

RALEIGH'S LGBTQIA+ HISTORICAL CONTEXT: Phase 2

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LGBTQIA+ Historical Context Project Background

In June 2024, the City of Raleigh hired MdM Historical Consultants, Inc., to complete Phase 2 of the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study. The project goal is to produce materials that will help in assessing potential historic sites connected to LGBTQIA+ people. Phase 1 produced a roster of over 200 properties that have connections to LGBTQIA+ history. Phase 2 focuses on providing an historical context statement for properties identified in Phase 1 that date to the 20th century.

This report, a Phase 2 product, includes the historic context statement and registration requirements for determining a property's eligibility for Raleigh Historic Landmark (RHL) designation. It also makes specific recommendations for future work relating to properties on the roster. That work could be undertaken by the City of Raleigh and/or by allied organizations to further explore, record, and interpret places connected to the history of LGBTQIA+ communities in Raleigh.

Project Terminology

It is a goal of this project to use terms for people that are accurate and respectful. The City of Raleigh selected "LGBTQIA+" as an inclusive and contemporary term that is widely accepted in the city. The letters in the acronym stand for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual. The "+" represents the expansion of the term and allows for new understandings of gender and sexual identities.

At the same time, the City of Raleigh recognizes that words employed in respectful (and sometimes disrespectful) reference to LGBTQIA+ people have evolved and continue to evolve. Some words that were once considered offensive have been reclaimed and are in common use by many who identify as LGBTQIA+. Those same words remain offensive to others. There is not complete agreement on what those terms are.

This report generally uses "LGBTQIA+" in referring to people in any of those communities. The author acknowledges that this at times creates anachronistic narration. In some cases, the report uses more specific words and/or words generally in use in the period. When quoting earlier media or historical figures, outdated terms may be preserved in the quotation. The goal is always respect and accuracy.

Lillian Faderman has a helpful "Brief History of Changing Terminology" at the start of her excellent book *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. Her short chronology helps us better understand newspaper accounts and other historical texts. For instance, Faderman writes that "Gay became an underground synonym for "homosexual" in the early 20th century, encompassing men who were attracted to men, lesbians, people who'd later be called

transgender, and bisexuals when they were acting homosexually.” Changes in terminology parallel changes in society and reflect the emerging visibility and increasing societal clout that LGBTQIA+ people experience.

Phase 2 Summary

As noted above, this work is a second phase in the City’s effort to identify, contextualize, and document sites important in Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ history. Phase 1 included 8 oral history interviews and transcripts; a preliminary version of the roster of places associated with the LGBTQIA+ community in Raleigh; a bibliography of resources used in Phase 1; and a general LGBTQIA+ history of the Southeast. Phase 1 was completed by Jeffrey A. “Free” Harris, an historian and historic preservation consultant.

Phase 2 deliverables include the following.

- This written report, including a context statement, registration requirements, an annotated bibliography, recommended alternative designation categories, and recommendations for future work. A draft version of the report was made available for public comment for a two-week period in October 2024. *[This is the draft version.]*
- Additions to the preliminary roster of places produced in Phase 1, made through public input and the results of research conducted by MdM and City staff.
- Evaluation of 20 properties listed on the roster of identified places. The consultant and City staff selected the 20 properties, informed by research in Phases 1 and 2 as well as by public input. MdM evaluated the properties in the fall of 2024 using the historic context developed for Phase 2.
- Public meetings to keep the public informed of the project and to make the consultant and City staff available in person. The first meeting took place on July 23, 2024, at the start of the project period. A second community meeting to present the report findings was held on **[DATE]** toward the end of Phase 2.

Methodology and Project Components

Phase 2 included several components: public input; research; the historic context; survey; registration requirements; and recommendations. Methodology for each Phase 2 component is included below, along with a note about terminology used in this report.

Public Input

Phase 2 began with a community meeting with the dual purpose of informing the public and soliciting information. In preparation, MdM reviewed all available materials from Phase 1. MdM also reviewed materials produced by Brandie Cline in 2013 for the City of Raleigh Museum and

by Jessica P. Streck for the Historic Raleigh Trolley program run by the Raleigh Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Resources Department. MdM reviewed Courtney Blaskovich's 2023 report recommending non-regulatory historic recognition and the extensive materials produced by the 2016 National Park Service for the LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study.

The City also collected public input through surveys posted on the City's website and managed by City staff. These surveys encouraged respondents to name and rank Raleigh sites they viewed as important to LGBTQIA+ history, communities, and individuals. Likewise, a draft of this historic context and recommendations was available for public comment for 2 weeks in October 2024. **[This is the draft version.]**

Research

Phase 2 builds upon the research completed in Phase 1. MdM reviewed a number of secondary sources, some national in scope and others with Raleigh-specific research and stories. Those books are included in the annotated bibliography.

MdM also conducted research using digitized archival sources, in particular newspapers, including the *The Front Page*, the *Carolinian*, the *News & Observer*, and the *Technician*. Oral histories are available through the Southern Oral History Collection and the Oral Histories of the American South: The Civil Rights Movement Collection at the Wilson Special Collections Library at UNC-CH and the LGBT Oral History Collection at the City of Raleigh Museum. Other digitized archival sources include Wake County Deeds, Wake County property records, census and other records at www.ancestry.com, and grave marker information at the website www.findagrave.com. National Register of Historic Places Nominations (NRHP) forms were useful and are available online at www.hpo.nc.gov. Online repositories of research were also helpful, including the Digital Transgender Archive, Mapping the Gay Guides, and OutHistory.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Context

An historic context statement is useful for understanding and evaluating individual properties that fall within the subject area, time period, and, generally, geographic area covered in the context.

The historic context statement for this project generally covers the 20th century, particularly the twenty-five-year period following the 1969 uprising at New York City's Stonewall Inn. While not the first such uprising, this event is generally seen as the start of the gay liberation movement. In covering the 20th century, then, the context includes pre-liberation, liberation, activism, the AIDS crisis and response, and the early decades of the Pride Movement in Raleigh.

Selection of this time period does not reflect any judgement on the importance of this era relative to others. Rather, it reflects findings from Phase 1 and limitations of Phase 2 schedule and budget. As the goal of this phase is to provide contextual material to complement the Phase 1 properties roster, the 20th-century time period provides context for a large number of properties in the roster (as it stands in 2024). While there are many identified properties that post-date the 1990s, an *historical* context, by definition, is looking at the past. Similarly, the

history of LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh predates the 20th century, but there are no entries in the roster from earlier periods. This context is a starting point, but we don't always begin at the beginning.

Generally, a context centers on a particular property type (tobacco barns), architectural style (the Craftsman style), or geographic area (Raleigh's city limits before 1921). Typical methodology is to survey the defined group or area first, conduct research, and draw conclusions based on what had been built, what remains, and who was involved. This project is entirely different. There is no single property type, architectural style, or geographical area that relates to LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh. Therefore, the context is a framework history—not a comprehensive one—meant to aid in the assessment of properties for potential recognition. The inclusion or exclusion of people, stories, properties, or events is not a statement on the relative importance of one potential historic site over another.

Similarly, a Raleigh-focused history of LGBTQIA+ people is only a partial picture of communities that were never contained by city limits or county lines. Just as communities intersect within the LGBTQIA+ label, so geographies of these communities overlap. Particularly beginning in the 20th century, people traveled from rural North Carolina to Raleigh; from Raleigh to Atlanta, DC, New York, and San Francisco; and among the cities of the Triangle. People might be “out” at school in Chapel Hill while keeping their sexuality totally private at home in Raleigh. Limiting this study to Raleigh is a reflection of the project's genesis in the City of Raleigh Planning and Development Department and the Raleigh Historic Development Commission (RHDC), which always completes work rooted in geography and a place-based framework.

Both Brandie Cline and Jeffrey A. Harris noted the dearth of documentation of and information about the lives and important places of transgender people, LGBTQIA+ women and people of color, and bisexual people. The same scarcity afflicts this report and has been a significant element in making recommendations for future work.

Survey

MdM and City staff selected 20 properties from the roster for evaluation under this context using results from research and public input. Selected sites met minimum qualification standards, including that initial research could confirm the street address, the property is located inside current Raleigh city limits, the building is still standing, and the LGBTQIA+ associated use dates to the end of the AIDS crisis in the 1990s or before. Prioritized sites also sought to increase the diversity of the overall project information produced, to help tell a more complete story of the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ experience. A place's association with underrepresented groups within Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities, range of site types and associated years, and likelihood of finding more available information were also considered.

In September and October 2024, MdM photographed and researched each selected property. MdM used the context and registration requirements to evaluate each place for potential Raleigh Historic Landmark designation.

Registration requirements

Based on research and survey findings, MdM developed registration requirements to aid the RHDC and City Council in determining whether individual properties meet the requirements for designation as Raleigh Historic Landmarks. Designation recognizes (and seeks to preserve) Raleigh's historic resources. Individuals completing Raleigh Landmark Designation Reports for properties related to LGBTQIA+ history can reference this document for overall historical context and augment with historical information and additional context directly related to their subject property. They can describe how the property meets the registration requirements in order to demonstrate eligibility for landmark designation.

Project Recommendations

Based on research and survey findings, MdM made recommendations to the City about next steps in documenting, recognizing, and interpreting places in Raleigh that are significant in LGBTQIA+ history.

Historic Context: LGBTQIA+ Raleigh

Properties listed in the LGBTQIA+ Roster that are mentioned in the historical context are bolded in the text. A table follows each main section lists those properties to summarize places referenced in the context. Appendix B contains the complete LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places for reference.

Raleigh before the Gay Liberation Movement, ca. 1870-1970

Before 1970, the legal and social realities for most non-heterosexual and gender-nonconforming Raleighites required secrecy in all matters surrounding the ways in which they differed from the dominant paradigm. Often, differences were intuited, suspected, or known but not discussed. This created an unspoken, uneasy social contract that surfaces repeatedly in histories of the 20th-century period. It was so well ingrained in society that the “don’t ask, don’t tell” understanding was codified into U.S. military policy in 1993 and not repealed until 2010. Federal and state laws, local ordinances, religious teaching, and prevailing ideas about social decorum created and enforced these realities. For a few people, this worked well. Bobby Gene Wilder moved to Raleigh from Johnston County in 1949 at age 17. He never felt the need to hide his relationship with Jack Lamm, an interior designer, which began in Chapel Hill in 1958. Wilder taught at Daniels Junior High School in the 1960s and later owned a framing business with Lamm. The couple owned houses together and entertained often, hosting dinner parties and large holiday parties for decades.¹ For many others, though, arousing even the suspicion of same-sex desire could provoke bigotry, bullying, even deadly violence.

Social Decorum & Christian Thought

One measure of public attitudes is the local news media, which to some extent both creates and reflects societal mores. The online newspaper archive *Newspapers.com* has 15 Raleigh-based newspapers with at least some digitized searchable pages dating to the 20th century. However, targeted keyword searches for 1900-1969 returned relevant hits almost exclusively in white Raleigh’s establishment morning newspaper, the *News & Observer*. This is not to suggest that this is the only newspaper worth exploring. It merely describes a limitation of this project. This report recognizes that the reliance on coverage in the *News & Observer* contributes to a bias toward the experiences of white gay men in this contextual history, particularly in the pre-1970 period. Future historians using this context to evaluate properties need to keep this in mind in developing research plans for individual designation reports.

Even with the benefit of digitized issues and keyword searches, newspaper reporting from the first half of the 20th century on people we might now call LGBTQIA+ is difficult to find. An article noting the death of one-time Wake County resident George Green in 1902 was identified

¹ Bobby Gene Wilder, interview with Brandie Kay Cline, July 10, 2013, LGBT Oral History Collection, City of Raleigh Museum.

through a search in the Digital Transgender Archive, not through a keyword search. George and Mary Green purchased an 82-acre tract in Swift Creek Township in 1870 from Bell Burwell Jr. The Wake County township was 4 miles southwest of the 19th-century city limits of Raleigh. The couple lived and farmed there for the next 30 years.² George Green had been quite well known in Raleigh in this period, according to his wife.³ In 1902, the couple moved to Ettrick, Virginia, a small place across the Appomattox River from Petersburg. George worked in a cotton mill but became ill and died within a few months. The men preparing his body for burial observed his anatomy and reported that he was a woman.⁴ We don't know enough about George's life or preferences to know if he was a transgender man or a woman passing for as a man for some reason unrelated to gender identity. Further, it is not appropriate to apply today's terms to historical figures without more concrete information.⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that similar articles occasionally appeared in papers across the country in the late 19th century. George Green's story is not the only one Raleigh readers would have seen. A story from Wisconsin ran in another paper published in Raleigh, the *Farmer and Mechanic*. That paper reported on Frank Dubois "who has been masquerading in man's clothing...has confessed that she is a female, and declares that she married Gertie Fuller to save her from disgrace."⁶ What we can learn from the story of George and Mary Green is the couple's strong desire not to reveal the information to anyone during George's life. Articles about the Greens highlight that Mary was the only person who knew George's truth; the couple had been married for over 40 years. Mary kept the information private throughout their life together and "weeps bitterly" that she could not prepare his body herself to maintain their privacy. Within a couple of years, Mary sold the Wake County farm, which at the time contained "dwellings, stables, etc." The exact location of the farm has not been determined. The buildings described in newspaper advertisements for sale of the farm are not known to still exist. George and Mary Green's story also appears in Emily Skidmore's 2017 book *True Sex*.⁷

As noted with the above story, words used to describe LGBTQIA+ people change over time, complicating newspaper searches as well as written histories. In the first half of the 20th century, a newspaper search on the terms "homosexual" and "lesbian" generally turned up articles relating to literature, theater, film, and politics but not relating to any people or places in Raleigh.⁸ The words appeared in the paper in the 1920s and 1930s in a scant few articles that generally used them to factually report on "themes" explored in the work without going into

² Burwell to Green, Wake County Register of Deeds, February 5, 1870, Book 37, page 133; 1880 and 1890 Federal Census, Database online, Ancestry.com.

³ "Keeps the Secret Thirty-Five Years," *Farmer & Mechanic*, March 25, 1902.

⁴ "A revelation most sensational," *Richmond Times*, March 22, 1902; "He was a Woman," *News & Observer*, March 23, 1902.

⁵ This report uses male pronouns for George Green in this report, in keeping with his usage during his lifetime.

⁶ "A Female Husband in Wisconsin," *Farmer and Mechanic*, December 5, 1883. Presumably, the "disgrace" was an out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

⁷ "George Green's Land," *News & Observer*, March 26, 1902; "Valuable Farm for Sale," *Raleigh Morning Post*, December 3, 1904.

⁸ As seen above, articles concerning specific sex acts used different words and were newsworthy for the association with criminal activity. Other words that were used to indicate non-normative sexual identity, themes, or identities did not turn up relevant articles.

detail or judging the work (either favorably or unfavorably) for inclusion of the content. Additionally, the *News & Observer* often reprinted wire articles written about people and events elsewhere. No local reporting from this period focused LGBTQIA+ people or even works of art or literature. In this sense, the reporting both reflects and reinforces the “don’t ask, don’t tell” attitude.

