SH 170		Between IH 35W and SH 114	Tolled main lanes, 5.8 miles	In design	Expected before 2020
Trinity Parkway	estimated \$1.76 billion	IH 35E near SH 183 to US 175	New 9-mile toll road around downtown Dallas	Mired in controversy and status is uncertain	Earliest possible completion is 2020
Dallas North Tollway		Northward extension	New toll road		Undetermined
Collin County Outer Loop		SH 121 to Dallas North Tollway	New toll road		Undetermined
SH 190 East		From IH 30 to IH 20	New toll road	Study phase	Undetermined
Loop 9 South		From IH 20 to US 287	New toll road	Long-term	Undetermined
Southern Gateway		IH 35E from downtown to US 67; US 67 to Duncanville	Add regular & managed lanes		Undetermined
Loop 12		SH 183 to Spur 408	Add regular & managed lanes		Undetermined
Interstate 635		US 75 to IH 30	Add regular & managed lanes		Undetermined

Notable Deferrals and Omissions from Mobility 2035

Project Pegasus		IH 35E and IH 30 in downtown Dallas	Rebuild and expand freeways		After 2035
Interstate 30		Arlington	Add regular & managed lanes		After 2035

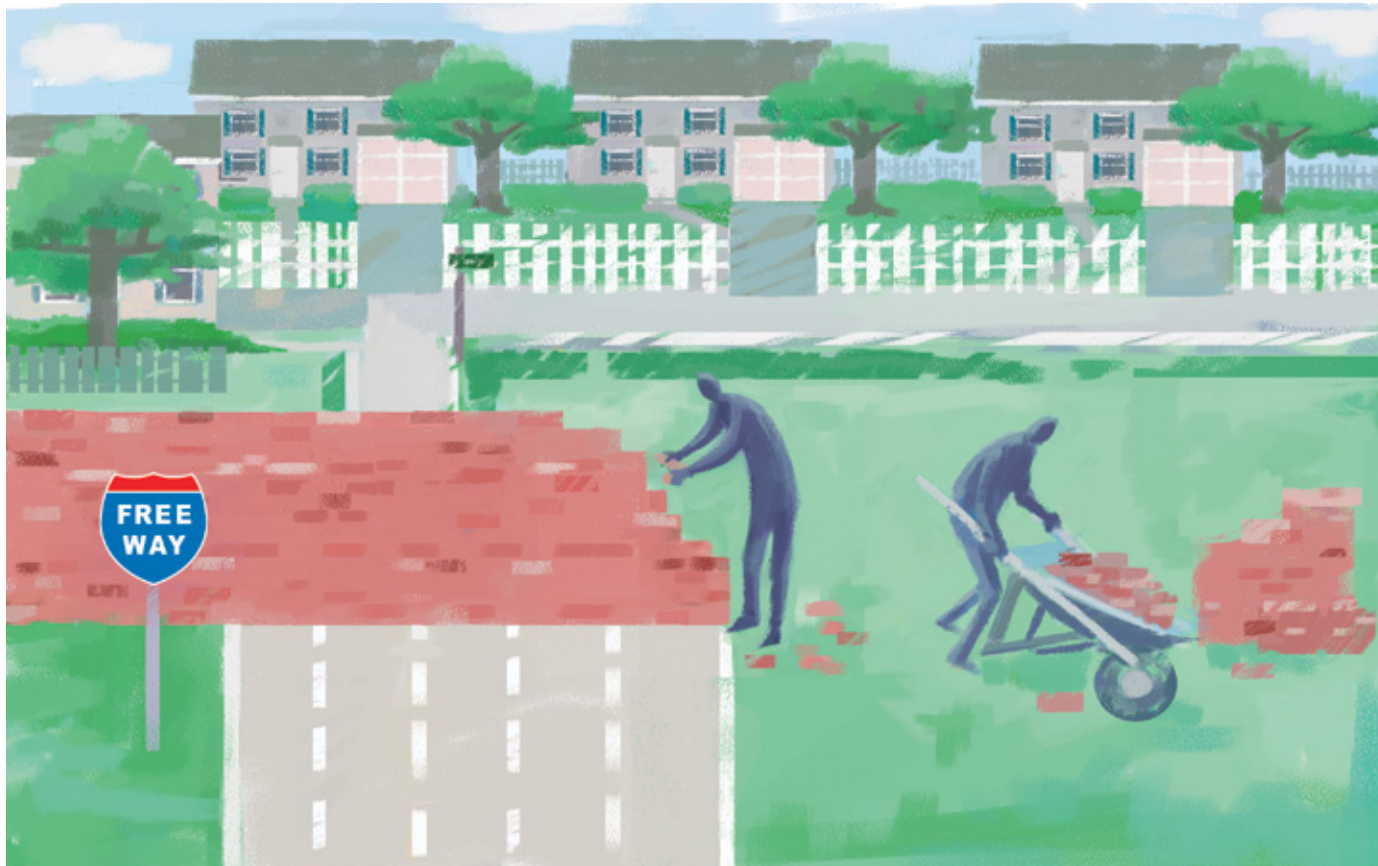




North Central Texas Council of Governments

(Facing page and above) These maps are from *Mobility 2035, 2013 Update*, the official long-term regional transportation plan in place in North Texas in 2013. The map on the facing page is titled "Funded Recommendations - Freeway, Tollway and HOV/Managed Lane Improvements". It shows projects which are expected to be constructed prior to 2035. The vast majority of new construction is toll roads or the addition of managed lanes to existing freeways. Due to funding shortfalls, the 2035 plan was substantially downsized from the previous plan, *Mobility 2030*. Highway funding dropped from \$66.9 billion to \$45.5 billion, a \$21.4 billion cut, and overall transportation spending dropped from \$145 billion to \$98.7 billion. The map above from *Mobility 2035* captioned "Roadway vision considerations of unfunded controlled-access facility needs" is "an illustrative map of those freeway and tollway projects and corridors which were unable to be funded in Mobility 2035 due to financial constraint. These projects are still warranted and needed but must be deferred until additional regional funding can be identified." The long-term vision includes a complete new loop around the North Texas region of which only one section in Collin County is currently recommended for funding. The vision represents the potential ultimate buildout of the North Texas freeway and tollway network. If constructed in its entirety or near-entirely, it would be a network comparable to the world's most extensive in Southern California.

