

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

ERL - 4
Oak Ridge Faces Life

32 West 73rd Street
New York 10023
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366 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Nolte,

No chorus of wise men attended the birth of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, dispensing utopian recipes for the ideal community and the "good" life. In the tradition of company towns, not New Towns, Oak Ridge happened because it was needed to house people working on a specific project at a specific time. Because the project was the Atomic Bomb, the time the Second World War, and the "company" happened to be the United States government, at the end of the war Oak Ridge was a half and hastily built city, behind walls, temporarily replete with a variety of services and facilities that most cities couldn't possibly afford.

In January 1947 the Army's Manhattan Engineering District gave way to the civilian Atomic Energy Commission. The Clinton Engineering Works became the Oak Ridge Operations. ORO's primary responsibility was scientific, but it included the complex and time consuming task of "construction, maintenance, and administration of the municipal, utility, housing and commercial facilities and services for the housing, health, safety, welfare and recreation of personnel employed by the Commission." Despite that working definition of a company town Oak Ridge eventually achieved political autonomy. Economically it is still a company town: the government retains title to 75% of the land, 90% of the cities fixed assets and is the prime employer.

The story of Oak Ridge's peculiar status and history is complex, involving not only layers of bureaucracies but the United States Congress as well. With so many interested parties the city became a political issue. One of the first managers of ORO said publicly, "I have been spending 90% of my time and energies on the 101 problems and headaches that emanate from our community operations which comprise less than 10% of our activities." Professor Carroll Wilson, at MIT, remembered the same situation at AEC headquarters in Washington. Congressmen, uncomfortably naive about matters nuclear scientific, felt eminently qualified to comment on the running of cities, especially on a cost per capita basis.

Curiously, very little has been written about the Atomic Cities- Oak Ridge, Los Alamos and Richland, though they are mentioned in all histories of the Manhattan Project. A doctoral dissertation in 1955, attempted to deal with their strange legal status. The long, careful essay barely scratched the surface of that facet and was out of date almost immediately.

Only 43% of the people who work for the AEC or its prime contractor, Union Carbide, live in Oak Ridge. Many of the technicians and staff people are East Tennesseans, and live where they grew up in the countryside; many others, who came during the war, could not get housing in Oak Ridge, and so, settled outside; others, living in Oak Ridge, got tired of waiting for better housing and private property; some, today, stay away from the city because of its high taxes. The lab ratio of scientists to technicians is roughly 1 to 7. Some 83% of the Phd.'s, 67% of those with Masters' degrees and 58% of the BA's live and work in Oak Ridge. The professional group, dominated by scientists, engineers and bureaucrats, with only a sprinkling of businessmen, doctors and lawyers, reinforces itself, especially culturally. For example, they comprise the hard core list of seven hundred families that support the Oak Ridge Civic Music Association (ORCMA), and the professionally directed Playhouse. Since the war ORCMA has been busy proving that a small city can, indeed, support a symphony orchestra. The temperament and bravado, musical and administrative, that surround any discussion of ORCMA would do a big city symphony association proud.

One thing about municipal government - it isn't glamorous. Nobody thinks about roads, lights, sewers, zoning, schools, police and fire protection unless: the facilities don't work, the price has just gone up, or you haven't got them. I was curious about the incorporation of Oak Ridge because it provided a review of the components of full scale municipal government, and also a glimpse of the way a new and presumed sophisticated city handled a range of practical and political choices.

Beginning with the setting: in 1948 the AEC commissioned a Master Plan for Oak Ridge from the firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. This time they had more than three days to do it, and they used a population projection of 50,000. (The population dropped quickly from its war time peak of 75,000 and today hovers around 30,000.)

As the flimsy barrack style dormitories emptied they were removed by contractors on an "as is, where is" basis. Gradually the huts and other substandard housing also disappeared. The Master Plan developed the premises of SOM's original sketches, outlining placement and style of considerable new housing firmly arranged around neighborhood schools. The Plan accepted the westward shift of the population for the purpose of locating the new central high school, the "Downtown", a municipal center and a someday site for permanent AEC headquarters.

Two entire new neighborhoods were built soon after the completion of the Master Plan. The Woodland area, of cement block houses, superseded the Negro Work Camp south of the Oak Ridge Turnpike. As with earlier houses in the hills, the individual units were scattered along the natural contours of the land close to utility lines. When the property was sold, years later, the plots, arbitrarily drawn, were not co-equal or even coherent in some cases.

