



## BALTIMORE ROAD WARS TIMELINE

- **1942** – Proposed plan follows route 40. Initially called the “Bee Line,” the route was developed by City engineer, Nathan L. Smith.
- **1944 Moses Plan** – similarly approaches from the southwest, follows Franklin-Mulberry to downtown, but traverses Mt. Vernon via a depressed section following Centre Street, then follows Orleans Street/Route 40 through East Baltimore.
- **1946** – The expressway bill fails in City Council.
- **1949 “Tentative Master Transportation Plan”** – the first plan to propose the two segments that were later built: the Jones Falls Expressway, and the Fort McHenry alignment.
- **1956 – Federal Aid to Highway Act.** Designated highways are to be paid for with 90/10 federal/local; adopts dedicated funding sources within the Highway Trust Fund. Baltimore Congressman George Fallon is credited with drafting and honchoing the bill through Congress.
- **1957:**
  - **The Northern Route** – The first expressway plan to use Leakin Park and cut a swath through Rosemont; uses a northern route around downtown, cutting through Mt. Vernon, following Tyson and Chase streets. Encircles downtown with a loop that connects the Jones Falls, East-West Expressways, and Southwest Expressways. The expressway then follows the rail corridor through East Baltimore. The Southwest Expressway slices through South Baltimore (Montgomery Street corridor) and Federal Hill, crossing the Inner Harbor on a bridge to meet I-83 at the southeast corner of the CBD.
  - **Tyson Street protections** – The state legislature, in enacting a bond bill to support Baltimore’s expressway plans, prohibits the use of state funds to acquire land and build the highway through the Tyson Street corridor.
- **1960 – City Planning Department route.** Moves downtown section of the highway to Pratt Street/Inner Harbor/Fells Point/Canton. Mt. Vernon and Tyson Street are spared.
- **1962:**
  - **Expressway Consultants 10-D Plan** – moves downtown section from Pratt Street to the Montgomery Street/Federal Hill corridor. The Southwest Expressway (from the Carroll Park area) and I-70 (from Leakin Park/Rosemont/Franklin-Mulberry) converge southwest of downtown. I-83 intersects with the East-West route in the (later named) Harbor East area. These two interchanges create a need for a 14-lane bridge from Federal Hill to (later named) Harbor East. Follows the southeast waterfront through Fell’s Point and Canton.



- **Public Outcry at Hearing** – In January 1962, broad highway opposition was voiced at a hearing that lasted three days and was attended by 2,000 persons. Especially vocal opposition in southwest Baltimore.
- **Planning and DPW** – warring over every aspect of the expressway plans.
- **1964:**
  - **Wilbur Smith Regional plan** – proposes 48 miles of highways in the City, more than doubling 10-D; several new highways are proposed, including a cross-town route at Cold Spring Lane. McKeldin interprets the report as supporting 10-D. The plan is largely ignored.
  - **Leakin Park shift** – The “Sondheim Committee” shifts the Leakin Park alignment to the “Northern Park Route.”
- **1965:**
  - **Condemnation ordinance** – City Council approves the first segment of the 10-D plan.
  - **Opposition to Mt. Royal/westside connector** – The Westside Connector (the link between the East-West Expressway and I-83 in the Mt. Royal area) is halted. Councilman Ward leads a broad opposition coalition. City Council punts the hot potato to the Planning Commission.
  - **Southwest Expressway near Carroll Park** – Much of the expressway controversy centers on the Southwest Expressway (Carroll Park and residential impacts).
  - **Regional Rail Plan** – Study recommended building a 27-mile transit system.
- **1966:**
  - **Urban Design Concept Team (UDCT)** – The experimental multi-disciplinary “Urban Design Concept Team” is created to refine 10-D alignment and improve community input.
  - **Federal Aid to Highways Act of 1966** – The 4(f) provision is enacted; highways funded by the federal government cannot take park or historical sites unless there is no prudent or feasible alternative.
  - **National Historic Preservation Act of 1966** – Section 106 requires federal agencies to consider the effects of their undertakings on historic properties; the provision mandates the involvement of the President’s Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.
  - **Relocation Action Movement (RAM)** – RAM is formed to represent the highway-impacted Black communities of West Baltimore (Rosemont, Harlem Park and several other communities). The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) is part of the organizing group.
  - **Schaefer questions Southwest Expressway** – Schaefer called for a study to determine the necessity of the Southwest Expressway. the UDCT is given the assignment to determine the need.