CONTROVERSY



The first anti-freeway protest in North Texas occurred in 1945 in downtown Fort Worth before the first freeways opened in North Texas in 1949. Business interests along Lancaster Boulevard protested right-of-way acquisition for the planned east-west freeway, temporarily delaying the freeway and later prompting a design change. But when the first freeways opened in 1949, the love affair with freeways was underway.¹²

The 1950s and 1960s were the golden age of freeway construction, and it was a remarkably peaceful and non-controversial period for freeways in North Texas. Everyone wanted freeways, and they wanted their freeways to be built as fast as possible. With freeway construction in progress just about everywhere, cutting paths through neighborhoods and urbanized areas in both Dallas and Fort Worth, there was not a peep of public opposition in the 1950s and 1960s except for a minor squabble along the Dallas North Tollway in 1965, quickly and easily solved by building underpasses instead of overpasses.

During this long period of freeway tranquility the only complaints public officials heard were from civic groups upset that freeways were not routed to or through their areas. When the alignment of IH 35E south of downtown

Dallas through Oak Cliff was finalized in 1953, civic interests in west Oak Cliff which wanted a freeway along West Clarendon Drive protested that the approved alignment left them without a freeway. As the president of the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce explained, "We were led to believe it would go out Clarendon. We need an expressway to serve western Oak Cliff, as the traffic survey showed." When the planned expressway between Dallas and Fort Worth was designated to become the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike in 1954, the civic group in east Fort Worth demanded that the area be served with a freeway, ideally along East Rosedale Street. A compromise agreement was reached in 1955 promising a freeway for east Fort Worth, but the Rosedale Street freeway was never built.¹³

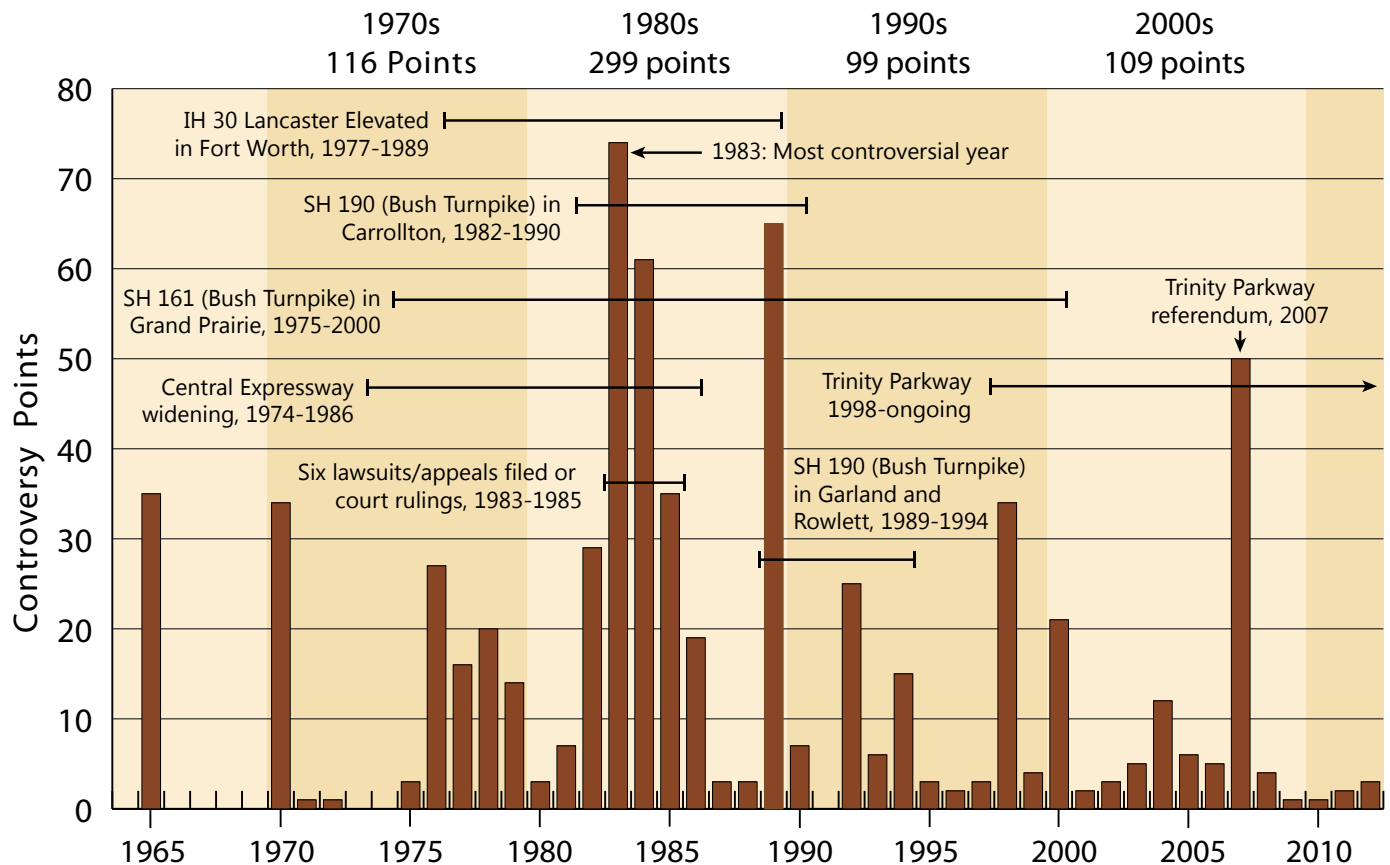
In 1970 the North Texas love affair with new freeways came to an abrupt end as the public began turning against planned projects. At an April 1970 public hearing in Richardson for the proposed Loop 9 freeway along the alignment of Campbell Road, a hostile crowd of 700 "booed and hooted down highway officials" to express their opposition to the project. A few months later in August, a small civic group representing a low-income area in south Dallas along the path of the soon-to-be-built IH 45 announced