The Negro population was moved down the road quite a piece. If you save newsletters, look at ERL - 3; Scarboro, the Negro section is that little appendix flap south of the city near Illinois Avenue. The temptation to say "out of sight; out of mind" is, on balance, unfair. There were elaborate consultations with the Negro population about the kind of housing to be built in Scarboro.

One of the problems of Master Plans, like Building Codes, is that minimum specifications often end up maximum results. As part of the 25th Anniversary celebrations John Merrill recently returned for his first visit to Oak Ridge in nearly twenty years. He couldn't help noticing that the "Downtown" shopping center was right where the Plan said it should be. With considerable tact he observed that the Master Plan was meant "just as a guideline." "Downtown" Oak Ridge is an uninspired, profitable, and unmistakable bit of Americana circa the mid 1950's. The garden apartment complex Merrill's firm designed in 1949 is still handsome.



Jackson Square, the original "Townsite." Sitting on the hill on the other side of the Oak Ridge Turnpike - the buff colored barrack headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission. Jackson Square has had a face lifting this spring.

A Citizen's Incorporation Commission, created at the January 1948 Town Meeting, reported to the June meeting, that there were no major legal obstacles to incorporation - the problems were financial. The message was reminiscent, in its optimism, of the recent rock song "We can work it out." That happy thought became a far dream when the J.L. Jacobs Co. of Chicago submitted its report on financial feasibility of incorporation the following year. Oak Ridge couldn't possibly pay for itself. The result was a lot like the cartoon of the man walking away from the exploding blimp, blandly muttering "Oh well, back to the drawing board."

Three things happened in 1949 to alert Oak Ridge to the future and the need to organize: The gates came down. According to standard publicity releases it was very festive; the Vice President, Alben Barkley, came and spoke, "thousands" gathered at Elza Gate for the ceremonies. Great Day! In fact, Oak Ridge had come to like those gates and protested their removal vigorously. The arguments sound a little far fetched today - "Now I'll have to lock my front door." "There will be strangers wandering around town - we'll have a crime wave, robberies, rape." and "My mother-in-law will be able to get in." With the candor of hindsight and just a trace of sheepishness, Oak Ridgers will tell you, today, that they liked the sense of being separate, different and special. Smaller gates were set up around each of the plants and Oak Ridge was an open city.

In the interest of establishing other "normal" conditions, and in the name of economy, the AEC also boosted rents and cut back on services to its tenants - the citizens of Oak Ridge. Boosting the price is one sure way to make people notice what they otherwise take for granted.

Town Meetings gave way to an elected Advisory Town Council which became Oak Ridge's own vehicle, mouthpiece and arena in the long drive for incorporation. Eventually there were a number of elected Advisory groups including a School Board and Library Council. The Advisory Town Council, which had no legal power, but a lot of rules and responsibilities, deferred to the ballot for real decisions again and again. In the words of the Managing Editor of the Oak Ridger "We did a lot of voting in those days, all of it without benefit of clergy." Most of the voters were young, of the same generation, and had lived virtually their entire adult, non-student lives in Oak Ridge. They had little or no practical political experience elsewhere and had to learn the whole process.

In 1952 the AEC hired the Bureau of the Census to do a survey on local attitudes; the results showed that the people thought home rule was a fine idea, but, they were more interested in the homes than the rule.

The AEC knew the city was chafing for home ownership, and work had begun on formulae for assessing, dividing, financing and selling property. Churches had been able to buy property since '49, though the deeds all contained reversion clauses, just in case. In 1952 land at the eastern end of the city was leased for the construction and sale of privately financed three bedroom houses. At the same time the AEC released a study projecting, in detail, possible revenues of the future city. The sum fell about 20% short of the expenditures calculated for a model austerity budget.

On the outside chance that legislation might get through the '53 session of the Tennessee legislature, the Advisory Town Council appointed a Charter Commission. The modest document, drawn up after consultations with many groups called for a city manager plan with a seven member at large city council. Not that it mattered. The voters turned it down by a better than 4 to 1 margin.

The real question was clear to the people living in Oak Ridge. Do you, incorporate first and then sell property to private individuals, or, do you sell property and then incorporate? Many will argue, even now, that if the property had been sold earlier Oak Ridge would be a different, more self-sufficient city. There is a suburb of Knoxville that is almost exclusively Oak Ridgers who got tired of waiting around and left.