- **1967:**
  - **Southwest Expressway** – Controversies are largely settled. UDCT analysis shows the need for the Southwest Expressway. New “Gwynns Falls alignment” avoids Carroll Park and lowers residential impacts. This becomes “10-D modified.”
  - **Condemnation ordinance** – 10-D is officially adopted. UDCT’s hands are tied, limited to “the givens.”
  - **The Society for the Preservation of Federal Hill, Montgomery Street and Fells Point** – Group forms and begins surveying Fells Point and Federal Hill with the intent of establishing historic districts. Hearing reveals deep splits in community. The first Fells Point Fun Festival succeeds in drawing attention.
- **1968:**
  - **West-side (Mt. Royal) connector** – Planning Commission acts to remove the connector from the Masterplan as an expressway, but surface boulevard ok’d over Ward’s objection.
  - **Rosemont alternate route** – UDCT produces plan for bypassing Rosemont. D’Alessandro initially rejects the new option, but later endorses it.
  - **Movement Against Destruction** – Thirty-five neighborhood and citywide groups held a conference and formed MAD.
  - **Baltimore riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King** – The riots called attention to the Black community’s plight as being pawns in both urban redevelopment schemes and highway plans.
  - **Harbor crossing/Federal Hill v. Fort McHenry** – UDCT gains the expanded authority to examine routes outside the 10-D alignment. D’Alessandro chooses 3-A/Fort McHenry alignment over 3-C(2)\* following Owings’ Coup D’état at CPHA.
- **1969:**
  - **Rosemont alternatives** – Public hearings for the Rosemont alternatives produce a new multi-racial resolve to oppose all the alternatives and support abandoning the expressway altogether. MAD shows its mettle. White defenders of the cemetery join with Black residents in solidarity.
  - **UDCT** – Owings and UDCT threatened with being fired; they are prohibited from attending community meetings.
  - **Fells Point/National Register/Lawsuit** – The Preservation Society succeeds in getting National Register status for Fells Point. They immediately file a lawsuit alleging a violation of 4(f).

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\* 3-C(2) is the term we use in the book to help readers distinguish this alignment (the “(2)” representing two harbor crossings). This alignment was known as 3-C at the time of its consideration.



- **National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)** – NEPA passes, requires an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for major federal undertakings.
- **Southeast Council Against the Road (SCAR)** – group created, unites southeast against The Road.
- **1970:**
  - **Rosemont Bypass** – City adopts alternate route, saving Rosemont; however, most residents had already been relocated. City Council passes ordinance lifting Rosemont condemnation line.
  - **Federal Hill** – Fed’ Hill placed on National Register.
  - **State bond/loans** – The state allows the City to borrow using state bonding authority. This temporarily averts a highway financing crisis.
  - **Fells Point** – UDCT plan for Fells Point is essentially unchanged: an elevated 6-lane expressway using the 10-D condemnation line.
  - **Priority for 3-A/Fort McHenry** – In 1969 the Fort McHenry/I-95 portion of 3-A fell to the bottom of city-state funding priorities. Greater Baltimore Committee and the Baltimore Regional Chamber of Commerce pressed city-state officials and that segment moved to the top priority late in 1970.
  - **City Boulevard** - Proposed boulevard would start at Federal Hill and end “near MD Art Institute,” apparently not connecting directly to JFX. Meetings draw business and community opposition.
  - **UDCT** – Concept Team concludes work. Issues Joint Development report.
- **1971**
  - **Elections** – William Donald Schaefer, campaigning as pro-expressway, is elected Mayor. However, five members of MAD won City Council seats: Barbara Mikulski, Robert Douglas, Robert Fitzpatrick, Alexander Stark, and Wally Orlinsky.
  - **Leakin Park** - Volunteers Opposing the Leakin Park Expressway (V.O.L.P.E) is organized as a coalition of environmental groups and Leakin Park area community groups. V.O.L.P.E joins with Sierra Club and NRDC and files suit to block the highway through the park. Ward files two lawsuits against the highway through the Park.
  - **Fort McHenry bridge/State General Assembly** – Locust Point organizes against the Ft. McHenry Bridge. A resolution, passed by the General Assembly and signed by the Governor, asks the State Roads Commission to “develop alternate routing for I-95.”