Top Freeway Controversies in North Texas					
Rank	Points	Description	Years Active	Summary	Outcome
1	103	Interstate 30 in downtown Fort Worth (the Lancaster Elevated), controversy over retaining and widening the elevated structure	1977-1989	One of the most contentious and divisive civic battles in the history of Fort Worth. Government, business, citizens and the Bass family were all heavily involved. Included a lawsuit and appeal. (page 491)	Opposition succeeded: freeway was realigned south of downtown and the Lancaster Elevated was demolished
2	94	SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Carrollton, alignment	1982-1990	Opposition attempted to realign the freeway northward or kill the project. Included a project-specific election and two convoluted lawsuits involving numerous Dallas and Collin county entities as plaintiffs and defendants. (page 267)	Opposition failed: toll road was built on its originally planned alignment. Only change was to lower it below grade.
3	79	SH 161 in Grand Prairie, alignment	1975-2000	The longest-running dispute in North Texas. Involved litigation and appeals for 17 years between 1983 and 2000. (page 269)	Opposition failed: toll road was built on the originally planned alignment
4	58	Central Expressway (US 75) expansion in Dallas	1974-1986	The most contentious freeway controversy in Dallas, with government, citizens and the Dallas establishment involved. (page 120)	Opposition succeeded: plans for the upper deck were canceled
5	55	Proposed Trinity Parkway tollway in Dallas	1998-ongoing	Opposition has waged an ongoing campaign to kill the toll road. The 2007 referendum on the project was the most heavily publicized and contentious single event in the history of North Texas controversies. (page 328)	As of 2013 opposition efforts to kill the project had failed. However, other factors could kill it.
6	47	SH 190 in Garland and Rowlett, alignment	1989-1994	Opposition attempted to kill or realign the freeway. Involved multiple opposition groups and two elections. (page 270)	Opposition failed: project was built in the originally planned corridor
7	42	Dallas Fort-Worth Turnpike toll removal	1976-1977	Dallas interests tried to continue tolling after the planned toll removal; Fort Worth interests insisted on the removal of tolls. Litigation involved. (page 398)	Tolls were removed on January 1, 1978, a victory for Fort Worth and anti-toll interests
8	35	Dallas North Tollway, design of intersections in north Dallas	1965	The first controversy of the modern era. Although brief, ranks high due to lawsuit filed and design change. (page 231)	Opposition succeeded: north Dallas intersections changed to underpasses
9	34	Interstate 635 (LBJ Freeway) widening in North Dallas	1992-1996	Homeowners opposed acquisition of right-of-way for freeway expansion. TxDOT acceded quickly, avoiding a prolonged controversy. (page 213)	Opposition succeeded: freeway expansion done almost entirely on existing right-of-way
10	28	Chisholm Trail Parkway (formerly Southwest Parkway) in Fort Worth	1998-2003	Neighborhood groups sought to block the project, or alter the design if built. (page 518)	Opposition failed to kill the project, but aesthetics were improved
11	27	Original planning for IH 30 in downtown Fort Worth, right-of-way width	1945	Business owners along Lancaster Avenue organized to minimize right-of-way acquisition and block freeway construction. (page 491)	Opposition succeeded: freeway construction delayed and later built on a narrower right-of-way
12	25	Tolling of SH 121 Sam Rayburn Tollway	2004-2007	Controversy over tolling the project and control of the tolls; conflict was between government agencies with minimal public involvement. (page 310)	TxDOT achieved its objective of tolling, but local control was a victory for local interests
13	22	SH 190 in Dallas, alignment	1977-1978	A conflict between government agencies over the freeway alignment (page 265)	Dallas succeeded in aligning the freeway on the edge of its city limits
14	18	SH 190 (then Loop 9) in Richardson	1970-1972	Strong opposition developed to the planned alignment on Campbell Road. (page 265)	Alignment moved off Campbell Road in 1972
15	17	Interstate 45 in south Dallas, freeway design	1970	Neighborhood objected to elevated design for the freeway (page 290)	Opposition succeeded: freeway moved to ground level
16	7	SH 161 Bush Turnpike in Grand Prairie, toll control	2007-2008	A conflict among government agencies over toll road financing and control (page 273)	Compromise between TxDOT and NTTA



The opposition had sent a loud and clear message to TxDOT and political officials that times were changing. It became increasingly difficult and frequently impossible to build new freeways or expand existing freeways in developed urban areas, especially near neighborhoods. A September 26, 1970, article in the *Dallas Morning News* about the Interstate 45 controversy titled “Road Protests Stun Engineers” reported it was the “militancy of the delegation of about 50 black and white neighborhood officials which startled the highway men” and the opposition was “symptomatic of a reaction to highways already noticed in other parts of the nation.” Whereas local political leaders had nearly always supported highway projects without question, by 1970 they no longer hesitated to oppose TxDOT.¹⁴

The 1980s was the decade of highway controversy in



This bar graph shows the level of controversy on a year-by-year basis since the beginning of the modern era of controversy in 1965. The 1980s were by far the most controversial decade, 2.6 times more controversial than the next most controversial decade, the 1970s.