Ideas about social decorum in this time derived in large part from the pulpit. Those practicing religious faith in Raleigh in the 20th century were predominantly Christian, including Catholics and various Protestant denominations. Among these groups in this period, the prevailing belief was that same-sex sexual activity was not consistent with the practice of Christian faith. Rev. Carlton D. M. Rutherford (1951-2017), who grew up in Scotland Neck but lived, worked, and worshipped in Raleigh and Durham as an adult, noted that a negative view of same-sex attraction and relationships was “very common in that time [of his youth], particularly in the South, particularly in the African American community.”⁹ Such statements did not commonly appear in the *News & Observer*, however, until the last quarter of the 20th century, as part of the pushback against activists for civil rights on behalf of gay people.

The medical field, meanwhile, pathologized same-sex desire, beginning in the mid-19th century. American Psychiatric Association only removed “homosexuality” as a “mental disorder” from its diagnostic manual in 1973. American psychoanalysts of the mid-20th century believed they could cure people of their same-sex desires with psychoanalysis and other treatments.¹⁰ A 1947 article in the *News & Observer* noted that doctors were using a mix of carbon dioxide and oxygen to treat “alcoholics, stammerers, and other psychoneurotics” in Illinois. The article reported that a “young male homosexual who is under treatment is ‘on the way to recovery’” due to use of the gas.¹¹ In Raleigh, treatment for what was pathologized as disordered behavior took place in a residential setting at **Dorothea Dix Hospital at Dix Hill** for white patients. The facility had opened as the State Hospital for the Insane in 1856 in a building designed by Alexander J. Davis.¹² Marjorie O’Rorke’s history of Dix Hospital does not include information about treatment that may have been administered to people for same-sex desire or activity or for gender-nonconforming behavior.¹³ In 1951, Judge William T. Hatch remarked in Wilmington

⁹ Interview with Carlton Rutherford by Aaron Lovett, 2014, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Series W: LGBTQ Life in the South, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; “Rev. Carlton D. M. Rutherford (Rev. Mother),” Honoring Diversity Page, St. John’s MCC Website, stjohismcc.org.

¹⁰ “Out of DSM: Depathologizing Homosexuality,” *Behavioral Sciences* Vol. 5, Issue 4: 565-75, viewed online at ncbi.nlm.nih.gov.

¹¹ “Gas Treatment,” *News & Observer*, May 18, 1947.

¹² Dix Hill (Dorothea Dix Hospital) was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1990. It was known informally as Dix Hill from its founding, in honor of mental health care reformer Dorothea Dix, but that name was not officially in use until 1959.

¹³ Marjorie O’Rorke, *Haven on the Hill: A History of North Carolina’s Dorothea Dix Hospital* (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, 2010), 1-9; Myrick Howard, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 1, 2023. During segregation, Black patients in Raleigh could not get admitted to Dorothea Dix; they were admitted to Cherry Hospital in Goldsboro instead. The extensive bibliography in O’Rorke’s book may direct future researchers to documents that may be helpful in researching this aspect of mental health treatment history.

that the state lacked facilities where “homosexuals” could get treatment.¹⁴ In 1967, the state director of mental health reported that “only” thirty North Carolinians had been admitted to state mental hospitals the previous year “for treatment as homosexuals.” Conceding that he did not know how many people might be seeing private psychiatrists, it is clear that he found the number to be low, given his estimate that the number of gay people in the state ran into the thousands.¹⁵

Such pathologizing spread to the military and bolstered the idea that same-sex desire was a serious character flaw. A 1919 scandal ensued after Navy officials apprehended and prosecuted sailors and civilians engaging in same-sex activity in Newport, Rhode Island. When the entrapment methods of their sting operation came to light during trials, Congress rebuked Raleigh’s Josephus Daniels, then-Secretary of the Navy, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. It was only their methods that were objectionable, however, and not the decision to find and prosecute the sailors.¹⁶ Same-sex sexual activity was cause to give a service member a “dishonorable discharge” from the U.S. military through World War II. Articles relaying such discharges made newspaper headlines across the country in the 1940s. Along with the “dishonorable” modifier came a loss of veteran’s benefits as well as discrimination in employment and housing. Dishonorable discharges—for suspicion of same-sex desire as well as for other reasons—disproportionately affected African American soldiers. The nation’s largest Black newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, pushed back with reporting and editorializing in the 1940s. In 1947, the U.S. military stopped categorizing dismissal as a “dishonorable discharge” except in cases of court martial. However, service members were still required to be discharged for being gay into the 1990s. Whether labeled “dishonorable” or “other than honorable,” dismissal from the military that was not an “honorable” discharge precluded a veteran from receiving military benefits. It opened them to the possibility of job and housing discrimination.¹⁷

Towards the middle of the 20th century, reporting in the *News & Observer* covered the academic and medical study of human sexuality and gender identity, although sometimes without much actual information. Alfred C. Kinsey published his groundbreaking survey of human sexuality in multiple volumes, beginning in 1948. The *News & Observer* reprinted two articles, in 1947 and 1950, covering Kinsey’s findings regarding male and female sexuality, respectively. The 1947 article noted Kinsey’s then-forthcoming book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, and mentioned his finding that half of the married men interviewed cheated on their wives.¹⁸ The reprinted article did not mention Kinsey’s findings on homosexual activity: same-sex sexual contact or experience among American men was not uncommon.¹⁹ However, other media reported widely on the work. As few as six months after publication, it was

¹⁴ “Judge Cites State Needs,” *News & Observer*, August 1, 1951.

¹⁵ “Hargrove: Sex Deviates Numerous,” *News & Observer*, 1967.

¹⁶ Lew Powell, “Josephus Daniels, FDR and their ‘unprintable’ scandal,” NC Miscellany Blog, UNC University Libraries Website.

¹⁷ “LGBTQ Military History” and “Blue and ‘Other than Honorable’ Discharges,” Golden Gate National Recreation Area, National Park Service website, www.nps.gov.

¹⁸ “Sexual behavior shown in Survey,” *News & Observer*, November 19 1947.

¹⁹ Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 178.

regularly referred to as the “famous” Kinsey Report and Raleigh residents were no doubt fully informed of Kinsey’s findings. By 1950, the *News & Observer* ran an article on the release of the second volume, describing female sexuality. It reported that Kinsey’s research “finds more homosexuals among women than men.”²⁰ Despite the findings, the field of psychology in the United States continued to see same-sex attraction and identification with anything other than a cisgender, binary gender model as pathological into the 1970s.²¹

In 1952, the *News & Observer*, like papers across the country, printed the wire articles on the gender-affirming care provided in Denmark to American Christine Jorgensen. While some papers sensationalized the story, the reprint in the *News & Observer* was less judgmental. The *New York Times* and the local paper both ran the same Associated Press wire story, but the *Times* headline highlighted Jorgensen’s “change” while the local paper emphasized her relief at receiving the care. Additionally, the *News and Observer* ran a longer version of the story than did the *Times*, revealing more about Jorgensen’s distress in her pre-surgery body and frustration with the sensationalist nature of much of the publicity.²² A week later, the paper printed a letter to the editor from a reader in Rocky Mount revealing frustration with the coverage. “Really, now, this is all most inaccurate: For in human beings, a change from one sex to another is completely impossible. The urologists who handle such tragic problems themselves employ the term ‘reversion to their true sex’ when speaking of such cases. In other words, the attractive blonde, Christine Jorgensen, has been, basically, a female from infancy.”²³ Later that year, the paper ran another piece noting that Jorgensen’s parents visited her in Denmark at Christmastime. “Tears running down their cheeks, the happy family embraced for several moments in the customs office at Kastrup Airport, surrounded by a crowd of newspapermen and photographers.”²⁴ In 1954, however, the local paper was already more judgmental, running an invalidating headline over an article reporting on the gender-affirming care provided in Denmark to Charlotte McLeod of New Orleans. McLeod ran into legal difficulties in pursuing the care, as Danish law had changed in 1953. She shared with the reporter a harrowing experience of receiving illegal surgery and then legal follow-up care.²⁵ The *News & Observer* also reported a group of people charged under the state’s anti-sodomy law after a hotel-room raid in Wilmington; one expressed to the sentencing judge a desire to go to Denmark for gender-affirming surgery. The judge, dismissive of the notion, delivered suspended sentences to all on the condition that they seek treatment, the implication being for treatment to eliminate same-sex desire and expressly not for any transition care.²⁶

²⁰ “New Kinsey Report Preview Tells of Sex Life of Women,” *News & Observer*, April 27 1950.

²¹ Bronski, 185.

²² “Bronx ‘Boy’ is Now a Girl,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1952; “Happy to become a woman,” *News and Observer*, December 2, 1952. Note that newspapers write their own headlines to put over wire-service articles and can cut the length of the article to fit.

²³ “Strange news,” *News & Observer*, December 9, 1952.

²⁴ “Jorgensens Visiting Daughter in Denmark,” *News & Observer*, December 21, 1952.

²⁵ “U.S. Male Becomes a ‘Woman,’” *News & Observer*, February 25, 1954.

²⁶ “Objection,” *News & Observer*, January 20, 1955.

Laws, Government Policies, and Ordinances

A law against “the abominable and detestable crime against nature, not to be named among Christians, against mankind or beast” was first adopted in North Carolina in 1837. It carried a mandatory death penalty “without the benefit of clergy.” The statute drew on language from an English law passed in 1533. That statute used the word “buggery” to specify the crime. As the North Carolina version would not name it, the “crime against nature” has been open to judicial interpretation. An alteration to the statute in 1854 removed reference to both Christians and clergy. The 1868 North Carolina constitution made another change in removing the death penalty, as the constitution mandated that execution could only apply in cases of murder, arson, burglary, and rape. The maximum penalty for the crime against nature was set at 60 years in prison. Throughout this period and for more than the next century, the state law did not differentiate between forcible and consensual acts, as would a more “progressive” New York state statute passed in 1950. That law made “voluntary homosexual acts between adults” a misdemeanor rather than a felony. In the middle of the 20th century, conviction under the North Carolina statute held a minimum sentence of 5 years and a maximum of 30. This was reduced to 4 months and 10 years, respectively, in 1965.²⁷ The state amended sentencing guidelines again in 1982 and the law is still on the books. A landmark 2003 U.S. Supreme Court decision found a similar Texas law unconstitutional. That decision rendered the North Carolina law unenforceable in the instance of consensual acts between adults.²⁸

The means and frequency of the enforcement of these laws in Raleigh is beyond the scope of this project. Writing for *The Front Page* in 1993, John Boddie wrote that “there were very few sodomy cases in North Carolina prior to 1950, at least at the appellate level.”²⁹ In the early 20th century, *News & Observer’s* reporting on CAN charges often consisted of brief mentions of charges or sentencing, often for cases in cities other than Raleigh. Longer articles generally covered cases that also included sexual assault or an additional crime, like theft.³⁰ A 1946 case involving a party of 5 men in a hotel room at the **Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel at 400 Fayetteville Street** resulted in charges under the statute when some attending the party, having been accused of theft by others at the gathering, countered with accusations of same-sex sex acts. Ultimately, all were charged under the CAN statute but eventually acquitted.³¹ A case in 1950 referred to a suspect as a “bachelor,” often a coded reference to a man’s suspected same-sex attraction, and reported on his assaulting several young and teen boys at Kerr Lake.³² The local paper, as did many papers across the country, published several articles in 1943 that were part of the highly sensationalized coverage of a case involving a man, reported variously as

²⁷ James R. Spence, “The Law of Crime against Nature,” 32 NC Law Review 312 (1954), 312-314; 320; Perkins v. State of North Carolina, 234 F. Supp. 33 (W.D.N.C. 1964); Marc Stein, “North Carolina’s Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination,” History News Network website, www.historynewsnetwork.org.

²⁸ Lawrence et al. v. Texas, 539 US 558 (2003).

²⁹ “NC’s Crime Against Nature Law: Discrimination on the books,” *The Front Page*, November 12, 1993.

³⁰ “Elizabeth City Man Draws 165 Years in State Prison,” *News & Observer*, August 23, 1924; “Hanged Himself in Jail,” *News & Observer*, Jun 11, 1908.

³¹ “Five Acquitted in Morals Case,” *News & Observer*, July 13, 1946. The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel was listed in the NRHP 1978 and designated as a Raleigh Historic Landmark (RHL) in 1980.

³² “Man, 49, Held in Morals Case,” *News & Observer*, December 31, 1954.

“homosexual” and bisexual, who murdered his wife.³³ While these articles do not represent an exhaustive examination of coverage from the first half of the 20th century in Raleigh’s mainstream, white-owned morning newspaper, they do show the association of the CAN charge with other criminal activity as well as with perceived non-normative desires. The association was sufficient to convey the idea that same-sex desire was criminal, punishable, and shameful.

The Lavender Scare in the mid-20th century added to the association of same-sex sexual attraction and activity with amorality. The “scare,” along with the Red Scare, refers to overlapping efforts to expunge from the workforce those federal employees who were gay and lesbian or had Communist leanings. Reporting on the Lavender Scare often used a number of euphemisms, most notably “security risk.” The “risk” was that a gay man or lesbian with security clearance could be blackmailed and that they would reveal federal secrets rather than risk exposure. In his history of the Lavender Scare, historian David K. Johnson notes that the effort began as a “partisan political weapon in the halls of Congress” that “sparked a moral panic within mainstream American culture.”³⁴ Meanwhile, the political rhetoric of the Red Scare conflated such “security risks” with the loyalty risk posed by Communists in U.S. government positions. Early in his efforts, Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy’s frequent attacks against politicians, government officials, and others included accusations of homosexuality or pejorative use of the descriptor. Later, Johnson recounts, McCarthy’s “more senior [Senate] colleagues took up the mantle.” In one case, Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire referred to “the enemies of the United States who are the appeasers, the subversives, the incompetents, and the homosexuals who threaten our security.”³⁵ Johnson also found that the Lavender Scare had the effect of driving gay men and lesbians who worked in Washington to socialize more often in private homes and less often in bars, restaurants, and other public spaces.³⁶ Eventually, in 1953, President Eisenhower signed an executive order banning gay people from working in the federal government.³⁷ All these actions were covered by the local media and would have had a chilling effect on the lives of Raleighites who were not heterosexual.

In 1954, the University of North Carolina *Law Review* published an article detailing the history of and suggesting a replacement statute for the existing CAN law. Author James R. Spence cites the mid-century research on human sexuality led by Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey as a factor in revealing that there was a “wide gulf between the concepts of law and psychiatry in that realm of

³³ “Wayne Lonergan confesses to murdering estranged wife,” *News & Observer*, October 29, 1943.

³⁴ David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2-10.

³⁵ Johnson, 3; “M’Grath Critical of Charges Made in Red Spy Probe” *News & Observer*, April 1, 1950.

³⁶ Johnson, 147-178.