- **Federal Hill tunnel** – Locust point opposition forces consideration of 10-D(T)<sup>‡</sup>, i.e., moving the harbor crossing back to Federal Hill, but the crossing would be a tunnel instead of a bridge.
- **Highway impacting local funds** – Comptroller Pressman and Councilmember Stark raise fiscal impact issues. It is apparent that the city is shifting local transportation activities from MVR funding to local funding to make room for financing highway expenditures through MVR.
- **1972:**
  - **Leakin Park Injunction** – In the case of Sierra Club, Inc. et al vs. John Volpe (includes Tom Ward v. Richard Ackroid) the U.S. District Court issues an injunction to the effect that all work on I-170 cease until the State Highway Administration holds a new Corridor Location hearing and reconsiders environmental, social, and economic impacts. This leads to new hearings, but the opposition turn-out is heavy and the revised EIS is not approved.
  - **Fells Point/U.S. District Court** – Judge rules that City must stop acquisitions. City engages with the President’s Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and begins consideration of alternatives to the elevated highway through the Fells Point Historic District.
  - **Schaefer/3-A/Fort McHenry** – Schaefer holds hearings to reevaluate the highway plan; supports 3-A crossing at Fort McHenry; rejects the 10-D-TL crossing at Federal Hill; begins consideration of a tunnel instead of a bridge at Fort McHenry. MAD and City Council members Mikulski and Fitzgerald support the I-95 Ft. McHenry alignment.
  - **Barton resignation** – Planning Commission Chair Barton resigns, bitterly citing irreconcilable views on the expressway system; this highlights a rift in City government.
  - **MAD lawsuit** – In October 1972, MAD files a lawsuit in federal district court against the road builders on both procedural and environmental grounds. Fourteen groups sign onto the lawsuit with MAD.
  - **Regulators/Air Quality** – State Department of Health and US EPA dispute air quality impacts, demand a regional study.
  - **Mikulski’s City Council Bills** – bills to repeal the condemnation line and to eliminate certain capital funding authorizations fail.
  - **I-95 goes under construction.**
- **1973:**
  - **Energy Crisis of 1973-75** – the OPEC embargo causes shift in public opinion away from cars and highways to mass transit.

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<sup>‡</sup> 10-D(T) is the term we use in the book to describe this alignment. At the time it was named “3-A modified.” We renamed it because it was the same as the old 10-D alignment but with a tunnel (T) instead of a bridge.