Other controversies not among the top-ranked

1944-1953	Study and effort to define the alignment of Thornton Freeway in Dallas, IH 30 east and IH 35E south	A final alignment was approved in 1953
1954-1955	Opposition to the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike in east Fort Worth	New freeways were designated to serve east Fort Worth
1976-1979	Efforts to build a toll road to Garland	Study ceased in 1979, mainly due to opposition from the City of Dallas
1988-1990	North Tarrant County freeway	Deleted from long-term plans due to opposition in Southlake and Colleyville

North Texas. The top four highway controversies in North Texas were at their peak during the decade, and 1983 was the most contentious year for North Texas freeways. The battle over the IH 30 Lancaster Elevated in Fort Worth is the number one highway controversy in the history of North Texas freeways. It was one of the most contentious civic controversies to ever occur in Fort Worth, involving the entire Fort Worth political establishment, businesses, prominent citizens, the influential Bass family and lawyers navigating the case through the courts. The Central Expressway controversy was raging in Dallas, and disputes

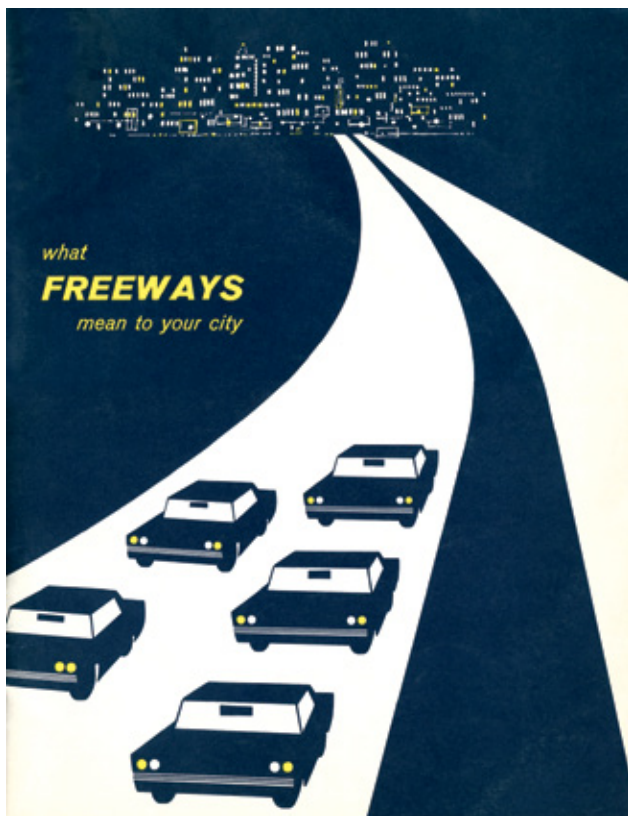
on SH 190 and SH 161 in the suburbs were working their way through the judicial system.

While controversy has subsided since the 1980s peak, the ongoing need to improve and expand North Texas highways ensures that new controversies regularly arise. In the 2000s the Trinity Parkway toll road in Dallas became a lightning rod for dispute and controversy. The 2007 referendum on the project was the most visible, costly and hard-fought single event in the history of North Texas freeway controversies. Other recent controversies relating to toll roads have mostly been battles among feuding government agencies, not ranking as high as controversies fueled by public opposition.

North Texas is perennially one of the national leaders in population and economic growth. As the growth continues, so does the need for new and expanded highway infrastructure. As long as political leaders continue to plan and build new infrastructure to meet regional needs, there will be controversy. To be sure, everyone hopes controversies will be small and quickly resolved—no one wants a repeat of the 1980s!

North Texas Freeway Controversy Interesting Facts

First controversy	1945-1946	Original planning for IH 30 in downtown Fort Worth
Longest controversy	25 years 1975-2000	SH 161 in Grand Prairie, alignment dispute
Shortest controversy	35 days May 20 - June 24, 1965	Dallas North Tollway, design of intersections in north Dallas
Decade with the most controversy	1980s	299 points were awarded to 1980s controversies. Other decades were far less controversial: 1970s, 116; 2000s, 109; 1990s, 99
Most controversial highway	Bush Turnpike (Loop 9, SH 190 and SH 161)	Six of the top sixteen controversies, spanning from 1970 to 2008
Most controversial event	Trinity Parkway referendum November 7, 2007	Trinity Parkway in Dallas
Controversies with lawsuits	5	Dallas North Tollway intersection design; Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike toll removal; IH 30 Lancaster Elevated in Fort Worth; SH 161 alignment dispute in Grand Prairie; SH 190 in Carrollton
Longest lawsuit	17 years April 6, 1983 - February 11, 2000	SH 161 in Grand Prairie, alignment dispute
Controversies with elections	3	Trinity Parkway in Dallas; SH 190 in Carrollton; SH 190 in Rowlett
Controversy affected by the 1982 governor election	Central Expressway widening	Mark White's victory resulted in an immediate suspension of planning for the upper deck
Freeways or tollways canceled due to opposition	0	



In 1964 the Automotive Safety Foundation published this 56-page, large-size booklet *What Freeways Mean to Your City*. The pro-freeway booklet included photos of new freeways across the United States with descriptions of the economic and safety benefits provided by the freeways. North Texas was well-featured in the booklet. The chapter “An Incentive to Industry” began with a photo of Stemmons Freeway very similar to the photo at Inwood Road on page 193, and the photo of the Houston & Texas Central Railroad on page 79 is included along with a photo of the completed freeway built on the railroad location. Photos of Six Flags Over Texas are included in the chapter “Freeways and Recreation”.

The Safety Foundation published the booklet likely because of emerging anti-freeway sentiment. The publication states “Although 90 percent of the cost of Interstate Highway construction is borne by the Federal-Aid program, urban freeways, nevertheless, become the center of considerable controversy in many communities. ... But controversy should not be permitted to obscure in the mind of any thoughtful citizen the basic considerations, good or bad, which underlie this vital program.”

After the first North Texas freeways opened in 1949, North Texas experienced its first freeway controversy fueled by public opposition in 1965 along the Dallas North Tollway.