³⁷ Judith Adkins, “These People are Frightened to Death,” *Prologue Magazine* Vol. 48, No.2 (Summer 2016), viewed at archives.org; and Johnson, 179-208. The Lavender Scare led directly to the gay rights activism of Frank Kameny. The Army fired Kameny, a veteran working in the Army Map Service, for his sexual orientation in 1958 and Kameny fought back in court. Kameny’s Washington, D.C., house is listed in the NRHP for its association his advocacy work. For more information, see “Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence,” National Park Service website, nps.gov.

criminal behavior represented by what we may broadly term sexual offences.” Spence’s article sought to “discover what could and should be done to bring this limited but important segment of criminal law more in line with the recognized concepts of psychiatry and medical science.” Spence pondered: “Is a homosexual act injurious to society? It certainly thwarts the design of Nature to propagate the race, but in this era of rapidly rising population and wide-spread practice of birth control, one wonders if this should be considered so great an evil.” Still, Spence speaks of “the true sexual pervert,” which his context reveals is a gay man and “which society fears.” Spence posits that he is “ordinarily beyond the stage at which punishment will be of any value and psychiatric care is the only means of helping him.”³⁸

On the heels of the article, in 1957 Rep. Frank Snepp of Mecklenburg County and several other state House members introduced a bill “calling for a thorough study of the legal problems attending crimes against nature and other sex crimes.” The bill would have the governor appoint a study commission to complete the work, but it died after the House Committee on State Government concluded that the cost of the study should not be borne by the state.³⁹ Soon after, in 1960, the Food and Drug Administration approved the first birth control pill. Bronski’s *Queer History of the United States* points out that the suddenly easy availability of birth control nullified what he terms “the major moral, scientific, and legal argument against homosexual activity:” that gay sex could not lead to procreation. Bronski says, “The birth control pill made the separation between sex and reproduction socially acceptable.”⁴⁰ In the mid-1960s, a state commission did study “public morality” and the state’s CAN statute, but it did not recommend any changes to the law.⁴¹ In 1969, a federally sponsored panel recommended to the Nixon administration that states should abolish laws criminalizing sex acts between consenting adults, which would include North Carolina’s CAN statute. While the panel’s recommendations were reported in *Time* magazine and in an Associated Press article printed in the *News & Observer*, it had apparently no effect in North Carolina.⁴²

Other laws likewise intended to punish or eliminate behavior related to same-sex desire and certain kinds of gender identity and expression. The 1873 federal Comstock Act criminalized the use of the U.S. Mail for obscene materials. Michael Waters writes in the *Columbia Journalism Review* that the act “classified any gay content as ‘obscene’” and that “police would regularly shut down publications that spoke too frankly about homosexuality.” Waters describes national publications that, in reaction to the Comstock Law, presented aspects of homosexual desire sufficiently coded so as to avoid both prosecution under the Comstock Law as well as notice by the general public.⁴³ Magazines highlighted in Waters’s article, such as the short-lived 1930s glossy men’s magazine *Bachelor* and the mid-20th-century specialty magazine *The Hobby Directory*, likely appeared in bookstores and drugstores in Raleigh. In the first decade of the

³⁸ James R. Spence, “The Law of Crime against Nature,” 32 NC L Rev 312 (1954) 312, 322.

³⁹ “Bill Calls for Sex Crime Study,” *News & Observer*, April 30, 1957; “Study Group Bill Killed in Committee,” *News & Observer*, June 1, 1957.

⁴⁰ Bronski, 207.

⁴¹ “Hargrove: Sex Deviates Numerous,” *News & Observer*, 1967.

⁴² “Relaxed Homosexual Laws Urged,” *News & Observer*, October 20, 1969.

⁴³ Michael Waters, “Hiding in plain sight,” *Columbia Journalism Review* (February 9, 2021), viewed at cjr.org.

20th century, several cities across the state passed ordinances that outlawed cross-dressing, but this study has not identified evidence of such an ordinance in Raleigh. A 1919 state law allowed forced sterilization of people in state institutions if it would improve their “moral” condition, a provision which may have allowed for sterilization of LGBTQIA+ people.⁴⁴

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, federal law protected citizens from discrimination “on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin.” This applied in the areas of employment, housing, education, and public accommodations. To help “eradicate and prevent racial discrimination,” a November 1969 ordinance allowed the City of Raleigh to employ “all resources” in opposition of racial discrimination. The ordinance required City contracts and grant awards to remain in line with Civil Rights law. Boards, committees, or commissions had to work on behalf of eliminating such discrimination.⁴⁵ However, the City lacked authority to enforce federal anti-discrimination laws. Often, the federal agencies charged with enforcement were backlogged six months or more.⁴⁶ Of course, in this period, these laws did not include discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity. The lack of a city ordinance explicitly banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identification created an atmosphere where people legitimately feared for the loss of the jobs, housing, and services.

Places to Meet and Congregate

Against this background, Raleigh had not establishments before the 1970s that publicly advertised as catering to people who today might identify as LGBTQIA+. Additionally, during much of this period, Raleigh still segregated public spaces by race. Jeffrey A. Harris found during Phase 1 that the African American LGBTQIA+ community gravitated toward Durham, even for people living in Raleigh.⁴⁷

A few places in Raleigh have been identified as locations where non-heterosexual people—typically gay white men—could gather and socialize in the mid-20th-century. The **Kitty Hawk Tavern** was a bar in the **Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel** at **400 Fayetteville Street**. Upon its opening in 1924, the hotel almost immediately became an important building in state government. State government lacked office space around the capitol building, so the Sir Walter became an unofficial headquarters for legislators, political lobbyists, and newspaper reporters. The hotel was also busy with traveling salesmen and businessmen, conventions, and leisure travelers.⁴⁸ Due to the political, business, and military background of so many guests at the hotel, and the

⁴⁴ Marc Stein, “North Carolina’s Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination,” History News Network website, www.historynewsnetwork.org.

⁴⁵ “City Council adopts ordinance against racial discrimination,” *News & Observer*, November 18, 1969.

⁴⁶ “Raleigh may seek civil rights enforcement authority,” *News & Observer*, December 13, 1975.

⁴⁷ Jeffrey A. Harris, Phase 1: Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study Working Files, City of Raleigh and the Raleigh Historic Development Commission.

⁴⁸ Catherine Bishir and Jim Sumner, “Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1978, <https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA0045.pdf>. In 1930, there was a bar in the Sir Walter known as the Sir Walter Tavern; its address was 11 W. Davie Street, separate from the side entrance to the hotel at 9 W. Davie St. This is likely the same space as the Kitty Hawk Tavern.

fact that women did not tend to spend time in bars in the early- to mid-20th-century period, visitors to the bar would have been predominantly male.

The Kitty Hawk Tavern opened as early as 1942 and operated as late as 1967. Its exact location in the building has not been determined. Given its Davie St. address, the street-level commercial space immediately west of the canopied side entrance to the hotel likely housed the bar.⁴⁹ A photo from about 1940 shows the Kitty Hawk décor. Knotty-pine paneling covered the bar and back wall, where bottles of beer lined up neatly on the shelving. A brass footrail invited patrons to linger at the bar. Four-top wood tables with wood chairs lined the wall opposite the bar, and a third wall featured leather-covered booths. The bar's walls had knotty-pine wainscot under wallpaper with landscape scenes. Knotty-pine-covered beams at the ceiling and wide-plank flooring added to the rustic vibe. Within the gay community, the Kitty Hawk was known as a place where white gay men met each other at least as early the mid-1950s. Clayton Jackson, who later owned a gay bar in Five Points, describes meeting men at the bar and sometimes renting rooms in the hotel. Additionally, he recalled a men's restroom in the basement that was well-known as a tea room in the gay community.⁵⁰ Once the State Legislature building opened in 1963, providing office space for legislators, the Sir Walter's popularity—and probably the Kitty Hawk's—dropped precipitously. In the late 1960s, management converted the space housing the Kitty Hawk Tavern into a meeting space known as the Red Room.⁵¹

Details from a few newspaper stories allude to the pattern of meeting in a bar and renting a hotel room. Generally, though, the stories that made it into the newspaper only include trysts that did not end well. In 1962, a man was attacked in his room in the Sir Walter. He described his assailant, and a hotel employee told police that a man matching that description had been in the Kitty Hawk Tavern (the paper described the bar as “a beer parlor located just off the lobby”).⁵² In 1959, a man in town from Charlotte met another man in the Kitty Hawk and took him back to his room at a different hotel—the Alamo Plaza at 1816 Louisburg Road (demolished; Louisburg Road is now known as Capital Boulevard). The Charlotte man reported that they had a couple of drinks and he then went to bed. When he woke up, his car and other belongings from the room were gone.⁵³ Both stories leave out significant details that are likely telling—or rather, not asking and not telling.

⁴⁹ “Raleigh Ushers in 1943 in Rather a Quiet Mood,” *News & Observer*, January 1, 1943; “Byways of the News” N&O May 31 1956; “Charlotte Man Claims Robbery,” *News & Observer*, February 14, 1959; “Soldier Charged after incident,” *News & Observer*, August 6, 1961; “Man is attacked in hotel room,” *News & Observer*, January 23, 1962; “Retired service man preferred” “Tavern Manager” *News & Observer*, April 23, 1964; and Willie D. Pilkington, telephone interview with the author, August 14, 2024.

⁵⁰ “Kitty Hawk Tavern: The ‘Tea Room,’ 1950s, Clayton Jackson,” in “Queerolina: Experiences of space and place through oral history,” <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/a6ae65f862f146fb9a1e1d2af9273da2>.

⁵¹ “Under the Dome--Surroundings,” *News & Observer*, January 25, 1968.

⁵² “Man is attacked in hotel room,” *News & Observer*, January 23, 1962.

⁵³ “Charlotte Man Claims Robbery,” *News & Observer*, February 14, 1959.

Reports in the paper that mention the Kitty Hawk give brief descriptions of the bar as well as the impression that it was not the most elegant establishment in town. Soldiers frequented and feature in short articles in the *News & Observer* about fights originating there. A 1961 piece describes a group of Fort Bragg soldiers flipping a coin to see who would pay. When the coin landed in a glass of beer, a disagreement ensued. The soldiers took the fight outside and one threw a glass that injured a bystander.⁵⁴ An advertisement for a tavern manager specified “Retired service man preferred,” perhaps as a result of such behavior.⁵⁵ A gossip piece provides a bit of building description as it follows a prominent criminal lawyer “trudging past the polished door of Kitty Hawk Tavern” and the “five disreputable looking characters” trying to get a word with him.⁵⁶

Nearby, at **514 Fayetteville St.** (on the block now occupied by the Raleigh Convention Center) was the **Ex-Log Cabin**, a restaurant with a beer license in 1942.⁵⁷ A business at the same location in 1936 was known as the Log Cabin Inn. When initially listed as the Ex-Log Cabin in the city directory, it was as a confectionary or candy store.⁵⁸ In 1940, the shop sold a variety of products: ice cream, socks, cigarettes, and headache powder were among the items stolen when the Ex-Log was burglarized that year. A piccolo was also taken.⁵⁹ The Ex-Log was a restaurant by 1941 (with a relatively low rating from the County Health Department).⁶⁰ By 1942, complaints from neighbors resulted in a petition to revoke its license to sell beer, alleging that the restaurant was “operated in such a manner as to constitute a public nuisance.” This was a vague euphemism that could allude to many things—among them, noise, fights, sex work, or same-sex activity or suspicion. The Ex-Log was robbed a few times in this period and was the site of fights and assaults noted in the newspaper. Authorities padlocked the place at one point. A judge allowed it to reopen only when the owners promised better behavior: to be more scrupulous about the times at which they were serving beer, to close between midnight and six am, to not operate as a dance hall, and to not play piccolo music.⁶¹ The drunk and disorderly conduct connected with the building would have been enough to constitute a public nuisance, but complaints also referred to “men and women of bad character,” possibly a reference to sex workers, but perhaps also to suspected gay or transgender customers. The Ex-Log Cabin was in business as late as 1951.⁶²

The timeline of the establishment or evolution of “gay bars,” as opposed to bars where gay people met and mingled alongside straight patrons in Raleigh, has not been determined. Many U.S. cities saw gay or gay-friendly bars proliferate during and after World War II. The massive

⁵⁴ “Soldier Charged after incident,” *News & Observer*, August 6, 1961.

⁵⁵ “Tavern Manager,” *News & Observer*, April 23, 1964.

⁵⁶ “Byways of the News,” *News & Observer*, May 31, 1956.

⁵⁷ “County Revokes 2 Beer Permits,” *News & Observer*, March 5, 1942.

⁵⁸ Hill Directory Company, *Hill's Raleigh City Directory, 1936* (Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1936): 668, 772-773.

⁵⁹ “Thieves Break in Store on Fayetteville Street,” *News & Observer*, May 17, 1940.

⁶⁰ “Ratings Given Eating Places,” *News & Observer*, December 5, 1941.

⁶¹ “Padlock placed on Ex-Log Cabin,” *News & Observer*, November 15, 1942; “Cabin permitted to reopen here,” *News & Observer*, December 4, 1942.

⁶² “Assault and Robbery Reported to Police,” *News & Observer*, June 11, 1951.

mobilization of personnel for the war brought many gay people into close contact with others who experienced same-sex attraction for the first time. After finding community, they wanted places where they could continue to gather.⁶³ From the mid-1960s through the 1980s, the yearly editions of *Bob Damron's Address Book* listed gay bars and gay-friendly bars and other social spaces across the country in a period when such information was not easily obtainable otherwise.⁶⁴ Each year, the volume generally only listed one or two Raleigh bars.

Two decades after the padlocking of the Ex-Log Cabin, the *News & Observer* reported much more explicitly on behavior seen as objectionable at a Raleigh bar. The **Cardinal Room** at **102 W. Martin St.** (demolished), adjacent to the Andrew Johnson Hotel (northwest corner of W. Martin and S. Salisbury Sts., demolished), was characterized as a “tavern” and “taproom” with a permit to sell beer in 1966. That year, the paper reported on the revocation of the license due to “immoral conduct.” The paper quoted a Raleigh police detective asserting that it was known to be “a hangout for homosexuals and lesbians.” The State Board of Alcoholic Control (ABC) levied charges against the owner for allowing “immoral and improper language, conduct and practices.” Two ABC officers had visited the Cardinal Room, apparently undercover, to investigate the “many complaints” received by the ABC board. They reported on men “kissing and petting” each other, women dressed as men, and commented on the gender non-conforming hairstyles, clothing, and makeup worn by some of the patrons. The agents included a comment from a woman who “wore dungarees and a man’s shirt.” She spoke of her comfort at being in the bar “because all of us in here are alike and not like those on the outside which are misfits.” Another patron told the agents that the bar had a statewide reputation as a gay bar. The agents returned another night, still undercover and apparently undetected. They were welcomed back.⁶⁵

Other downtown gay bars included 2 near Nash Square: the **Queen Bee** and the **Teddy Bear Lounge**. The Queen Bee, owned and operated by Bienvenia “Bee” Thrift, opened as early as 1966 in the 1893 **Park Central Hotel** at **138 W. Martin St.** (demolished) and moved to **313 W. Hargett St.** before closing in 1976.⁶⁶ It appears in editions of *Bob Damron's Address Book* from

⁶³ “LGBTQ Histories from the WWII Home Front,” National Park Service website, www.nps.gov.