A draft bill covering sale of property and financial assistance for the future city reached the Joint Committee On Atomic Energy in 1954. It died there. There was haggling, confusion and misunderstanding among its supporters and foes in Oak Ridge. One man said "All we were trying to do was get a divorce from the federal government, just an amicable divorce, and everyone was running around trying to set the alimony payments."

The Atomic Energy Community Act, passed by Congress, was signed into law 4 August 1955. It is familiarly known as Public Law 221. It provided for the sale of property, donation of fixed facilities to the future city, and a negotiable federal contribution to the municipal coffers, in lieu of taxes, for a period of ten years after incorporation.

The sale of property in Oak Ridge, one of the largest and most complicated real estate transactions in the history of the United States is commonly called the Disposal. In conversation you can hear the capital D, it's one of those important words, like Diaspora. Present occupants, or, in the case of small multiple dwellings, the senior tenant, had first chance to bid on the property and house. Considering the complexity of the system and the number of units the process went very quickly and quietly. At the time of incorporation, a little less than four years later, Oak Ridge had the highest percentage of home ownership of any city in the country.

The city was transformed almost immediately. While the AEC had paved roads, put in curbs and gutters, patched, painted and built new housing, government issue is government issue. Oak Ridgers still point to "A", "B" or "C" houses and "E" apartments, but, at first glance, a stranger can't tell what they are talking about. New roofs, new rooms, different sidings, basements, car ports, blossomed with private ownership.

Once the sale of property began Oak Ridge turned seriously to the problems of incorporation. Three issues, the hospital, the councilmanic districts, and the existence of Scarboro, illustrate the kind of troubles Oak Ridge had "facing life." For the most part these examples avoid questions of the AEC's interest and influence.

Oak Ridge is a city of good will and intentions, but it is politically innocent. There is no "power elite." There is no landed gentry to voice vested, traditional interests. There are no millionaires. Absentee ownership debilitates local power. The largest landowner is the government. The "Downtown" shopping center belongs to a man who lives in Hollywood. Most of the stores are branches of national or regional chains, not local enterprise. The largest block of multiple dwellings belongs to a real estate developer off building apartments in Hong Kong. There is very little unemployment. Oak Ridge is a middle class city with a high wage scale. Since the plants have been organized since 1949, Oak Ridge is probably one of the most unionized employment centers in the South.

Oak Ridgers think of themselves as being liberal Democrats although they voted for Eisenhower twice, and for Nixon. In state elections they generally vote for the liberal Democrats. They also vote wet. This makes them a little conspicuous because Anderson County is staunchly Republican, like much of East Tennessee, and votes dry. (A few weeks ago the state legislature finally passed a bill allowing cities local option. Oak Ridge had petitions on the street the next day.) By and large, Oak Ridge's civic involvement is limited to specific issues which they seldom anticipate and always take very seriously. No one seems to think of politics as fun, or enjoy tactics, or strategy. While a few names recur in issue after issue, it is only now, eight years after incorporation, that a very informal pattern of political continuity and leadership is taking form. And that is closely tied to new, young blood.

Because it is the only hospital in the area, serving Anderson, Roane and Morgan counties as well as the United Mine Workers (special contract), the Oak Ridge Hospital is an obvious target for public griping. Monopoly facilities, be they hospitals, public utilities, movie theatres, are seldom "popular" - if only because people like to complain.

The original barrack style hospital was built by the government during the war and run by a contractor group called the Oak Ridge Hospital, Inc. Through sheer will and persistence the trustees of

the hospital Inc. got through the layers of bureaucracy, past the Bureau of the Budget, and in 1957 Congress was persuaded to appropriate funds for the construction of a new hospital. Under the terms of the Community Act, the hospital was one of the facilities to be turned over to the future city, free and clear. The AEC asked the Advisory Town Council to solve the problem of who should run the new hospital. The Council accepted the task. The trustees of the hospital naturally thought they would continue to hold the contract, but, if an election were needed to confirm the fact, they thought it should be held quickly and quietly. Several ministers happened to be at the Council meeting when the matter came up. They asked that the referendum be put off so their churches might consider entering the race. That was November 1957. An election was scheduled for May.