Freeway Opposition Groups						
Group Name	Acronym	Project	Issue	Years Active	Influence	Outcome
Interstate 30 Citizen Advocates for Responsible Expansion	I-CARE	IH 30 in downtown Fort Worth; Chisholm Trail Parkway (CTP) in Fort Worth	Removal of elevated freeway; opposed CTP	1983-1989; 2000	Very high	The most influential, well-organized and successful anti-freeway organization in North Texas freeway history. Backed by Fort Worth business interests and the Bass family. Achieved its goal of removing the Lancaster Elevated. Organization was resurrected in 2000 to oppose the Chisholm Trail Parkway.
Association Concerned about Tomorrow	ACT	SH 161 in Grand Prairie	Change alignment	1975-2000	High	Financed the longest-running legal dispute, 17 years between 1983 and 2000. Lost on appeal in 2000, tollway opened in 2009.
Homeowner Association for Values Essential to Neighborhoods	HAVEN	SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Carrollton	Block construction	1982-1990	High	Financed lawsuits to block the construction of SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Carrollton. Courts ruled in favor of the freeway in 1989 and 1990. Tollway opened in 2001.
Citizens United to Relocate Vehicular Expressway	CURVE	SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Carrollton	Change alignment	1982-1983	High	Attempted to move the alignment north of the planned alignment. Was influential in 1982 election on freeway buffer zone.
Highway Information Committee	-	Interstate 30 in downtown Fort Worth	Corridor width and right-of-way acquisition	1945-1946	High	Delayed the freeway and altered the design
Community Response Coalition	-	Interstate 635 widening in north Dallas	Opposition to widening	1991-1992	High	TxDOT quickly scrapped its original widening plans
Fort Worth Alliance for Responsible Development	FORWARD	Southwest Parkway in Fort Worth	Opposed construction	1998-2000	Moderate	Failed to stop the project but prompted more study and improvement of aesthetics
People Against Double Decking	PADD	Central Expressway widening in Dallas	Opposed elevated structures	1982-1983	Moderate	One of several groups opposing elevated structures. Elevated structures were ultimately removed from the design.
North Central Beautification Committee	-	Central Expressway widening in Dallas	Opposed elevated structures	1979	Moderate	One of several groups opposing elevated structures. Elevated structures were ultimately removed from the design.
Families for Rowlett, Concerned Citizens of Rowlett	-	SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Rowlett	Change alignment or block construction	1989	Moderate	Used its influence to have a public vote on a city ordinance opposing the project. The ordinance passed, but the tollway was eventually built.
Citizens for Fair Government	-	SH 190 Bush Turnpike in Garland	Change alignment or block construction	1989-1990	Low	Had little political influence
Stop121Tolls.com	-	Tolling of SH 121 Sam Rayburn Tollway	Opposed tolling	2004	Very low	Had negligible influence on the toll road dispute, which was mostly a conflict among government agencies

CANCELLATIONS

North Texas freeway planners have planned big and dreamed big since the 1950s. Most of the freeway aspirations became today's extensive freeway network. But financial limitations, public opposition and shifting needs delivered a dose of reality to many proposed freeways, resulting in a lengthy list of canceled freeways. A few other freeways, while never included on the official regional plan, were proposed and discussed by officials, only to be quickly discarded as wishful thinking.

While the list of canceled freeways may be long, the impact of the cancellations on North Texas has been generally low. Nearly all the critically needed freeways were built—only the cancellation of the north and west sides of the downtown Fort Worth freeway loop may have a long-term negative transportation impact. Many of the canceled freeways were added to the regional plan in 1967 and were almost instantly unrealistic as the political climate soon became hostile toward new urban freeways. Only three canceled freeways, all in Fort Worth, had officially been adopted into the state highway system. And most amazingly, the present-day North Texas freeway network is entirely free of artifacts of canceled freeways—there's nothing actually built to suggest that plans were once more extensive.

The Age of Cancellations Begins

From the 1940s through 1974, the story of freeway planning in North Texas was growth and expansion. The basic network was added to planning maps in the 1950s, and the 1967 *Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study* (see page 51) greatly expanded the planned freeway network, proposing a freeway system which began to approach the amazingly extensive Los Angeles plan. But adding freeways to an official planning map is far easier than actually building the freeways, and in the 1970s the overly ambitious freeway plans of North Texas and other cities around the United States were due for a major downsizing.

In North Texas the era of freeway cancellation began in June 1974 with the approval of a revised version of the long-term regional transportation plan. In Dallas, nearly all unbuilt freeways inside the Interstate 635/Interstate 20 loop were removed from the plan. As the head of TxDOT's regional planning office Dan Walden stated in June 1974, "It seems to me it became obvious to most people in the highway department, perhaps five years ago, that it was no longer feasible to build freeways through densely developed areas." The only remaining newly planned freeway in Dallas was the River Freeway, today's proposed Trinity Parkway, planned to be built on vacant land in the Trinity floodway. But he added, "Just because we took those freeways out, it doesn't mean there isn't a need in those areas. There is still a transportation need." Walden's statement

was confirmed in the following decades as downtown Dallas became a major traffic choke point, and in 2013 hopes for providing relief still rest on construction of the controversial Trinity Parkway toll road and a potential long-term reconstruction of freeways on the west and south sides of downtown, the proposed but deferred Project Pegasus.¹⁵