⁶⁴ Amanda Regan and Eric Gonzaba, *Mapping the Gay Guides*, (2019-ongoing): <http://www.mappingthegayguides.org>.

⁶⁵ “Immoral Conduct Cited at Tavern,” *News & Observer*, May 4, 1966; “Balentine’s Now in Tenth Year,” *News & Observer*, January 1, 1955; Pilkington interview. The Cardinal Room does not appear to be in the same space that opened in January 1955 as a fine dining restaurant of the same name by the owners of Ballentine’s Cafeteria at 315 Fayetteville St. (demolished), which itself had been in business for ten years. That Cardinal Room was designed by Raleigh architect F. Carter Williams and contained sculptural art by Roy Gusso, a professor at the School of Design (SoD) at North Carolina State College (now University). Some mobiles in the cafeteria were by fellow SoD faculty Manley Bromberg and Duncan Stewart. The fine dining aspect did not endure; by the summer of 1961, the space was an adjunct to the cafeteria model upstairs. Whether it evolved into the taproom and changed locations, as opposed to being an entirely different business, has not been determined.

⁶⁶ “Hotel Raleigh,” Goodnight Raleigh website, <http://goodnightraleigh.com/2011/10/hotel-raleigh-raleigh-n-c/>; City Council Minutes, May 2, 1966, page 496. The Park Central Hotel had previously been called the Hotel Raleigh and Park Hotel.

1972 through 1976 as a “mixed” bar that some “straights” visited.⁶⁷ James T. Sears, writing about several southerners in *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*, described the bar as a “Victorian-decorated.” This was likely in the first location, a Victorian-era hotel building.⁶⁸ The Teddy Bear Lounge, on the second floor of the **Andrew Johnson Hotel** (demolished, at the corner of W. Martin St. with S. Salisbury St.) was open as early as the 1970s.⁶⁹

Beyond downtown, the Five Points area was also home to social spaces quietly enjoyed by white gay men in the mid-20th century. Raleigh resident Bill Hull recalled a Five Points bar called **The Anchorage**, probably the restaurant at **2003b Fairview Rd.**, just west of Glenwood Ave. at Raleigh’s Five Points intersection. The bar first appears in city directories in 1957. By 1960, the Anchorage was listed under “Retail Beer” with the same name and address. Ownership had changed from Mrs. Susanne K. Tiffany to Benjamin N. Walters. The establishment operated as a bar, evidenced by the listing of Mrs. Gabby L. Terrell as a waitress there in 1960.⁷⁰ Hull recalled that The Anchorage was a small, casual place with banquettes along one wall and a bar along the opposite wall.⁷¹ Given its location in a white, upper-middle-class neighborhood, the bar would have catered only to white patrons in the period.

While some bars existed in plain sight, others were hidden in spaces that Raleighites would not happen across. **The Admiral’s Galley** occupied space in the otherwise unfinished basement of the Sir Walter Hotel, embedded in service areas near the southeast corner of the building and accessed from a door in the alley to the south or from an inconspicuous door off the main entrance. The defunct bar space existed in the basement of the building as late as 2020, with décor that appeared to date to the 1970s and may have been salvaged from the Kitty Hawk Tavern, including a bar and booths.⁷² Oral tradition relates that the space was a gay bar in the late 1960s through the early 1970s. It appeared in *Bob Damron’s Address Book* in 1977.⁷³

Phase 1 work for this project identified other bars from the 1950s and 1960s that were, like the Kitty Hawk, mixed bars where white gay men met each other or bars where the clientele was exclusively not heterosexual and/or gender non-conforming. The **Red Rooster** was reportedly at **2005 Fairview Rd.** in the 1950s. The **Office Tavern** at **1813 Glenwood Ave.**, open at least from 1966 through the 1970s, was another bar in Five Points frequented by white gay men. **Players Retreat** at **105 Oberlin Rd.** just outside the Cameron Park Historic District (now known as the Forest Park neighborhood) was a mixed bar that drew a crowd from North Carolina State

⁶⁷ Regan and Gonzaba, *Mapping the Gay Guides* database.

⁶⁸ James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 91.

⁶⁹ Pilkington interview; Cline, 6.

⁷⁰ Hill Directory Company, *Hill’s Raleigh City Directory 1957* (Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1957); Hill Directory Company, *Hill’s Raleigh City Directory 1960* (Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1960).

⁷¹ Bill Hull, oral history interview by Chris McGinnis, June 21, 2001, Interview K-0844, Southern Oral History Program Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷² The space was viewed by the author in 2000.

⁷³ Trolley Tour script; Pilkington interview.

University, the surrounding neighborhoods, and from local theaters.⁷⁴ In one period, closeted gay men would meet at the Players Retreat for beers after work and before heading home, perhaps to wives and children.⁷⁵ In another period, gay men looking to meet other men sat at the bar while the crowd mingling throughout the rest of the space was generally heterosexual. These bars were not universally known as gay bars or good meeting places in the period before 1970, even among gay people living in Raleigh. One Raleigh resident from the period, Charles Delmar, reported in an oral history that there were no gay bars in Raleigh in June 1968, when he discovered the Chapel Hill bar Tempo and the gay social culture that flourished there.⁷⁶

Also identified were public places, often outdoor spaces known for cruising or public men's restrooms used for tea-rooming. These places included **Nash Square**, a stretch of **Fayetteville St.**, and restrooms in the **Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel** the **Museum of Natural History**, and **Harrelson Hall (demolished)** at North Carolina State University.⁷⁷ Arrests for "vagrancy" and "public nuisance" in Nash Square, vague charges that could cover cruising, appear in news articles in 1924 and 1944.⁷⁸ The State Bureau of Investigation conducted what the Associated Press called a "crackdown on homosexuality" in Raleigh in late 1967. The effort resulted in the arrests of at least 5 men for crimes against nature after observing them in a restroom at the state's natural history museum.⁷⁹ Such raids did not have full community support: The *News & Observer* printed a few letters to the editor that objected, as well as an editorial claiming that "if more [SBI] agents spent more of their energies in catching dangerous criminals, and less time peering in public toilets, possibly the bureau's rather pathetic record of success in this area could be improved."⁸⁰

James T. Sears records in *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones* that Jim Baxter mentioned that "for years there had been a drag ball held by the black community" at Raleigh's downtown auditorium. The venue seems likely to have been **Raleigh Memorial Auditorium at 2 E. South St.** From the vantage point of the white establishment, it appears that this would have been part of underground culture in Raleigh, as no newspaper coverage of the events have so far been located.⁸¹ An underground culture of drag performances had been thriving in Black communities in cities like New York and Washington, DC, since the end of the 19th century.

⁷⁴ Pilkington interview. The Cameron Park Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 1985 and designated an Historic Overlay District in 1984.

⁷⁵ Clayton Jackson, interview with Chris McGinnis, July 6, 2001, Listening for a Change: The History of Gay Men, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender People in the South," Southern Oral History Program, UNC-Chapel Hill.

⁷⁶ Harris, Phase 1 materials; Pilkington interview; Art Sperry, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023; Charles Delmar, oral history interview with Chris McGinnis, November 5, 2000, Interview K-0195, Southern Oral History Program Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷⁷ The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel was listed in the NRHP in 1978 and designated a RHL in 1980.

⁷⁸ "Quiet follows drive on Nash Square evil," *News & Observer*, July 28, 1924; "Police arrest eight in Nash Square 'raid'," *News & Observer*, September 14, 1944; Cline, 6.

⁷⁹ "Homosexual crackdown continues," *Salisbury Post*, December 5, 1967.

⁸⁰ "New zeal," *News & Observer*, December 6, 1967; "How barbarous," and "Homosexuality," *News & Observer*, December 9, 1967.

⁸¹ Sears, Ch.9, FN 17.

Histories of the art form of drag commonly cite performances by female and male impersonators in the late 1800s and early 1900s as precursors today's drag. Raleigh audiences enjoyed watching "female impersonators" as early as 1871, when "Master Willie Kellogg, the wonderful Soprano and female impersonator," performed at Tucker Hall (apparently demolished) with the Tremaine Brothers' and John G. Pierson's Operata Troupe and Oriental Bell Ringers, a traveling performance group. Prof. Tate, from the North Carolina-based Black Diamond Quartette, and Gauze, with the Georgia Colored Minstrels, were both female impersonators with Black traveling performance groups. The troupes appeared to great acclaim in Raleigh in the late 19th century, at the Academy of Music (demolished) and Metropolitan Hall (demolished).⁸² Performances of female impersonators continued into the early 20th century, including with minstrel groups, as late as 1926, when the "Lasses" White All Stars played at the State Theater, including female impersonator Karl Denton. Denton was known onstage as the Eltinge of Minstrelsy, a reference to the famous vaudeville performer, film actor, and female impersonator Julian Eltinge. The underlying assumption of the audience was that that the performer was a straight man; many likely were. Performances became more complicated as municipalities adopted ordinances in the 20th century banning cross-dressing.⁸³ Stories about female impersonators still ran regularly in the local paper, but local performances appear to have stopped in the middle decades of the 20th century.

Early Community Formation

The middle decades of the 20th century saw quiet and private community formation among LGBTQIA+ people across the country, particularly to address other aspects of queer life beyond romantic and sexual relationships and encounters. As noted above, drag performances and performers in Black and Latino communities coalesced into the ballroom and house scene, the latter often providing community and shelter. On the west coast, gay men started the Mattachine Society and lesbians the Daughters of Bilitis, organizations to promote the rights and welfare of gay people. Efforts slowly became more public. In the late 1960s, a defrocked Pentecostal minister established the Metropolitan Community Church and a Catholic priest started Dignity, a ministry for gay Catholics. Soon, community building, activism, and cultural expression would enter the public arena across the country and across Raleigh.

Many cite the 1969 Stonewall Uprising in New York City as the beginning of the gay liberation movement and activism in search of civil rights. In truth, there were events all over the country in the years leading up to Stonewall that contributed to the movement of visible, vocal advocacy of civil rights for LGBTQIA+ people. Additionally, many advocating for civil rights for

⁸² "Notes about town," *News & Observer*, July 6, 1892; "News notes about the City," (*Raleigh*) *Daily Evening Visitor*, July 17 1891; "Theatrical Notes," (*Raleigh*) *Evening Visitor*, November 10, 1894; "An Evening of Fun," *News & Observer*, November 16, 1894; "Theatrical Notes," (*Raleigh*) *Evening Visitor*, November 16, 1894; "Musical," *Carolinian*, October 20, 1871. The building referred to as Tucker Hall for the performance has not been identified in Raleigh and is likely demolished; the Tucker Hall at NCSU is a dormitory built in 1947.

⁸³ "Amusements," *Raleigh Times*, October 26, 1909; "Today—The Honey Boys," *News & Observer*, March 14, 1914; "'Lasses' White is here today," *News and Observer*, December 15, 1926; Kristen Riley, "From female impersonation to drag," Wellcome Collection website, www.wellcomecollection.org.

Black Americans and for women’s equality were LGBTQIA+ people. These were intersecting and overlapping movements, sometimes harmonious but often in conflict.⁸⁴

Roster Properties mentioned in Raleigh Before Gay Liberation

Appendix B contains the complete LGBTQIA+ Roster for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years
Dorothea Dix Hospital	Dix Hill	Hospital	possibly 1950s-1960s
Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel	400 Fayetteville Street Kitty Hawk—Davie St. space Admiral’s Galley—Basement Men’s Bathroom--Basement	Bar Bar Tearoom	1942-1967 1970s 1940s-1970s
Ex-Log Cabin	514 Fayetteville Street (demolished)	Restaurant	1940s
Cardinal Room	102 W. Martin Street (demolished)	Bar	1960s
Queen Bee	138 W. Martin Street (demolished) 313 W. Hargett Street	Bar	1960s-1970s
Teddy Bear Lounge	Andrew Johnson Hotel (demolished)	Bar	1970s
The Anchorage	2003b Fairview Rd., Five Points	Bar	ca. 1957- 1963
Red Rooster	2005 Fairview Rd. Five Points	Bar	1950s
Office Tavern	1813 Glenwood Ave., Five Points	Bar	1966-1970s
Players Retreat	105 Oberlin Rd.	Bar	1950s onward
Nash Square	200 S. McDowell St. (the city square bounded by S. McDowell, E. Martin, S. Dawson. and E. Hargett Streets	Park	1940s-1980s
Fayetteville Street	Undetermined blocks	Public Street	Mid-20 th C
Museum of Natural History	100 N. Salisbury Street (altered)	Museum	1960s
Harrelson Hall	2610 Stinson Drive (demolished)	Classrooms	Mid-20 th C
Raleigh Memorial Auditorium	2 E. South St. (altered)	Auditorium	1960s

⁸⁴ Bronski, 205-211; “1969: The Stonewall Uprising,” LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide, Library of Congress Website, <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/stonewall-era>.

LGBTQIA+ in Raleigh: 1970 through ca. 1995

There is significantly more documentation of trends related to LGBTQIA+ life in Raleigh from the 1970s onwards than in the decades before. This is due in part to the aims of the gay liberation movement—including “coming out,” advocating for civil rights, public community building, and encouraging constructive societal dialogue. Additionally, the ability to speak with people who lived through the period offers more opportunity to learn about the history. The next portion of the context, then, covers aspects of Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ history organized roughly into decades, giving a temporal structure to themes and trends. Note, however, that designation reports for individual properties should delve into the history of the property itself and may require additional context for the particular building type or associated theme.

The 1970s: Leaning into Liberation

During the 1970s, some LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh began to be more public with their lives and the quest for civil rights and for visible communities. This followed nationwide trends of the 1950s and 1960s, which had never received much coverage in the local press. It was, however, increasingly reported in publications like the *Advocate*, a Los Angeles-based newsletter that evolved by the 1970s into a national news magazine focused on LGBT issues, and the *Carolina Plain Dealer*, a Durham-based underground newspaper covering leftist politics and alternative culture. Groups established by gay and lesbian people for the purpose of providing friendship, support, and advocacy date to this period, including secular and religious organizations. Some were purely local, like the Raleigh Women’s Coffeehouse, the Triangle Gay Alliance, and Gay Club of Raleigh. Others were religious and tied to a national organization or network, like the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), an LGBT-affirming mainline Protestant Christian denomination, and Dignity, a lay-led organization for lesbian and gay Catholics. Towards the end of the period, a student group at North Carolina State University formed, an outgrowth of the local MCC church, and an LGBT-focused newspaper began publishing in Raleigh.