- **Congress “Busts the Trust”** – The highway trust fund is opened up for transit-related investments. Cities can shift highway dollars to transit, but Schaefer sticks to highways.
- **Voorhees regional air quality study** - The Vorhees study stresses economic benefit, as well as minimal increases in air pollution; EPA Office of Air Quality Control disputes the findings.
- **MAD lawsuit/Franklin-Mulberry** – MAD loses on all points. Franklin-Mulberry goes under construction even though the Leakin Park segment is unresolved per the injunction.
- **MAD/second lawsuit** – MAD suit contends the highway plan violates the Clean Air Act.
- **1974:**
  - **MAD loses appeal** – Appeals Court rules against MAD (i.e. the original MAD lawsuit). MAD’s efforts to have the expressway issue put on the ballot also fell short of the necessary signatures. The second MAD lawsuit also loses.
  - **Highways v. transit** – Schaefer is under increasing pressure (including from Harry Hughes, Maryland Secretary of Transportation) to shift highway funds to transit, but Schaefer continues to back the highway plan.
  - **Fiscal impacts of continuing the expressway plan becoming an issue** – MAD and CPHA are leading attacks on the fiscal impacts of the expressway plan.
  - **Tunnels for Ft McHenry and Fells Point** – Schaefer announces he supports tunnel options for both Ft McHenry and Fells Point. Initially, he said he favored the underwater tunnel for Fells Point over several land-side tunnels.
- **1975:**
  - **Fells Point land-side tunnel** – After the costs of the tunnelling options are estimated, Schaefer backs off the underwater tunnel and supports cut-and-cover tunnels in Fleet and Aliceanna streets, but opposition mounts in community and City Council.
  - **Fort McHenry/I-95 Harbor Crossing** - Fort McHenry bridge officially changed to tunnel. City condemnation ordinance is adopted.
  - **Leakin Park segment revived** – City issues a revised EIS for the Leakin Park segment, and news accounts say the City is trying to revive I-70.
- **1976:**
  - **US Transport Secretary Coleman** – Secretary Coleman urges Baltimore to “have the political courage” to switch to transit because our planned highways will not be built.
  - **Fells Point** – The City’s preferred route through Fells Point changes again, now a double-deck cut-and-cover tunnel in Aliceanna St.

- **Council President Orlinsky** – Orlinsky introduces a bill to rescind the condemnation for the Leakin Park segment after the funding for school crossing guards was shifted from MVR funding to local funding.
- **EPA/Air quality** – issues over air quality impacts are finally settled after four years of squabbling.
- **1977:**
  - **Fells Point/ACHP** – City drops cut-and-cover tunnel through Fells Point, leaving the underwater tunnel as the only option for traversing Fells Point. ACHP shifts attention to the Lower Jones Falls – recommends against elevated road, prefers at-grade boulevard or tunnelling under the area. The City adopts the tunnel, but that increases the cost of the whole I-83 segment to \$362 million, a five-fold increase over the 1970 UDCT elevated highway.
  - **City Boulevard (later MLK)** – modified to avoid Federal Hill Historic District.
- **1979:**
  - **Franklin-Mulberry** – The isolated section of I-170 opens.
  - **Waterfront redevelopment potential** – while Fells Point has been “saved,” concerns now center on Canton and Harbor East in that the highway may dampen interest in the “Gold Coast.”
  - **Re-evaluation of highway plans** – Orlinsky resolution calls for complete reevaluation of both I-170 and I-83. The resolution passes. Schaefer is quoted expressing doubts about I-170 through Leakin Park, but he continues to support I-83 through southeast Baltimore.
- **1980:**
  - **Hearings by City Council Policy and Planning Committee** – Following up on the Orlinsky resolution, hearings are held. News articles say the City is ready to give up I-70 through Leakin Park, but I-83 is still planned through Fells Point. GBC drops support for I-70. City Finance Director Benton indicates a drop in gas tax revenues and upwardly-revised construction cost estimates are putting both I-170 and I-83 out of reach for the local share. Council recommends that both segments be dropped.
  - **I-595/Gwynns Falls connector** – IDBC is studying the Gwynns Falls connector to link the Franklin-Mulberry section of I-70 to I-95.
  - **I-95 Fort McHenry Tunnel** – tunnel goes under construction.
- **1981** – West Baltimore segment of I-70 canceled. This leaves the Franklin-Mulberry segment unconnected, thereby becoming the “highway to Nowhere.”
- **1982:**
  - **I-83 link to I-95** - highway canceled, sparing Harbor East, Fells Point, and Canton.



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- **Harbor City Boulevard (later MLK)** – Boulevard opens.
- **1983:**
  - **Redirection of Highway funds** – Agreement reached with state and federal governments to redirect highway funds to Metro subway extension to Johns Hopkins and a variety of local and regional street improvements.
  - **I-595 – Segment dropped.**