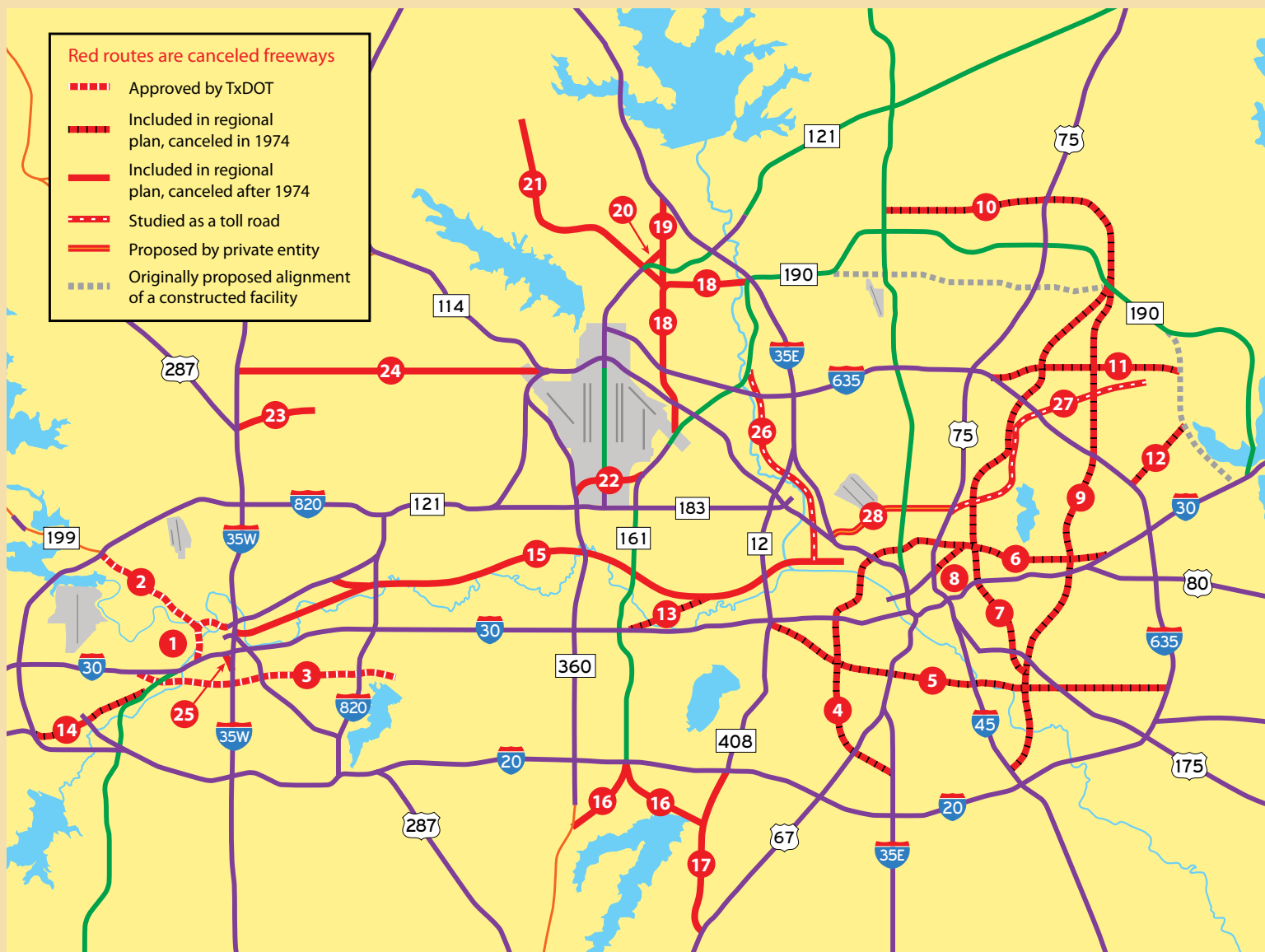
Fort Worth had fewer planned freeways, and in 1974 there was only one immediate cancellation, the proposed South East-West Freeway which was aligned along East Rosedale Street in east Fort Worth. The freeway was originally envisioned in 1955 when east Fort Worth civic interests demanded a toll-free freeway after the Fort Worth to Dallas freeway was designated to become the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike. The section of the turnpike in east Fort Worth became toll-free in 1964, eliminating the toll issue. In 1974, after the cancellation, TxDOT Fort Worth District Head J.R. Stone also noted that "The proposal [for the South East-West Freeway] drew strong opposition from neighborhood groups."¹⁶

With the downsizing of the regional transportation plan in 1974, North Texas was experiencing the same transportation planning adjustments that were occurring in cities all over the United States as planned freeways were being erased from freeway-heavy planning maps developed in the 1950s and 1960s. The more grandiose the freeway plans, the more extensive were the freeway casualties. Los Angeles had the densest network of proposed freeways, a planned 1540-mile system of which 680 miles had been completed in 1975. After a spate of cancellations in the mid-1970s resulting from both declining funding and public opposition, nearly all the planned but unbuilt freeways were canceled. The few remaining planned routes were slowly built over the following decades, with only one new freeway built in Los Angeles (Interstate 105, opened in 1993) and all others in suburban areas.¹⁷

The Absence of Canceled Freeway Artifacts

In most large cities, cancellation of planned freeways has left artifacts in the design of existing freeways which allow the modern-day amateur freeway archaeologist to gather clues about the plans of the past. But, curiously, existing North Texas freeways are entirely devoid of artifacts of canceled freeways.

The most obvious and dramatic sign of a canceled freeway is a freeway which comes to an abrupt and illogical end—the dead-end freeway. Other more subtle artifacts provide clues about canceled freeways. The "ghost ramp" is an abandoned or unused connection to a freeway which was never built. In other cases, large or high-capacity connection ramps were built to accommodate future freeways, but after the freeway cancellation the ramp is used by



The red lines on this regional map show all the freeways which were planned or proposed but ultimately were deleted from plans or no longer considered. These routes vary substantially in terms of the level of official government endorsement and effort expended to move the project forward.