Very early in the decade, Bob Bland (1946-2011) brought the fight for gay liberation to Raleigh. A North Carolina native, Bland went to New York from Chapel Hill in the summer of 1970, lived in the 17th St. Collective, and worked and marched with the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). GLF formed in the aftermath of the uprising at the Stonewall Inn a year earlier, working to increase visibility and advocate for gay rights. Bland soon returned to North Carolina, settling in Raleigh in 1971. He set up the **Triangle Gay Alliance** (TGA) in a communal house occupying a 1912 bungalow at **412 Kinsey Street**, a contributing property in the Boylan Heights Historic District.⁸⁵ As Faderman tells us, the word “gay” at the time had just emerged into mainstream use from its original underground parlance and was used in the way we use the term LGBTQIA+ today. The group was aptly named, then, as its membership included transgender people, lesbians, gay men, drag performers, and people leaving heterosexual marriages. There were both Black

⁸⁵ “A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer,” *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983; “Bob Bland, LGBT activist, 64,” *Philadelphia Gay News*, June 23, 2011, epgn.com. The Boylan Heights Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 1985 and designated as an Historic Overlay District (HOD) in 1984.

and white members. Such inclusiveness would not always characterize groups and businesses established for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh in this period.

The dwelling served as a collective household and a meeting place for TGA members. Bland invited people to join by distributing leaflets at the Pegasus bar in Chapel Hill and by announcing the group to the local news outlets.⁸⁶ The *News & Observer* followed up, and in December 1971 ran a detailed article. An interviewee, a North Carolina native, commented on the need for a group like TGA: “It was a very traumatic experience to get information about anything concerning gay goings-on. That’s still the way things are for the most part, though you can see there is some element of change taking place. Still, there isn’t a general public knowledge of what this thing is all about.” TGA intended to promote gay rights, eliminate the vaguely worded state statute that banned sodomy, help individuals fight job discrimination, deal with family rejection, and “educat[e] ‘straight’ society about gay liberation.”⁸⁷ Bland sent out a candidate questionnaire in the spring of the presidential election year of 1972. Many candidates ignored it, but some local and state politicians who supported anti-discrimination laws for gay men and lesbians, including presidential primary candidate Shirley Chisholm, did reply. Within days of reporting the story, the *Charlotte Observer* ran an editorial supporting repeal of the sodomy law.⁸⁸

TGA quickly grew to over a hundred members, perhaps thanks in part to the press coverage. Some Chapel Hill residents and students headed to Raleigh for meetings in organized groups by bus. Jimi Dee, a Black Raleighite and drag performer (who would win Miss Gay America in 1978), lived in the house for a period. Dee and another performer from Chapel Hill organized a drag show as a fundraiser for TGA in 1972. The event was held at “the municipal auditorium,” presumably **Memorial Auditorium** at **2 E. South St.** Sears calls it the “state’s first major public gay event.”⁸⁹ Despite this apparent energy and successful efforts, TGA was somewhat short-lived, active only into 1974.

Other groups formed in the mid- to late-1970s and helped fill the void left by TGA. Women in the Triangle interested in the feminist movement began meeting to organize as early as the mid-1970s. Some groups welcomed lesbians, and others did not, reflecting nationwide trends in the women’s movement of the time. A YWCA-sponsored Durham Women’s Center, established in 1974, explicitly welcomed lesbians, according to an article in the *News & Observer*.⁹⁰ By the summer of 1975, women from Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill met to consider forming a union, inspired by a “socialist-feminist” conference some area women had attended at Antioch College in Ohio.⁹¹ In Raleigh, the Francis Renfrow Doak Women’s Center began meeting in 1976

⁸⁶ “A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer,” *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983.

⁸⁷ “Homosexual Alliance is Formed in Triangle,” *News & Observer*, December 30, 1971.

⁸⁸ “Most candidates ignore gay group,” *Charlotte Observer*, April 14, 1972; “N.C. Homosexuals and the law,” *Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1972.

⁸⁹ “A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer,” *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983; Sears, 91-93; also see footnote 17 from Chapter 9.

⁹⁰ “North Carolina’s First Women’s Center,” *News & Observer*, January 17, 1975.

⁹¹ “Triangle Women Consider Union,” *News & Observer*, August 6, 1975.

or earlier, in the Friends Meeting House on Woodburn Ave. in the Cameron Park Historic District/Forest Park neighborhood. The popularity of their programming surprised organizers. Organizing workshops like “assertiveness training” and “personal awareness,” they scrambled to shift to larger spaces for groups several times larger than they anticipated. By 1977, the center also ran a one-room temporary shelter for women, later expanding into counseling for women in abusive relationships. The center sponsored picnics, educational seminars, and held yard sales. They advertised all these activities in the *News & Observer* and in the NCSU student newspaper, the *Technician*.⁹² Bob Bland later noted that many of his feminist friends in Raleigh were coming out as lesbians in the early 1970s.⁹³

However, Brandie Cline records in her 2013 overview history of LGBT Raleigh that some women in Raleigh were “rejected by the local feminist Women’s Center for being lesbians” and “sought a safe place to gather and socialize.”⁹⁴ Calling themselves the **Women’s Culture Collective**, they began hosting social gatherings they called “coffeehouses” in a bungalow at **119 Hawthorne Rd.**, almost directly behind the Quaker House (also in the Cameron Park Historic District/Forest Park neighborhood). The **Unitarian Universalist Fellowship (UUF) of Raleigh** owned the house. UUF would continue to be a strong ally for the LGBTQIA+ communities in Raleigh at its campus at **3313 Wade Ave.** The Women’s Culture Collective posted short notices in the *News & Observer* announcing coffeehouses and other events in the Hawthorne Rd. bungalow and later on Wade Ave., often finishing with “All women welcome.” Events included music concerts, picnics, potluck suppers, lectures, and socializing.⁹⁵ An advertisement in a 1984 issue of *Lambda*, the newsletter of the Carolina Gay and Lesbian Association at UNC-Chapel Hill, announced the reorganization of the Coffeehouse, to meet monthly rather than twice-monthly and to move toward a social gathering rather and away from programmed meetings. By that point, “a dwindling group of devoted women” had been doing much of the volunteer work of keeping the group going. The reorganization intended to ease the workload on volunteers.⁹⁶ A member involved with the group noted decades later in an oral history that the Coffeehouse ironically did not allow transgender women to join and that the regular membership was not particularly racially diverse. The Women’s Culture Collective Coffeehouse was active at least about 1978 through 1984.⁹⁷

An allied local business to the coffeehouse events was **New Leaf Bookshop at 223 N. Bloodworth St.** in Raleigh’s **Oakwood Historic District**.⁹⁸ Janet Walkiewicz and Louis Sawyer, known at the time as Lou, opened the shop in a former restaurant space in November 1977,

⁹² “Women’s Center Expands with New Workshops,” *News & Observer*, December 17, 1976; “Limited Aid for Abused Women in Raleigh,” *News & Observer*, March 19, 1977; “Crier,” *Technician*, November 2, 1977.

⁹³ “A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer,” *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983.

⁹⁴ Brandie Cline, “LGBT Raleigh: A Brief Overview” (City of Raleigh Museum, Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program, 2013), 8.

⁹⁵ “Calendar of Events,” *News & Observer*, May 14, 1978; “Calendar of Events,” *News & Observer*, October 1, 1978; “Around the city,” *News & Observer*, November 24, 1978; “This Week,” *News & Observer*, February 3, 1980.

⁹⁶ “Women’s Coffeehouse Reorganizes,” *Lambda*, March 1, 1984; “Around the city,” *News & Observer*, June 3, 1983.

⁹⁷ Cline, 8-9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

after six months of remodeling. The *News & Observer* reported that the pair wanted to fill a need they saw for “a selection of books that has an emphasis on a certain kind of values and belief in human liberation.” They sought to carry non-sexist children’s books “that don’t stereotype little girls or minorities” noted Janet Walkiewicz.⁹⁹ Sawyer also founded with the **Androgyny Center**, which opened on **Barrett Drive** in 1977 (and was later housed at **220 N. Boylan Ave.** and on **Strickland Rd.**) to provide counseling, particularly to people in the LGBTQIA+ community, without pathologizing their sexuality. “Traditional agencies are not geared to serve the people we serve,” Sawyer, a therapist at the center, told the *News & Observer*. “I think part of it has to do with their approach. Their emphasis is on converting gays to heterosexuality. When they identify a person as a gay person, that becomes the issue.”¹⁰⁰ Sawyer advertised lesbian and feminist counseling and eventually queer/transgender mental health services in *The Front Page*, eventually relocating to Durham.¹⁰¹

Unlike New Leaf Bookshop, women-centric and lesbian “spaces” in this period were often organizations and networks. Groups held events in many places, including private homes, or produced women-focused products, like music recordings. Women organized potlucks and met privately to socialize and share meals. Ladyslipper, Inc., a Durham-based organization, sponsored women’s music concerts and festivals and produced and distributed women’s music.¹⁰²

The **Oakwood** neighborhood that was the new home to the New Leaf also became home to many gay and lesbian Raleigh residents in the 1970s.¹⁰³ The 19th century, near-downtown neighborhood had been in a downturn, with many of the large and originally single-family houses converted to apartments or boarding houses. Gay couples rehabilitated several dwellings beginning in the early 1970s. W. Ames Christopher and Bill Caligari purchased and rehabilitate one of the Pullentown houses on the 400 block of Elm Street. A 1973 feature in the “Today’s Woman” section of the *News & Observer* referred to the couple as “bachelors” and described their painstaking restoration.¹⁰⁴ With the announcement of a major roadway through the neighborhood in 1972, Christopher and others organized to fight the project. Christopher announced a meeting to coordinate opposition in a letter to the editor of the *News & Observer*.¹⁰⁵ Nearly 130 residents attended, the grassroots effort was ultimately successful, and they got the neighborhood listed in the National Register of Historic Places. **Oakwood Historic District** also became the city’s first local historic district.¹⁰⁶ The work saved the neighborhood from physical division and was a significant step forward for historic preservation in Raleigh.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ “‘Human lib’ is theme of books in new store,” *News & Observer*, December 15, 1977.

¹⁰⁰ “Center helps solve problems found in ‘alternative lifestyle,’” *News & Observer*, July 23, 1978.

¹⁰¹ “Church news,” *News & Observer*, October 17, 1987.

¹⁰² “Ladyslipper Music: Welcome,” Ladyslipper website, www.ladyslipper.org; Ladyslipper’s rich history helped shape women’s music,” *QnotesCarolina*, June 14, 2019, www.qnotescarolinas.com.

¹⁰³ Howard interview; Pilkington interview.

¹⁰⁴ “Brain and Brawn, Time and Travel Make Historic House a Unique Home,” *News & Observer*, July 6, 1973.

¹⁰⁵ “Oakwood Property Owners Organizing,” *News & Observer*, October 18, 1972; “Area Sounds No-Road Cry,” *News & Observer*, October 20, 1972.

¹⁰⁶ The Oakwood Historic District was listed in the NRHP and designated an HOD in 1974.

¹⁰⁷ “Neighborhood History,” Society for the Preservation of Historic Oakwood website, www.historicoakwood.org.

In the 1980s, ads for houses for sale and rooms for rent or roommates wanted in Oakwood appeared regularly in the classified ads running in *The Front Page*. Many were placed by real estate agent and preservationist Chris Yetter, who purchased and restored “a rambling ruin” at the corner of Oakwood Ave. and Elm St. around 1980 with his partner Steve Zamparelli. They sold it and restored a second house on Bloodworth St. later in the 1980s.¹⁰⁸

This rediscovery of the charm and quality of old buildings in somewhat neglected parts of the city often included the work of LGBTQIA+ people. As gay men and others began discovering and buying property in Oakwood in the 1970s, artists claimed space in the increasingly abandoned industrial spaces in what is now the Depot Historic District southwest of downtown Raleigh.¹⁰⁹ The area was situated between **Nash Square** and the Boylan Heights Historic District. Karl Larson, a photographer who grew up in Raleigh and took photographs of the area as a student at North Carolina State University in the 1970s, recalled that “At least by the late 1970s, the area was attracting the avant garde art crowd and artistic endeavors such as performances and installations were experimented with.” Artistic communities, including visual art, music, and theater, generally included and were friendly to LGBTQIA+ people. One site, known at the time as Lot 13, became the location of multiple art installations as early as 1978. It consisted of two walls from a mid-19th-century warehouse and a poured-concrete floor. Next door, in an empty warehouse, Avi Wegner staged “Openings Windows Passages,” a theater piece that resulted from Wegner’s academic work in American Studies. Raleigh native David Sedaris, still in his 20s, was among the performers. The show occurred about a dozen years before Sedaris was catapulted to fame with a radio reading of his essay “The Santaland Diaries.”¹¹⁰ For the rest of the 20th century, the warehouse district would be the location of a number of places important to the LGBTQIA+ communities, garnering the nickname “the gayborhood.”

Similarly, west of the warehouse district are a number of locations that were friendly to the LGBTQIA+ communities in the 1970s and following decades. The **Cameron Court Apartments at 804 W. Morgan Street** was reportedly home to a lot of LGBTQIA+ people in the period and was nicknamed “Queens Court.”¹¹¹ An artists’ collective called the Raleigh Artists’ Community occupied the dwelling at 908 W. Morgan Street. The gay-friendly **Irregardless Café** opened at **901 W. Morgan Street** and **Charlie Goodnights Comedy Club** opened next door **861 W. Morgan Street**. The latter three were the subject of a feature in the *News & Observer* about the redevelopment of the buildings the businesses occupied. “The people involved with these three new places agree that something is happening here—something original. The places have nothing to do with each other. But coincidentally, all three began with groups of young people willing to try something...willing to refurbish old buildings and learn about business for the sake of personal ideals. Or simply an idea.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ “Athletic event,” *News & Observer*, March 31, 1987.

¹⁰⁹ The Depot Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 2002 and includes Nash Square.

¹¹⁰ Karl Larson, “Reminiscences of a Raleigh Boy, Part 4: The Warehouse District,” Goodnight Raleigh Blog, www.goodnightraleigh.com; M. Ruth Little, “Depot Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2002, <https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA0724.pdf>; “Chronology,” avibwegner.com.

¹¹¹ Cameron Court Apartments were added to the NRHP Study List (SL) in 1991.

¹¹² “Street change; New Activity,” *News & Observer*, February 13, 1975.