By early spring the simple referendum on the transfer of the hospital had become a full scale municipal trauma. There was a wellspring of resentment against the local doctors and the hospital trustees. The Methodist Church was seriously interested, but the Holston Conference spring meeting doesn't take place until June. Some months earlier the Advisory Town Council (not the AEC) had contracted the Public Administration Survey, Inc. for advice about methods of incorporation and municipal finance. Instead of solving the hospital question, as many publicly hoped, the PAS report added a third faction. The report, which was criticized for many other reasons and projections, firmly recommended that the hospital become a municipal facility, run by an administrator responsible to the future city manager. PAS suggested that the referendum to ratify such an arrangement take place at the same time as the incorporation referendum a year, or so, hence.

One of the characteristics of Oak Ridge's political behavior which may be either bureaucratic or scientific in origin, or both, is an unwillingness to make a decision and a compulsion, in lieu of action, to accumulate studies, reports and documentation. Several of the appointed city officials, recent arrivals in Oak Ridge, privately marvel at the paper work and the timidity of the present city government. Even the smallest decisions need a "study" or two. The hospital was a classic case of seeking outside approval for the resolution of a local problem. Instead of resolution though they got confusion.

After much discussion, a referendum, the first of two elections, was scheduled for August. There would be three names on the first ballot, the group receiving the lowest vote would be dropped from the runoff. The three names were: the Oak Ridge Hospital Inc., the Holston Conference of the Methodist Church, and, "the future City of Oak Ridge, if incorporated before August 4, 1959." (Why? Well - what if, the future city wins the election and then incorporation fails? According to the Community Act, the hospital must be transferred by August 4, 1960. This way, if worse comes to worse there can be another set of elections a year before the deadline.)

The supporters of the "future city" had a hard time campaigning for such a tenuous candidate. Twice as many people voted in the first referendum as had voted in the preceding Town Council election. Much to everyone's surprise the vote was almost evenly divided, with the future city coming in a very close third.

For the runoff election the Holston Conference ran a skillful and overtly political campaign. It included appealing to specific groups and issuing various statements of principle. The trustees also campaigned vigorously, but they lost the election narrowly. The whole issue had become so bitter that Advisory Town Council couldn't even muster the votes to congratulate the winner at its next meeting. Two weeks later the hospital trustees asked to be released from their contract which had more than a year to run.

Thus, the Oak Ridge Hospital of the Methodist Church. Except that the issue has not died. The public personalities of the hospital administrators, past and present aside, a perceptive minister (who is not a Methodist, nor was he talking about the hospital) summed up the problem. He described Oak Ridge as being totally without public relations. The civic minded folks don't know how to "make friends and influence people." They have not learned that issues often cannot be resolved on their abstract merits because personalities are potent factors. The minister suggested two reasons for this innocence: the first is the weakness of the commercial sector in the city. There aren't any p.r. men in town, there aren't really very many salesmen. Further, he thinks that the engineers, especially, retreat from public life and conflict with authority, and they are too literal minded. In all fairness, he was hotly disputed by the other people in the room when he made these observations.

But literal mindedness has a lot to do with the continuing furor about the hospital. Oak Ridgers mutter about what they think the hospital has done to deceive them. For instance, in the campaign the Holston Conference said it believed in the principle of collective bargaining. A lot of union members took that on faith when they voted. Then the unions went to organize the badly underpaid hospital workers. There was a long painful strike last summer.

The hospital issues a short form audit of its books. Oak Ridge is convinced that as a "quasi-public" hospital the books ought to be open. One of the campaign issues centered around mortgaging the hospital building. Everyone promised hands off. Yet the nagging suspicion lingers that the hospital was mortgaged to finance the next door medical arts building. There is a distinguished committee in Oak Ridge, so upset about the hospital, it talks of building another one. That, in itself, is a classic example of an essentially a-political response to a political problem. Oak Ridge can't support another hospital - most of the patients and a majority of the maternity cases aren't even from Oak Ridge anymore. Nor can they "get the hospital back."

The chapter on the council manager form of government in Banfield and Wilson's readable classic book "City Politics" begins with the passing observation that typically, the form includes " a small council (five, seven or nine members) elected at large..." Would you believe a twelve man council elected from councilmanic districts in a city of 30,000? The point, of course, is that Oak Ridge isn't typical.

Not that it wasn't expected to be, not at all. The AEC built a municipal building for the future government including a Council Chamber carefully and thoughtfully designed for a seven man council. The city manager form had remained a constant in all the charter drafts and incorporation plans. All the advice from the Tennessee Municipal League, the International City Managers Association, the University of Tennessee and common sense argued for the simple form complete with at-large districts. The municipal building is cement block utilitarian. The police, fire department, and several other functionaries hired originally by the government's contractors but transferred to the city government, moved in more than a year before incorporation.