What qualifies as a canceled freeway? In the strictest sense, the only freeways which qualify are freeways approved into the state highway system or approved for construction by a toll road agency and then later canceled. Only three freeways, all in Fort Worth, meet this strict definition. The majority of canceled freeways were freeways included in the official long-term regional transportation plan, but not formally adopted by TxDOT or a toll road agency. Finally, there are freeways which were proposed and received consideration from public or private entities, but were not included in the official regional transportation plan. These three levels of canceled freeways are indicated in the map above and in the specific project listing and description.

traffic connecting to local streets. Other design characteristics indicating plans for connections to canceled freeways include the stub-out, where the beginning of a connection ramp is built into the pavement of a freeway, and freeway width irregularities, such as a section of freeway with wider right-of-way intended to accommodate a future interchange. Across all of North Texas, none of these artifacts

exist.* How can the complete absence of canceled freeway artifacts in North Texas be explained?

First, nearly all North Texas canceled freeways were

* Spur 366 (the Woodall Rodgers Freeway) approaching the Margaret Hunt Hill bridge, opened in March 2012, includes a stub-out for a connector ramp to the planned Trinity Parkway toll road. If the controversial Trinity Parkway is canceled, North Texas will have a canceled freeway artifact.

Freeways Adopted Into the State Highway System by TxDOT

These freeways meet the strictest definition of a canceled freeway

Item	Name or Route Number	First Proposed	Canceled	Effort Expended	Notes
1	SH 121 downtown Fort Worth	1958 by City of Fort Worth; first included in the official regional plan in 1967	2000	Very High	This section of SH 121 would have completed the loop around downtown Fort Worth. This canceled freeway received far more political and administrative effort than any other canceled freeway in North Texas. For the complete story, see page 513.
2	SH 199 inside Loop 820, Fort Worth; shown as the North-west Freeway in plans	1967 Regional Plan	2000	Low	This section of SH 199 would have connected into the canceled section of SH 121 around downtown Fort Worth and was canceled at the same time as the downtown section of SH 121. Effort to build this section was minimal.
3	Fort Worth South East-West Freeway, also called the Rose-dale Avenue Freeway	East section was part of a 1955 compromise to appease east Fort Worth residents upset over the DFW Turnpike; route was included in the 1967 regional plan	1974	Low	There appears to have been minimal effort to actually construct this freeway, especially after the Fort Worth section of the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike was made toll-free in 1964. TxDOT was quick to abandon this freeway in 1974.

Freeways Proposed in the 1967 Regional Transportation Plan and Canceled in 1974

Nearly all of these freeways crossed through urbanized areas and were infeasible both politically and financially by the early 1970s. Other than being included in the 1967 and 1971 regional plans, there appears to have been negligible progress toward construction of these freeways.

4	Oak Cliff North-South Freeway	1967 Regional Plan	1974	Very Low	
5	Oak Cliff East-West Freeway				
6	North Dallas East-West Freeway				Two alternate alignments were shown in the 1967 plan; the 1971 plan showed the recommended alignment.
7	East Dallas North-South Freeway				This freeway was intended to provide relief to Central Expressway. At the time it was proposed, it was easier to build a new freeway through residential areas than to expand Central Expressway.
8	Woodall Rodgers Freeway (Spur 366) east extension				
9	Garland North-South Freeway				
10	Plano Loop				This alignment is close to present-day SH 190/ Bush Turnpike but was further distanced from the originally planned alignment of Loop 9
11, 12	Connectors from IH 635 to Loop 9				
13	River Freeway to IH 30 connector				
14	Fort Worth South East-West Freeway ²⁷				It is unclear if this section of the South East-West Freeway was adopted in to the state highway system.

Freeways Included in Official Regional Plans and Canceled After 1974

Item	Name or Route Number	First Proposed	Canceled	Effort Expended	Notes
15	River Freeway and Trinity Parkway	1967 west Dallas only; 1974 Dallas to Fort Worth	1986 inside Loop 820; 2007 everything except the Trinity Parkway in Dallas	High	A freeway or toll road in the Trinity corridor has been studied regularly since 1967. In 1974 the route was extended from downtown Fort Worth to US 175 southeast of downtown Dallas. The connector to SH 121 in Fort Worth appeared in the 1979-81 transportation plans only. The section inside Loop 820 in Fort Worth was canceled in 1986. After 2007, only the Trinity Parkway in Dallas remained. (Page 328)
16	SH 161 South Extension	1967	1986	Very Low	In 1967 the south extension connected westward to SH 360; starting in 1978 it connected eastward to a proposed extension of Spur 408.
17	Spur 408 south extension	1967	1986	Very Low	This extension connected into Loop 9, the originally planned Dallas Outer Loop.
18	Loop 9 Original alignment	1964	1986 for north-south section; 1990 for east-west section	Moderate	The Dallas Outer Loop, originally designated as Loop 9, followed this alignment. This alignment was actively studied and promoted in the 1970s. This can be viewed as a partial cancellation since the Bush Turnpike several miles east replaced it.
19	Loop 9 Lewisville extension	1967	1978	Low	This segment connected the northwest corner of the originally planned Loop 9 to IH 35E. It was replaced by the proposed Mid-Cities Freeway.
20	SH 121 Lewisville	1967	Appears to be deleted by 1979; definitely gone in 1986	Very Low	This short section of freeway became obsolete when the SH 121 Lewisville bypass was added in 1986.
21	Mid-Cities Freeway	1978	1986	Very Low	It is unclear where the northern terminus of this freeway was planned since this proposed freeway extended to the edge of the study area.
22	DFW Airport South Bypass	1993	2004	Low	Downsized to an arterial street in 2004
23	North Fort Worth Spur to IH 35	1990	1993	Very Low	This freeway appeared on only one official plan, and it appears to have been proposed due to the demise of the North Tarrant County Freeway.
24	North Tarrant County Freeway ²⁸	1986	1990	Moderate	The map location is approximate since an exact alignment was not defined. This freeway was endorsed and strongly promoted by Tarrant County Commissioners Court in 1988. However, affluent Colleyville and Southlake opposed and blocked the freeway.
25	Jones-Calhoun Street Connection South	1979	1986	Very Low	This short connection was intended to provide improved access into downtown Fort Worth from IH 35W south.

not officially approved by TxDOT to be part of the state highway system. The canceled freeways were included in the official regional transportation plan prepared by the regional planning agency or were studied by other entities such as toll road authorities. Consequently, TxDOT did not make provisions for the proposed freeways in the design of actually constructed freeways. In contrast, most of the canceled freeways of Los Angeles were included in the of-

ficial plans of the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), so Caltrans designed many existing freeways to accommodate the planned freeways which were later canceled.