Visionary ideas unconnected to buildings also had an impact and created space and place. J. C. Raulston (1940-1996) came to Raleigh in 1975 to teach in the Department of Horticulture at North Carolina State University and created places and programs influential both in his field as well as for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh and beyond. He established the university's 10-acre arboretum in 1976, now named the **JC Raulston Arboretum at 4415 Beryl Rd.** in his honor and introduced a "horticultural renaissance" to the nursery industry in the state and the U.S.¹¹³ In 1978, he organized the Lavandula and Labiatae Society for gay and lesbian horticulturists, botanists, gardeners, and nursery owners, including students, professionals, and amateurs. The society met informally, at homes and bars, but often in conjunction with professional conferences.¹¹⁴ **Raulston's home**, a renovated warehouse at **318 E. Davie St.** in what is now the East Raleigh-South Park Historic District, was large enough to host gatherings and guests.¹¹⁵ "Through the Lavandula and Labiatae Society, he created a healthy alternative to the bars and baths—a place where gays and lesbians in horticulture could connect, without compartmentalizing their lives or leaving their identity at the door," according to David Hunt, writing for the NCSU news service.¹¹⁶

Like Raulston, Bland, Walkiewicz, and Sawyer, John Voorhees (1923-2007) was interested in building community, hoping to create an atmosphere that enabled open discussion about the lives of gay people. Voorhees had worked in state government and also as the Assistant City Planner for the City of Raleigh. He was well-known and universally liked.¹¹⁷ In the 1970s, to have an alternative social outlet to the bar scene, he started hosting "over-30" potluck dinners at the **Voorhees House**, his flat-roofed, Modernist dwelling (of his own design) at **2727 N. Mayview Rd.** (demolished).¹¹⁸ Voorhees had left his employment at the City of Raleigh and was working as an environmentally focused real estate developer. This self-employment enabled him to be more open about his sexuality than others could be in this period. In 1978, he presented a talk on "Growing Up Gay" for the public at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship campus.¹¹⁹ He helped establish the Raleigh chapter of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) and the North Carolina Human Rights Fund. The latter was organized in 1979 by Voorhees, Patrick Sears, John Boddie, Jim Baxter, Art Sperry, and two others, to "promote and defend the human and civil rights of lesbians and gay men" in the state.¹²⁰ In practice, the group's initial work was to provide legal services and support to individuals prosecuted under the state's CAN law, which remained a felony. Over time, the N.C. Human Rights Fund

¹¹³ "Who was J. C. Raulston?" JC Raulston Arboretum website, www.jcra.ncsu.edu.

¹¹⁴ Bobby Ward, "J. C. Raulston and the network he created for gay and lesbian gardeners," Garden Rant Blog, www.gardenrant.com.

¹¹⁵ "James Chester Raulston, horticulturist, is dead at 56," *New York Times*, December 24, 1996.

¹¹⁶ David Hunt, "People, Plants and Pride: The Passions of J. C. Raulston," N.C. State News, www.news.ncsu.edu.

¹¹⁷ "John Voorhees Obituary," *News & Observer*, June 9, 2007.

¹¹⁸ Pilkington, interview with the author.

¹¹⁹ "Church Briefs," *News & Observer*, February 11, 1978.

¹²⁰ "Give a damn," *The Front Page*, October 25, 1979; Cline 10.

broadened its work and evolved into Equality NC, the oldest statewide LGBTQIA+ organization.¹²¹

Longtime Raleigh resident Willie Pilkington came to Raleigh right after high school, in the early 1970s, and met Voorhees at the potlucks on Mayview Road. He found Voorhees to be a guiding force in his young adulthood. Pilkington noted that in the 1970s “there was not a good way to socialize with other gay people outside of bars, and restaurants did not feel like a place a group of gay people could go together.” Around 1976, Voorhees and Pilkington began expanding on the potlucks, looking to create a social outlet separate from the bar scene that allowed for discussion groups, recreation (softball, roller skating), and, particularly in the 1980s, political advocacy. What was initially called “Gay Gathering” evolved into “Gay Club,” perhaps a reflection of the diversity of social activities organized. The discussion groups would prove key to later advocacy. Voorhees and Pilkington wanted an environment where people could “expand on the more casual conversations that were happening at potlucks about all the issues that come back to the gay community,” including the powerlessness felt due to discrimination. Gay Club met most often at the **UUF of Raleigh at 3313 Wade Ave.** Pilkington also started a newsletter to keep club members informed of social events and other newsworthy items, which he ran out of the **Pilkington-Dilley House at 611 Boundary Street** in Oakwood. The couple, who met roller skating at a Gay Club event, lived in the house from 1980-1995 and created a residential garden featured in the *New York Times* and other publications.¹²²

Some religious organizations joined secular groups to create community in the late 1970s, filling an important void some LGBTQIA+ people felt in their search for authentic community. Raleigh’s **St. John’s Metropolitan Community Church (MCC)** evolved from a bible study established in 1976 by Willie White, an openly gay student at Southeastern Baptist Seminary in Wake Forest. Although White reported that those he encountered in seminary did not condemn him for his sexuality nor quote bible verses to voice any opposition, his attendance at an MCC service in Washington, DC, gave him the idea to start something similar in Raleigh. White and his partner, Robert Pace, advertised a bible study to meet in their apartment at **900 W. Morgan St.** in February 1976. Keith Hartman, who wrote about several instances of conflict over LGBTQIA+ rights in North Carolina churches and divinity schools, notes that White got the word out about the bible study by posting signs in gay bars in Raleigh and Durham. White recalls that in the first few weeks, only one person attended. Eventually, White and Pace were hosting regular bible study and worship on Sundays. They affiliated that summer with the national MCC, which had formed in 1968 and was headquartered in Los Angeles. St. John’s then met a few times at the **Quaker House at 120 Woodburn Road** that summer but kept searching for a permanent place for worship. In 1977, they began meeting at the **Community United Church of Christ (UCC) at 814 Dixie Trail**, their host for seventeen years.¹²³ The UCC was not the only church willing to welcome the group—the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship invited St. John’s members into their congregation—but UCC was willing to let St. John’s have its own

¹²¹ “Our History,” Equality NC Website, www.equalitync.org.

¹²² Pilkington interview, August 14, 2024; Cline, 9.

¹²³ The Community UCC was added to the State Study List (SL) as potentially eligible for the NRHP in 2018.

service. Hartman reports that Carolyn King, a member of the Community UCC church council recalled that “they felt the need for this fellowship, this support from each other” rather than being welcomed into an existing church community. White expanded his ministry in this period to include a “rap” group called “Talk Time” and testing for sexually transmitted infections. Eventually St. John’s began to advertise in the *News & Observer*: notices for Talk Time sessions and for a St. John’s-sponsored “forum on personal, financial, and career goals for gays and lesbians,” both held at Community UCC, appeared in 1979. Also that year, St. John’s became a member of the Cooperative Campus Ministry at North Carolina State University, and White began service as the St. John’s campus minister there. Hartman reports that the ministry evolved into the Gay and Lesbian Student Union at N.C. State, a secular group.¹²⁴

Jim Baxter started the free biweekly *The Front Page* for the local gay and lesbian community in October 1979. As a teen, he’d been inspired by underground newspapers. In the early 1970s, he’d written about being gay for the *Greensboro Sun* (a newspaper “too late to be ‘underground’ and too early to be ‘alternative’” he said). In Raleigh, Baxter used a borrowed Varsity phototypesetter and copy from both the Gay News Agency and a subscription clipping service that sent him “any story about homosexuality that appeared in any North Carolina newspaper.” His paper announced meetings and ran personal ads, creating an information network that was invaluable before the age of the internet. The paper published from a number of locations over its 26 history, starting at **324 S. Harrington St.** in the **Sperry & Associates Office** of Art Sperry’s advertising firm.¹²⁵

Gay bars and gay-friendly bars continued to exist in Raleigh. As is true virtually anywhere, the bar landscape changes frequently. A gay or lesbian bar occupied the commercial space at **1622 Glenwood Ave.** for decades, starting with **The Mousetrap**. A bar called The Mousetrap Lounge opened around 1970 as a private club and advertised for a cocktail waitress in the classified ads in September 1970.¹²⁶ The next month, the bar hosted a happy hour for the Raleigh Spinsters Club. The brief notice in the paper noted that “Guests include the Bachelors Club and Spinsters Club guests.”¹²⁷ By December, the bar was already popular: a large feature in the “Today’s Woman” section about “Raleigh’s Single Men” noted that “the main bachelor hangouts in town seem to be the In-Crowd, the Mousetrap, and the Embers Club.” In this case, the use of the word bachelor doesn’t seem to be a euphemism, since most of the article had the bachelors discussing their views on dating and marrying women.¹²⁸ The following February, the Raleigh Spinsters and local bachelors mingled again at “that bistro known as the Mousetrap.”¹²⁹ The

¹²⁴ Keith Hartman, *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle Over Homosexuality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 95-102; “History of St. John’s MCC,” Oral history recording, “About Us” page, St. John’s MCC Website, www.stjohnsmcc.org; “Around the City,” *News & Observer*, September 27, 1979; “Church news” *News & Observer*, November 3, 1979.

¹²⁵ “Before the ‘Net, there was *The Front Page*,” *IndyWeek*, June 21, 2006, viewed at <https://indyweek.com/guides/archives-guides/net-front-page/>. Digitized issues of *The Front Page* are available at <https://www.digitalnc.org/newspapers/the-front-page-raleigh-n-c/>.

¹²⁶ “Cocktail Waitress,” *News & Observer*, September 4, 1970.

¹²⁷ “Today’s Events,” *News & Observer*, November 19, 1970.

¹²⁸ Raleigh’s Single Men Speak Out,” *News & Observer*, December 6, 1970.

¹²⁹ “Passing Scene,” *News & Observer*, February 24, 1971.

Young Republicans held a beer party and membership drive there in the summer of 1972 when the bar was owned by Bob Emory, an “active Young Republican.”¹³⁰ Soon after, on December 1, 1972, the bar “went gay,” according to Tarboro native and Raleigh resident Clayton Jackson, who would later own and run The Mousetrap. Jackson does not explain how the bar’s character changed, but firmly recalled that on “December 1, 1972, it became a gay bar. Jackson, in partnership with Charles Heavner, purchased the bar in 1973 and created a space intentionally for gay men; they were even open with the ABC board about that when applying for a permit to sell beer.¹³¹ The Mousetrap appeared in the 1974 *Bob Damron’s Address Book*, which noted that it was a private club with dancing and “B.Y.O.B.”¹³² Around that time, the bar was in the front room and the dancing in a back room.¹³³

Two doors down stood the **Colony Theater (now the Rialto) at 1620 Glenwood Ave.**, a grocery store building that had been converted into a theater in the 1940s. As early as 1977, the Colony began screening a late show of the Rocky Horror Picture Show, several months after the midnight showings at the Waverly Theater in New York had inspired audiences to participate along with the film. That fall, the paper reported on the “bizarre nationwide fad of several months [that] appears to be holding its own in Raleigh. The ritual, patronized mostly by the high school set, unfolds every Friday and Saturday at the Terrace Theater.” The article describes the props and the audience participation that went along with late-night shows of the “Rocky Horror Picture Show,” but did not comment much on the content beyond the “kinky horrors” that gave the movie an R rating.¹³⁴

Downtown, bars catering to or friendly to lesbian and gay patrons concentrated around **Nash Square**. A restaurant with bar known as the **Executive Lounge** existed in the **Hotel Carolina** (demolished) on the north side of Nash Square as early as April 1974.¹³⁵ The Executive Lounge in the Hotel Carolina appears in the 1977 issue of *Bob Damron’s Address Book*, which noted that it attracted a mixed-race crowd and included patrons characterized as “raunchy types-hustlers, drags, and other ‘downtown types.’”¹³⁶ Across the square, the Queen Bee had relocated in 1976 to **313 W. Hargett Street**, and Art Sperry purchased the building in 1977. Sperry closed the Queen Bee and opened the **Capital Corral** (often called the CC) in the same space. “In those days, the whole Western thing was of interest,” recalled Sperry, explaining his themed disco concept.¹³⁷ In 1979, the storefront next door at **315 W. Hargett St.** became part

¹³⁰ “Beer,” *News & Observer*, August 14, 1972; “Local Young Republicans Try Beer Party Politics,” *News & Observer*, August 15, 1972.

¹³¹ Jackson interview.

¹³² “Hayes Barton unhappy with neighborhood bars,” *News & Observer*, April 24, 1974.

¹³³ Willie D. Pilkington, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023.

¹³⁴ “Colony, Five Points,” *News & Observer*, May 6, 1977; “It was great when it all began” Rocky Horror Picture Show Official Fan Site!, rockyhorror.com; “Toga party has rowdy revival,” *News & Observer*, October 2, 1978.

¹³⁵ *Executive Lounge advertisements*, *News & Observer*, April 16, 17, and July 11, 1974; Executive House Lounge advertisement, *News & Observer*, March 28, 1973. The Executive Lounge appears to be a separate entity from the Executive House Lounge, a topless bar that had its grand opening in March 1973 at 106. S. Wilmington Street.

¹³⁶ Regan and Gonzaba, *Mapping the Gay Guides* database.

¹³⁷ Art Sperry, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023; Harris, 11.

of the club, a dance floor called **Glitter Gulch**. The CC was a private club with membership only open to men; women were allowed in only if accompanied by a member.¹³⁸ The area around Capital Corral and Nash Square was a popular area for cruising, as was the **300 block of Hillsborough Street**, where the circular tower of the 1969 **Holiday Inn** had recently been erected.

Roster Properties mentioned in The 1970s: Leaning into Liberation

Appendix B contains the complete LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Triangle Gay Alliance	412 Kinsey St.	Collective Housing	1971-1974
Women’s Culture Collective Coffeehouse	119 Hawthorne Rd.	Meeting Place	1970s
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh	3133 Wade Ave.	Church with meeting halls	1970s-present
New Leaf Bookstore	223 N. Bloodworth St.	Bookstore	1970s
Oakwood Historic District	NE of downtown	Residential neighborhood	1970s-present
Androgyny Center	220 N. Boylan Ave.	Counseling	1970s
Nash Square	200 S. McDowell St.	Park	Mid-20 th C
Cameron Court Apartments	804 W. Morgan St.	Apartment Building	1970s
Irregardless Café	901 W. Morgan St.	Restaurant	1970s-present
Charlie Goodnights Comedy Club	861 W. Morgan St.	Bar	1970s
JC Raulston Arboretum	4415 Beryl Rd.	Arboretum	1970s-present
John Voorhees House	2727 Mayview Rd. (demolished)	Residence	1970s-2007
Pilkington-Dilley House	611 N. Boundary St.	Residence	1980-1995
Quaker House	120 Woodburn Rd.	Meeting hall	1970s
St. John’s MCC at Community United Church of Christ	814 Dixie Trl.	Religious Service	1970s-present
<i>The Front Page</i> (initial loc.)	324 S. Harrington St. (Sperry & Assoc. Ofc.)	Office building	1970s
The Mousetrap	1622 Glenwood Ave.	Bar, Nightclub	1970s-2000s
Colony (Rialto) Theater	1620 Glenwood Ave.	Movie Theater	1970s-present
Executive Lounge	Hotel Carolina	Bar	1970s
Hotel Carolina	NE cor W. Hargett &	Hotel	1970s

¹³⁸ An interview with Raleigh resident Kent Parks is included in the news story “Rainbow flags still fly in Raleigh’s ‘Gayborhood’ decades later,” Spectrum Local News website, <https://spectrumlocalnews.com/nc/triangle-sandhills/news/2021/06/28/looking-back-at-the-history-of-raleigh-s-gayborhood->.