Suddenly, at about the time the hospital issue was nearing its second vote, there began to be mumbling about the evils of electing the future town council on an at-large basis. There are two versions of the story. One says that the rumblings were exclusively from the unions, one of the few times they flexed any muscles in opposition to the general swing of things. The other story says oh, well, the unions, maybe, but really it was the state senator from Anderson County who'd gotten the word down in Nashville. Oak Ridge had to be incorporated under the general law of the state, and there was much preoccupation with producing a model charter that other cities could use, too. So rumors that there was opposition to the Oak Ridge charter building at the far end of the state from some small communities that wanted to use the same charter, but wanted council districts, set a worry chain in motion.

The beleaguered Advisory Town Council, bogged down with exquisite detail, busy with the newly appointed zoning commission (Oak Ridge has a model zoning code now, but had to write it from scratch) and very nervous about its own prerogatives in making so critical a decision as council form, even though it hadn't been questioned at any time in the previous five years, put the issue on the ballot for a referendum. The vote was in favor of district representation. It could still have been a seven man board, but the state representative, negotiating in Nashville, somehow managed to superimpose the Anderson County election precincts on a map. There were twelve precincts. In 1963 the City of Oak Ridge voted on a series of proposed charter changes under the new state home rule provisions. There were seven items on the ballot. The first called for a seven member council, four members to be elected from districts, three at-large. The other six changes, all minor, passed.

Even if you haven't listened to the Oak Ridge City Council struggle through one of its agendas, some of its difficulties must be obvious. A City Council is not a jury, and twelve is an unwieldy number. The Council meets twice a month, and the meetings are always long. The Thursday nights it doesn't meet, and most Monday nights as well, it has "study" sessions.

If the continuing support for the councilmanic districts comes from the unions (and it is not entirely clear that it does) because they fear scientists and other professionals would "take over" in at-large elections, simple arithmetic should cancel out the argument. The unorganized scientists may be concentrated in Oak Ridge, but they are still outnumbered. Eleven of the twelve members of the current Council work for Union Carbide. The loner is an insurance and real estate salesman.

Oak Ridge began as a remarkably homogeneous city in the sense that the individual neighborhoods contained economic mixtures and there were few social barriers to friendship or participation in activities. Gradually it is settling out into class and kind neighborhoods. The process, though natural, is changing the city. The councilmanic districts aid and draw attention to the change. Though the elections are non-partisan the individual Councilmen reflect their increasingly specific district desires.

The biggest blow up in Oak Ridge's history, which most people would like to forget, came about, a little ahead of its time, over the racial issue. Oak Ridge was segregated by the federal government, not by its own choice. In the early '50's Negro children who wanted to go to high school were bused to the nearest Negro high school, in Knoxville. Some liberals in the community were so dismayed they set up a "free school" in Scarboro to tutor the youngsters, and kept it going for several years.

Late in 1953, President Eisenhower desegregated military installations. The then Chairman of the Advisory Town Council, Dr. Waldo Cohen (the same energetic biologist who started the symphony and founded ORCMA) drafted a letter to the president suggesting that Oak Ridge was a federal installation too, and therefore ought to be desegregated. He introduced the letter at the regular Town Council meeting, after some discussion it was passed although not unanimously. The next day "all hell broke loose." Petitions, phone calls, letters to the editor (the most read section of the Oak Ridger any time, reflects even small crises well).

A referendum on Dr. Cohen's recall was scheduled for March, 1954. According to its own rules the Advisory Town Council had to sit in the gymnasium of the junior high school and watch nearly every body in town file by to vote. The majority voted for recall, but the rules said recall takes two thirds. Dr. Cohen relinquished

chairmanship of the Council but retained his seat for the remainder of his term. Just two months later the Supreme Court issued the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision.

The Oak Ridge High School was integrated without incident. The municipal swimming pool was opened as an integrated facility. When the National Guard was called into nearby Clinton, Oak Ridge remained perfectly calm. Facilities in Oak Ridge are pretty nearly all integrated. In order to encourage an integrated barber shop last year, those interested bought tickets promising patronage. The last steps towards integration are as painful for the conscience of Oak Ridge as the very first. The Country Club is open to just about anyone who isn't a Negro. This especially plagues the tennis players because one of the best players in town is a Jamaican. With the practical justification that enrollment has declined, the School Board recently announced the closing of the Scarboro school. After an initial flurry of unrest and anxiety, the Board decided that the 235 children will be bussed, in small groups, to all of the other primary schools.