Second, the large expansion of the North Texas freeway plan took place in 1967 after many of the freeways intersecting the planned freeways were already built or designed. In contrast, most of the canceled freeways of Los

Routes Studied or Considered as Toll Roads					
Item	Name or Route Number	First Proposed	Canceled	Effort Expended	Notes
26	Trinity Elm Fork Tollway	1986	study ceased by 1988	Low	The section of the Bush Turnpike between IH 635 and IH 35E follows its proposed alignment.
27	Garland Toll Road	1960	1979	Moderate	First proposed in 1960 and formally studied in 1979. Several alignments were considered and the alignment shown was the most feasible. The DART Blue Line light rail was built in this corridor.
28	Mockingbird Toll Tunnels	2000	2000	Low	Proposed by a private firm in 2000 but died a quick death when affluent, politically well-connected residents of Highland Park and University Park decided to oppose it.

Angeles were added to the regional plan in the 1950s or earlier, prior to construction of most existing freeways.

And third, no freeways in North Texas were partially canceled after a section directly adjacent to the canceled section was built. In fact, there have only been two partial cancellations of freeways in North Texas, SH 121 on the north side of downtown Fort Worth and SH 199 inside Loop 820 in Fort Worth. In the case of SH 121 at its western freeway terminus at IH 35W on the northeast side of downtown Fort Worth, the freeway connections into downtown Fort Worth were built before the designation of the freeway section west of IH 35W. In the case of SH 199, the freeway at the point of the partial cancellation (at Loop 820) still has not been built. In contrast, many freeways in Los Angeles were partially constructed prior to being canceled, leading to numerous dead-end freeways including the Long Beach Freeway (IH 710) with two abrupt dead ends, the Glendale Freeway (CA 2) and the Marina Freeway (CA 90). In Houston, the LaPorte Freeway (SH 225) comes to an abrupt halt inside Loop 610 because of its cancellation in the mid-1970s due to insufficient funding and public opposition.

Due to the unique circumstances of North Texas freeway cancellations, the only place where evidence of canceled freeways can be found is in old planning documents and press reports.

Adjustments Lead to a Few More Cancellations

When the North Texas freeway plan was scaled back in 1974 it was restored to a more realistic vision and was poised for steady refinement and overall growth as regional needs shifted. Projects which were politically difficult, excessively costly or not essential to long-term transportation needs were eventually erased from the plan. The most notable post-1970s cancellation took place in 2000 when SH 199 inside Loop 820 in Fort Worth and SH 121 around the north and west sides of downtown Fort Worth were canceled. Other freeways planned in the 1970s, including the Trinity River Freeway between Dallas and Fort Worth, were eventually deleted.

While building new freeways and tollways became far more difficult after the 1960s, it hasn't stopped political leaders and business interests from proposing their dream freeways. The more notable proposals which received some attention but failed to move forward include a toll road to Garland, an east-west freeway in north Tarrant County and a toll tunnel underneath Mockingbird Lane. (See map and project summary for details.)

The long-term transportation plan for North Texas in place in 2013 includes two large projects which are at risk of cancellation. The future of the controversy-plagued Trinity Parkway toll road in Dallas remains uncertain, and it could face sudden death if political, financial or engineering issues become unfavorable. The regional outer loop is a vast and expensive long-term project which may or may not move forward. In 2013, only the section in Collin County between the Dallas North Tollway and SH 121 is reasonably certain to eventually be built.

The Proposed Garland Toll Road

Efforts to build a freeway to Garland began in 1960 when Dallas County Commissioner Mel Price began promoting the project, suggesting a route which followed the railroad corridor alongside and just south of SH 78 Garland Road. Discussions continued in 1960, but the project faded away quickly due to the lack of funds available for new freeway projects. A freeway serving Garland was added to TxDOT's long-term development plan in 1965 and the route was included in the 1967 *Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study* as the Garland North-South Freeway. The Garland North-South Freeway was removed from the long-term regional plan in 1974, but the project remained under consideration as a toll road. Dallas County Commissioner David Pickett became the chief advocate of the project, believing that support in Garland and among businesses could overcome the opposition in Dallas.¹⁸

In July 1976 a Dallas City Council committee voted unanimously to deny Pickett's request for an endorsement of the project, citing cost, parkland and neighborhood impacts, and its view that the project would be counterpro-

ductive to inner-city revitalization efforts.¹⁹

Pickett continued efforts to advance the toll road project without the support of Dallas, asking the Texas Turnpike Authority (TTA) to study its feasibility. The City of Dallas blocked a formal study of the toll road for the next two years, but then allowed it to move forward and the TTA began a study in January 1979. In October 1979 the study concluded that the most feasible alignment for the toll road started near the intersection of Central Expressway and Mockingbird, following the MKT railroad corridor to

Garland. This railroad corridor later became the DART Blue Line light rail to Garland. The toll road faced a broad spectrum of difficulties. In addition to the lack of support from Dallas, there was controversy over which alignment was best, uncertain financial feasibility as a standalone project, expected strong opposition from neighborhoods, no politically powerful advocate for the project and complications for any alignment terminating at Central Expressway. The Garland Tollway was doomed, and after 1979 it was dead, never to be considered or discussed again.²⁰

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DMN=Dallas Morning News; DTH=Dallas Times Herald; FWST=Fort Worth Star-Telegram

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