	S. Dawson Sts.		
Capital Corral & Glitter Gulch	313-315 W. Hargett St.	Bar, Nightclub	1970s-2010s
Holiday Inn	320 Hillsborough St.	Hotel	1970s
Hillsborough Street	300 Block	Public Street	1970s-2010s

The 1980s: Politics and pushback, advocacy and AIDS

The local community building and burgeoning political advocacy of the 1970s led into the greater visibility and concrete political action of the 1980s, particularly for white gay men. In the wider Triangle area, the 1980s saw the beginning of marches to increase visibility and celebrate community. The gay liberation movement made strides and newspaper reporting shifted to somewhat less stigmatizing coverage of gay and lesbian people. At the same time, pushback from conservative political and religious groups impeded progress toward equal treatment. Additionally, the AIDS epidemic began in this period and had a profound impact on LGBTQIA+ communities. A major advance in rights came late in the decade when the City passed an anti-discrimination ordinance. Despite community gains, many individuals continued to keep their sexuality secret due to a lack of legal protections and the fear and hatred exacerbated by the AIDS crisis.

The 1980s began with hopeful signs. At its April 1980 convention, the Democratic party of Wake County passed a resolution calling for “legal protection of homosexuals and lesbians” including civil rights protections and the repeal of laws “used to stigmatize persons on the basis of sexual preference.”¹³⁹ In 1984, Democrats from the 4th Congressional District, which includes part of Raleigh, voted to approve a resolution seeking to overturn the state’s CAN statute.¹⁴⁰

Advocating for gay rights remained politically dicey in this period, however, due to demonstrations staged by conservatives. In 1984, an election year, the state was revising its criminal code. Conflict arose over whether to abolish the CAN statute. Those favoring abolition found the law out of step with the times, while those opposed claimed that the bible condemned sodomy. A group of 20 people, which the *News & Observer* referred to as “religious fundamentalists opposed to repeal,” protested at a meeting of the revision committee. Soon after, legislators admitted that changing or eliminating the statute was not likely due to public pressure.¹⁴¹ Gov. Jim Hunt, in a race against virulently anti-gay Senator Jesse Helms for the U.S. Senate seat in 1984, likewise did not support repeal of the statute. Despite Hunt’s stand, however, Helms attacked Hunt by highlighting the gay community’s support for Hunt’s campaign.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ “Gay protection backed in Wake,” *News & Observer*, April 23, 1980.

¹⁴⁰ “4th District Democrats choose convention delegates,” *News & Observer*, June 3, 1984.

¹⁴¹ “Altering law on sex crime called tough by legislators,” *News & Observer*, September 29, 1984.

¹⁴² “Democratic hopefuls pledge united effort,” *News & Observer*, June 8, 1984; “Hunt aides call charges of ties to gays ‘smear tactics,’” *News & Observer*, June 7, 1984.

The AIDS epidemic likewise hindered the progress of gay liberation. It also had a profound impact on LGBTQIA+ communities in Raleigh. The first cases of AIDS emerged in 1981, appearing only in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York and afflicting otherwise healthy, often young, gay men. The cases quickly made national headlines. It was not immediately understood that the HIV virus caused AIDS. Conservative political commentator Patrick Buchanan immediately made it political and asked in his column if Democrats were still willing to advocate for civil rights for “active homosexuals.”¹⁴³ The first AIDS case in the Triangle may have been that of a New York man who was treated in Chapel Hill. The case prompted researchers at UNC to begin looking into the collection of diseases, then known as gay-related immune-deficiency (GRID).¹⁴⁴ Intravenous drug users were the next group affected, and by early 1982, GRID-related diseases appeared in non-drug-using heterosexual men as well as in women around the country.¹⁴⁵ In a report on June 28, 1983, *The Front Page* announced “AIDS Comes To The Carolinas...” and noted that 3 of the 4 confirmed cases in the Triangle had already died. Two Raleigh AIDS patients, incarcerated people in Raleigh’s central prison, were deceased and the New York-based patient diagnosed in Chapel Hill had also died. The fourth, still living, was in Durham. There were no known cases in the general Raleigh community at that time.¹⁴⁶

White gay men in Raleigh and other cities across the state were well-positioned to support LGBTQIA+ people as the crisis became apparent. They had created advocacy networks in their fight for civil rights throughout the 1970s. Those networks were now useful for providing concrete assistance to AIDS patients and for educating people about preventing the spread of HIV. The state’s first service organization established in the crisis was the Lesbian and Gay Health Project, which was started by two lesbians and two gay men in Durham in November 1982. The group’s work centered on AIDS education and support. In the mid-1980s, local gay bars like Capital Corral and **Glenwood Park**, a new bar in the former Mousetrap location, participated in a fundraiser for the Lesbian and Gay Health Project.¹⁴⁷ The Unitarian Universalist Fellowship established a support group for AIDS patients in 1987, one of the first churches in Raleigh to do so.¹⁴⁸

Raleigh’s Black community suffered even more hardship in this period. This was true across the state as well. For complex and systemic reasons, the Black community did not have a similarly organized networks of LGBTQIA+ people that could act publicly. Additionally, healthcare accessibility was historically problematic for Black North Carolinians even before the crisis. Historian Stephen Inrig quotes lesbian activist Mandy Carter, who worked with the Lesbian and Gay Health Project and noted that the “stigma associated with AIDS in the black community

¹⁴³ Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015), 416-418.

¹⁴⁴ “UNC-CH Researchers Study Baffling Illness,” *The Front Page*, September 28, 1982.

¹⁴⁵ “Gay Health Issues,” *The Front Page*, May 11, 1982.

¹⁴⁶ “AIDS Comes to the Carolinas...,” *The Front Page*, June 28, 1983.

¹⁴⁷ “AIDS Benefits to be held in Triangle,” *The Front Page*, September 27, 1983; “LGHP AIDS Benefit,” *The Front Page*, May 21, 1985

¹⁴⁸ “Unitarian support group,” *The Front Page*, April 21, 1987.

[was] even stronger than among whites.” Additionally, in the white community, there tended to be an inverse association between wealth and acceptance of a person’s sexual orientation, while in the black community, the association was the opposite. Early in the 1980s, Black churches did not take the lead in educating and helping the community regarding issues related to AIDS. In 1987, however, some localized efforts sought to change this, including a conference for Black churches that were helping members with AIDS, held at Shaw University.¹⁴⁹ The conference hosted about 175 attendees from AME Zion, Missionary and Free Will Baptist, United Methodist, and Pentecostal churches. Joseph C. Paige of Shaw’s Divinity School urged Black ministers to preach about “safe sex” in addition to abstinence. “Our total goal is really to lead toward a strategy that would remove AIDS,” he told the *News & Observer*.¹⁵⁰

Efforts by state government to combat rising HIV rates began in the mid-1980s. David Jolly, one of founders of the Lesbian and Gay Health Project, joined the State Health Department as its first full-time AIDS educator in 1986. Jolly was aggressive and effective. He sought funding from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention for community groups. Jolley focused on programs for non-white communities, such as Teens Against AIDS, a Raleigh program coordinated by Strengthening the Black Family.¹⁵¹

Throughout the decade, other groups formed to support those with HIV/AIDS, including Families and Friends of People with AIDS, which met at the former Mary Elizabeth Hospital at 1100 Wake Forest Road on alternate Wednesdays.¹⁵² The 1980s also saw the creation of a number of groups to help young people in crisis, a demographic that often included LGBTQIA+ teens. **Wrenn House** was established at **605 North St.** around 1981 to act as a 24-hour crisis center for runaways in Wake County.¹⁵³ It would move in the 1990s to **908 W. Morgan Street.**

AIDS was far from the only threat to health and safety. Homophobia regularly fueled acts of vandalism, harassment, and violence targeting gay people. Due to CAN laws, societal attitudes, and the lack of laws against discrimination, people had little to gain and much to lose from reporting hate crimes to the police. LGBTQIA+ people could still lose jobs and housing if their same-sex attraction was known. When a homophobic altercation at Durham’s Little River Park in 1981 ended in the murder of Ronald Antonevitch, people began to demonstrate. A mixed-race group of about 70 people held a vigil at the Durham courthouse after arrests were made in the Antonevitch case.¹⁵⁴ Over 150 members of the Carolina Gay Association at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill marched across campus that month protesting ongoing harassment of and violence against lesbian and gay people.¹⁵⁵ Activists organized a larger march in Durham that June, “to demonstrate unity, celebrate the 12th anniversary of the gay

¹⁴⁹ Stephen J. Inrig, *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics & Race in the South* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011), 13-14, 17, 20-21, 39-41, 53.

¹⁵⁰ “Black churches urged to join fight on AIDS,” *News & Observer*, October 4, 1987.

¹⁵¹ Inrig, 59.

¹⁵² Harris, 16.

¹⁵³ “Shelter for runaways schedules dedication,” *News & Observer*, March 30, 1996.

¹⁵⁴ “Courthouse vigil protests sunbather beating, death,” *News & Observer*, April 18, 1981.

¹⁵⁵ “Marchers protest attacks on gays,” *News & Observer*, April 25, 1981.

rights movement and emphasize the importance of personal freedom.”¹⁵⁶ Known at the time as “Our Day Out,” it is now generally considered the state’s first Pride March.¹⁵⁷

Nationally, a number of Christian denominations began to denounce what they often termed “the practice of homosexuality,” stating that it is incompatible with Christian teaching. After adding such language to the United Methodist Church’s *Book of Discipline* in 1984, the denomination restricted gay men and lesbians from being ordained.¹⁵⁸ The language was intentional, meant to exclude behavior, but not people, from churches. Still, the condemnation meant that gay people wanting to remain church members could not be fully authentic in church spaces. In Raleigh’s Catholic community, a Dignity chapter had been meeting at Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church on Anderson Drive since October 1979 “with the encouragement” of the diocesan bishop and the church pastor. By May 1980, there were 6 women and 8 men attending, and the chapter voted to affiliate with the national group.¹⁵⁹ In 1986, however, the Vatican banned Dignity from meeting in churches or church-owned facilities and directed Catholic bishops to oppose efforts across the country to guarantee protection of civil rights to gay and lesbian people. This put gay Catholics involved with Dignity in the position of being better supported by the lay-led ministry than by church leaders.¹⁶⁰ Amid the pushback within several Christian denominations, St. John’s MCC remained active and fully welcoming, continuing to meet at the Community UCC.

Activity at various Raleigh churches that allowed LGBTQIA+ groups to meet in their facilities also had the effect of increasing visibility in wider society. St. John’s and other lesbian- and gay-focused groups began placing short notices in the *News & Observer* to announce meetings and activities, explicitly stating that the group was for gay people. Soon after, the local Dignity chapter also began advertising meetings in the local paper, after being asked to stop placing meeting notices in the statewide Catholic publication.¹⁶¹

Similarly, the historic preservation activities of the newly formed Society of the Preservation of Historic Oakwood raised visibility. The society sponsored historic house tours and parties in the historic district, and the names of the hosting homeowners often appeared in the newspaper. Same-sex couples living in Oakwood—particularly Chris Yetter and Steve Zamparelli and Ames Christopher and Bill Caligari—were frequently mentioned as welcoming tours and parties in their homes. In 1984, the **Oakwood Inn at 411 N. Bloodworth St.** opened as a bed-and-breakfast inn. It was the first in the county and was part-owned by Yetter and Zamparelli.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ “Durham march for gay rights to be today,” *News & Observer*, June 27, 1981.

¹⁵⁷ “Key Triangle LGBTQ leaders on the meaning of ‘pride,’” *News & Observer*, June 28, 2022.

¹⁵⁸ Hartman, 2, 155.

¹⁵⁹ Harris, 12-13; “Raleigh Dignity chapter affiliates,” *The Front Page*, May 8, 1980.

¹⁶⁰ “History,” DignityUSA website, <https://www.dignityusa.org/history>.

¹⁶¹ “Around the city: Group Meetings,” *News & Observer*, January 24, 1981; “Church news,” *News & Observer*, October 24, 1981.

¹⁶² “Oakwood turns out to launch new bed-and-breakfast inn,” *News and Observer*, June 7, 1984; “Preview Tour,” *News and Observer*, December 18, 1984; “Grand Finale,” *News and Observer*, November 22, 1983; “Time to relax,” *News and Observer*, December 14, 1982.

In early 1988, LGBTQIA+ communities scored a major victory in their advocacy for human rights and equality. In the mid-1980s, the Human Resources and Human Relations Advisory Committee, an appointed citizen's group that advised City Council, began encouraging the council to take action on behalf of the civil rights of lesbians and gay men.¹⁶³ The committee was aware of discrimination in Raleigh, including an incident in which the Parks Department rescinded a permit for Gay Club to hold its annual picnic in **Pullen Park**—and was later instructed by Council members to reinstate it.¹⁶⁴ The committee was also aware of the level of harassment and violence directed toward the community. Council eventually asked City staff to look into the issue of violence against lesbians and gay men in Raleigh. Three days later, the Raleigh police chief submitted a couple of paragraphs reporting that such crime did not exist in Raleigh except in “several isolated instances where male subjects dressed as females were assaulted.”¹⁶⁵ The advisory committee, however, had solicited information from those affected. A notice in *The Front Page* in June 1987 asked “any lesbian or gay man who has information regarding threats, force, harassment, intimidation, coercion, or any other interference with the rights of citizens...or any professional who is familiar with any such case” to submit it to the committee. Victims who could not trust the police put their trust in the citizens group, and soon, it had much evidence to the contrary.¹⁶⁶

Next, the committee scheduled a hearing in **Council Chambers** at the **Raleigh Municipal Building at 222 W. Hargett St.** in August 1987 to take public testimony on the matter.¹⁶⁷ Over 75 people attended the hearing, including 20 Raleigh residents from the LGBTQIA+ communities. Several members of Raleigh's clergy attended as allies. Both in person and on videotape, people spoke of violent attacks they had sustained, including stabbing, beating, and harassment. Some attacks were severe enough to require medical care, including surgery, and others were nearly fatal. Some with testimony did not feel safe revealing their identity. Activist Willie Pilkington arranged for their videorecorded testimony to be played at the hearing. Others, like Louis Sawyer, John Voorhees, and Jim Baxter, spoke in person. Clergy members spoke as well, and Rev. James Lewis of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina called the human rights violations “widespread.” He added “I'm concerned that this type of violence could escalate because of the hysteria surrounding AIDS.”¹⁶⁸ In addition to the violence, the committee found instances of harassment and discrimination. The committee also prepared and submitted a report to City Council. The committee's report to City Council stated that it was “convinced that our city remains a hostile environment for our gay and lesbian citizens.”

The committee recommended that the Council revise the City's 1969 antidiscrimination ordinance to include sexual orientation. According to Pilkington's recollection, the proposed

¹⁶³ “Council's support of bill sought,” *News & Observer*, May 16, 1987; “Raleigh City Council Studies Violence,” *The Front Page*, June 9, 1987.

¹⁶⁴ Pilkington interview.

¹⁶⁵ “Testimony in anti-gay violence heard,” *The Front Page*, September 8, 1987.

¹⁶⁶ “Committee solicits testimony on anti-gay ‘interference,’” *The Front Page*, June 9, 1987.