Precisely because the Negro population of Oak Ridge is so small, about 1250, or 4%, and, in the Southern pattern concentrated on the very young and the old, Scarboro won't just fade away. Those who have both skills and energy don't move into other parts of Oak Ridge, they move out. Attracting skilled Negroes, technicians and scientists, is terribly difficult but the National Laboratory, particularly, is trying hard.

A year ago the City passed a bond issue including funds for the construction of a large new civic center to be built near the High School and Municipal building. The Scarboro Community Center is in miserable condition. Funds exist to build a new center for Scarboro, if. The articulate liberals, (white, and younger Negroes) say no, building a new community center for Scarboro with the big center going up two miles down the road would only prolong the separation and segregation of Scarboro. But many of the older Negroes would like to have their own center. The Council seems ready to go either way, after the elections in June.

The residents of the City of Oak Ridge have had to learn to pay for what they want and it has been a painful process. For example: the federal government could afford to spend the funds for extra personnel and equipment in the schools. Enough extra to boast that Oak Ridge had one of the best school systems in the country. It was not pure generosity on the part of the AEC, that kind of boast attracts top personnel to jobs in Oak Ridge. ("A lot of that stuff about the schools" one scientist said, smugly, "is just simple genetics.") The city, with the highest tax rate in the state, but a limited tax base, cannot, even with the federal supplement, afford the old luxuries. Oak Ridge may still have the best schools in Tennessee, but there is no longer talk of best in the nation. Last year a bond issue was passed for the construc-

tion of new buildings. But this is just the beginning. Buildings designated temporary twenty years ago can't last forever.

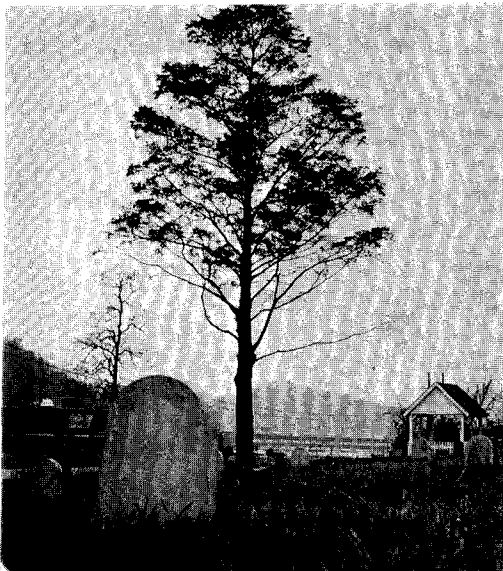
Bus service, severely curtailed near the end, stopped at incorporation. The city could not afford such a deficit operation. The two car family is an unquestioned fact of life in Oak Ridge. Except in families where teen agers think there ought to be at least three cars. And among the less affluent, especially the Negroes, for whom taxis are an expensive burden.

After twenty five years Oak Ridge's founding generation is, reluctantly, growing older. Science has become big business, and young businessmen scientists are coming to Oak Ridge. The signs of age are small, and often touching. For years when someone retired from the plants or the National Laboratory it was front page news in the Oak Ridger. Now they cluster the announcements on inside pages. There is a regular obituary page. The children of the first generation are grown, most of them have left East Tennessee. Unless they become scientists they will probably never return for more than a visit. In the astonishing mobility of its children Oak Ridge is typical of a larger American pattern.

Those who liked Oak Ridge stayed and intend to remain into retirement. "For years, when anyone asked me where I was from I'd say 'Chicago, but I live in a town in Tennessee.'" one woman told me, "but, just recently, I realized I answered 'Oak Ridge, Tennessee.'"

Sincerely,

Eden Ross Hipson



left: When the government bought the "reservation" in '42, one concession to the landowners was a pledge to maintain the 65 family graveyards. The City Manager gets sporadic calls from families planning "reunions" at one plot or another.

This one is directly outside the gates of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. The Lab maintains it, and stores equipment in the old church.

The sight of someone in a trench coat, flat out in the grass, behind a tombstone, with a big camera aimed at the Lab so startled two men riding tractors they stopped and stared and carefully wrote down the license plate number of the car nearby. I ran out of film before I could take their pictures.