¹⁶⁷ “Notice,” *News & Observer*, July 31, 1987.

¹⁶⁸ “Committee hears of violence, harassment of homosexuals,” *News & Observer*, August 13, 1987; Pilkington interview; “Raleigh City Council Studies Violence,” *The Front Page*, June 9, 1987.

revision languished without council action. A city council election was coming up in the fall, however. Gay Raleighites, particularly many residents of the **Oakwood** neighborhood, worked to replace their council representative, Edward A. Walters. Walters was known to oppose the change to the ordinance. Oakwood resident Pilkington and others began working on the campaign of Mary Watson Nooe (1946-2014), a member of the Human Resources and Human Relations Advisory Committee, to unseat Walters.¹⁶⁹ When Walters lost to Mary W. Nooe, the *News & Observer* noted that “The election left Raleigh with its most strongly neighborhood-oriented council in more than a decade.”¹⁷⁰ In contrast, *The Front Page* reported that “strong support from gay men and lesbians helped pro-gay city council candidate Mary Watson Nooe finish ahead of anti-gay Ed Walters, a six-term incumbent.”¹⁷¹ The article went on to quote Nooe on the support that she enjoyed: “The gay involvement was dynamite, and a wonderful opportunity for me to enlarge my personal circle of acquaintances. I had a large number of gay volunteers who spent an unbelievable number of hours working for me.” Nooe predicted that the new council would quickly take up and approve revision of the nondiscrimination policy to include gay and lesbian people.¹⁷²

In January 1988, the ordinance revision finally came up for a vote. Mayor Avery C. Upchurch voted against it, but the rest of the council voted to approve. One council member disagreed with the notion that the city was “hostile” to gays but voted “yes” nonetheless.¹⁷³ Mary Nooe ultimately served on City Council for 8 years and ran, unsuccessfully, against Tom Fetzer for mayor. Reporting on Nooe’s death in 2014, the *News & Observer* credits her with “orchestrat[ing]” the revision to the anti-discrimination ordinance.¹⁷⁴

After the hearing, a group of local clergy began meeting to discuss how Raleigh’s churches could support lesbians and gay men.¹⁷⁵ Rev. Jim Lewis, an Episcopal priest, knew that there were clergy who quietly supported the civil rights sought by the gay and lesbian communities.¹⁷⁶ Eventually, they organized into the Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE). The group put together a 1988 conference, “Gay and Lesbian Equality: A Religious Response,” at **Pullen Memorial Baptist Church** at **1801 Hillsborough St.** Rev. Jimmy Creech, new to Raleigh and the **Fairmont United Methodist Church** at **2501 Clark Ave.** in West Raleigh, became the convener of the group, which strove to exist without a hierarchy.¹⁷⁷ The “Religion Today” section of the *Carolinian* ran a piece announcing the conference, printing that it was intended to “create a climate of support of basic human and civil rights for gay and lesbian people” in light of discrimination and violence.¹⁷⁸ In this same

¹⁶⁹ “Raleigh victory,” *The Front Page*, October 20, 1987; Pilkington interview.

¹⁷⁰ “Myrick stressed road construction in drive for mayor’s seat,” *News & Observer*, November 5, 1987.

¹⁷¹ “Raleigh victory,” *The Front Page*, October 20, 1987.

¹⁷² “Nooe Wins Run-off,” *The Front Page*, November 17, 1987.

¹⁷³ “City passes law protecting gays,” *News & Observer*, January 6, 1988; Hartman 4; (“City passes law protecting gays.” *News & Observer*, January 6, 1988.

¹⁷⁴ “Raleigh official, activist dies,” *News & Observer*, December 21, 2014.

¹⁷⁵ “Gay rights stand splits church,” *News & Observer*, January 21, 1990.

¹⁷⁶ Pilkington interview; Hartman, 3-4.

¹⁷⁷ Hartman, 4-6; “Gays and equality,” *News & Observer*, March 3, 1988.

¹⁷⁸ “Conference Set to Examine Gay, Lesbian Rights,” *Carolinian*, March 7, 1988.

period, however, that paper still published substantial pieces describing homosexuality as contrary to biblical principles.¹⁷⁹

Additionally, prosecution under the CAN statute still resulted in a felony charge. The Raleigh police worked undercover, often along W. Hargett St. outside Capital Corral and in and around Nash Square. They arrested people for “soliciting to commit crime against nature,” a misdemeanor charge. In 1981, *The Front Page* reported that “the number of arrests in the area of Hargett and S. Harrington Streets in Raleigh this month indicates that the police have decided once again to crack down on ‘cruising’ in the area.”¹⁸⁰ Despite Raleigh’s anti-discrimination ordinance that benefited lesbian and gay people in 1988, the CAN statute and its weaponization against gay people still posed a substantial threat.

In the summer of 1988, Raleigh hosted the statewide Pride March for the first time. The North Carolina Human Rights Fund took out an advertisement in the *News & Observer* that described the parade as “the opportunity for gay men and lesbians to come forward and show that we are no different than anyone else” and invited readers to “Join us in our demands for equality.”¹⁸¹ RRNGLE sent a letter to clergy across the city asking them to support marchers. As the group’s convener, Rev. Jimmy Creech signed the letter, an action that ultimately resulted in conflict at Fairmont that would end with Creech’s removal.¹⁸² The parade drew 2,000 marchers walking from the Bell Tower on Hillsborough St. at North Carolina State University east to the State Capitol.¹⁸³ Raleigh would host the Pride March again in 1989 as well as in 1993 and as a co-host with Durham in 2001 and 2010.¹⁸⁴

After the march, the *News & Observer* ran a feature interviewing a number of Triangle-area gay and lesbian people about their current quality of life. Joseph A. Herzenberg, an openly gay member of the Chapel Hill Town Council, opined that

The remarkable thing to me is that for the past seven or eight years we have had two formidable enemies abroad in the land—the AIDS epidemic and the general political climate, having the most conservative administration both in Washington and in Raleigh that we’ve had in my lifetime. Despite that, by any way you measure it, gay people have made more progress in these last eight years than at any other time in our history. There are more people out and they’re doing more things. There are literally hundreds of gay organizations in North Carolina. I think that is

¹⁷⁹ “God’s View of Homosexuality,” *Carolinian*, August 3, 1991.

¹⁸⁰ “Raleigh Police Charge Seven With ‘Crime Against Nature,’” *The Front Page*, April 1, 1981.

¹⁸¹ “Pride ‘88” advertisement, *News & Observer*, June 24, 1988.

¹⁸² Hartman, 7-8, 29.

¹⁸³ “Homosexuals, supporters march in pride celebration,” *News & Observer*, June 26, 1988; “Gays say life’s good, but not perfect,” *News & Observer*, September 15, 1988.

¹⁸⁴ Cline, 12.

a truly remarkable statement about where we are despite these two hostile forces.¹⁸⁵

Still, in 1989, there were more reported hate crimes against LGBTQIA+ people in North Carolina than any other U.S. state.¹⁸⁶

Safe spaces, of all kinds, remained important. At some point in the late 1970s or the early 1980s, the Mousetrap closed and a new bar opened in the space, **Glenwood Park**. Rev. Wanda Floyd, a former pastor of St. John's MCC, recalls that women predominantly hung out at Glenwood Park. If men showed up there, they tended to be with a lesbian friend. Floyd didn't comment on the racial mix in Glenwood Park particularly, but she did note that Black lesbian and gay people in Raleigh generally gathered in each other's homes rather than in bars or clubs. "House parties, I mean definitely within the African American gay and lesbian community we would go to people's houses and have parties as opposed to going out sometimes to the bars." Floyd mentioned that, with rare exceptions, she found a lot of the bars still predominantly white in the 1990s and that she did not necessarily feel comfortable there. "You know, you get looked at, no one really talked to you, and so we had to find our own private spaces to go and if we found each other it was by the luck of the draw, really....And eventually somehow or another you find somebody who knew somebody who knew somebody who knew somebody and got invited to a house party somewhere."¹⁸⁷ A 1981 letter to the editor of *The Front Page* accused Capital Corral of discrimination against both black gay men as well as against lesbians generally. "Of course, any night of the week you may see several of each in the crowd, enough to give the impression of tolerance." The letter continued more generally that "many gay bars in the state discriminate against transvestites (except on Halloween.)"¹⁸⁸

Gay Club expanded its potlucks to community Pride picnics at local parks in the 1980s. The Dorothea Dix Activity Center on Midpines Road, the picnic area at **Umstead State Park** at **8801 Glenwood Ave.**, and **Pullen Park** at **520 Ashe Ave.** were all locations for the picnics.¹⁸⁹ Groups planning the 1985 Pride picnic at Umstead State Park, the 5th annual event, welcomed "all lesbian and gay individuals, organizations, and businesses" to the park to celebrate Pride Week in an advertisement in *The Front Page*.¹⁹⁰

The Front Page, throughout the decade, provided crucial information to the LGBTQIA+ communities, helping people connect and find community but also by covering politics, health, finances, and even gay rights history. The publication also provided an excellent outlet for advertising directly to gay and lesbian people and for disseminating news relevant to the LGBTQIA+ communities without worrying about the gaze of the wider Raleigh population. Bars, gay-friendly travel locations, adult bookstores, social groups, and Pride event organizers

¹⁸⁵ "Gays say life's good, but not perfect," *News & Observer*, September 15, 1988.

¹⁸⁶ "7,000 Hate Crimes on Gays Reported in '89," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1990.

¹⁸⁷ Wanda Floyd, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 29, 2023.

¹⁸⁸ "Racial Discrimination in N.C. gay bars," *The Front Page*, April 1, 1981.

¹⁸⁹ Pilkington interview.

¹⁹⁰ "An Open Invitation..." *The Front page*, June 18, 1985.

commonly advertised in the paper. The local chapter of Black and White Men Together, a national organization, announced its chapter’s revival in 1989 in the paper. The group was “committed to fostering an environment supportive of those for whom an interracial relationship is appealing....[and] to encourage an atmosphere wherein cultural and racial barriers can be overcome to the betterment of the gay community and society as a whole.”¹⁹¹ An adult bookstore, **Bachelors Books & Movies** at **3411 S. Wilmington St.** took out a large advertisement in 1982 to announce its opening.¹⁹² The **Camera’s Eye** at **1433 S. Wilmington St.** and **Chateau II** at **1210 Downtown Boulevard** (now Capitol Boulevard) were also popular adult bookstores in the gay community in the 1980s.

Roster Properties mentioned in The 1980s: Politics and Pushback, Advocacy and AIDS

Appendix B contains the complete LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Glenwood Park	1622 Glenwood Ave.	Bar	1980s
Wrenn House	605 North St.	Shelter	1980s-1990s
Oakwood Inn	411 N. Bloodworth St.	B&B	1980s
Pullen Park	520 Ashe Ave.	Park	1980s
City Council Chambers, Raleigh Municipal Building	222 W. Hargett St.	City Hall	1988
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church	1801 Hillsborough St.	Church	1980s, 1990s
Fairmont United Methodist Church	2501 Clark Ave.	Church	1980s
William B. Umstead State Park	8801 Glenwood Ave.	Recreation	1980s
Bachelors Books & Movies	3411 S. Wilmington St.	Adult Bookstore	1980s
Camera’s Eye	1433 S. Wilmington St.	Adult Bookstore	1980s
Chateaux II	1210 Downtown Blvd. (now Capital Blvd.)	Adult Bookstore	1980s

The 1990s: Advocacy Work Continues

In the fall of 1990, the *News & Observer* reported that the AIDS rate in the Raleigh-Durham area had doubled in the past year. Since the start of the epidemic, over 1500 people in the state had contracted AIDS and over half had died. The N.C. AIDS Service Coalition, established in the 1980s, lobbied for legislation to improve case management for AIDS patients, to fight discrimination, and for anonymous testing.¹⁹³ With the rise in AIDS cases, and deaths, in North Carolina, there was also an increase in the number of caregiving, fundraising, and policy making organizations to help deal with the epidemic.

¹⁹¹ “Black & White Men Together Revive,” *The Front Page*, April 4, 1989.

¹⁹² “We’re Here Raleigh,” *The Front Page*, May 11, 1982.

¹⁹³ “AIDS: 24 hours on the front line,” *News & Observer*, September 16, 1990.

Hustead House, a group home for people with HIV/AIDS, opened in 1990 at **3104 Orton Place**, among the Ranch houses of the Meredith Woods neighborhood—and amid objections from some neighbors. Some neighborhood residents filed suit to stop the project but ultimately lost all legal challenges to the group home’s licensure.¹⁹⁴ The Wake County AIDS Service Agency operated the house, which was named for activist and AIDS educator Scott Hustead (1958-1988). It was the first “family care home” in the state, a licensure that enabled residents to get financial assistance. Residents must be too ill to work or live on their own to qualify for a space in the house, which could accommodate five people.¹⁹⁵ Other neighbors were very supportive, volunteering their time to mow the lawn and help out with the household.¹⁹⁶

Fundraising events to support AIDS service agencies continued and grew in scope. The Crape Myrtle Festival originated in this period, after several years of summer parties that evolved into fundraisers. Organizers established a nonprofit in 1993. Bill Donovan recalls that “the mantra for the Crape Myrtle Festival is the crape myrtle is a flower that blooms in the most oppressive of climates, the heat of the southern summer. It really is a reflection of how hard we’ve had to work when nobody else wanted to do it...to help people that were sick, and there were no medicines, and people were angry and didn’t like people that were gay, didn’t want to help them.” The organization sponsors a festival every year in the Triangle, at various locations, hosting parties and educational sessions.¹⁹⁷

Volunteerism increased. In 1992, Rev. Virginia Going of Triangle Episcopal Church in Raleigh led Triangle AIDS Interfaith Network, which paired AIDS patients with teams of volunteers from area churches. Volunteers helped the patients—who may have been cut off by their families—with errands, cooking and by providing companionship. Training focused on non-judgmental interactions with clients, and the group “grounded [its work] in the belief that AIDS is not punishment for sin and that the birthright of all persons includes dignity and fullness of life.” In its first year, the program had enough volunteers from 10 Triangle-area churches to form a dozen teams. By 1997, 700 volunteers from 60 congregations had cared for people with AIDS.¹⁹⁸

Several helping organizations, including RRNGLE, PFLAG, the **Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County** at **608 W. Johnson St.**, and A Safer Place Youth Network (ASPYN, a support group for LGBTQIA+ teens), banded together and formed the Triangle Community Works! coalition in 1995. The Community UCC at Dixie Trail, continuing its allyship, hosted the coalition, providing

¹⁹⁴ “1 year later, neighbors both kind, cold to AIDS house,” *News & Observer*, August 18, 1991; “Suit against AIDS project dismissed,” *News & Observer*, July 10, 1990.

¹⁹⁵ “AIDS patient group home clears hurdle,” *News & Observer*, August 5, 1990; “Activist Hustead held laughter, bravery dear,” *News & Observer*, March 18, 1990.

¹⁹⁶ “1 year later, neighbors both kind, cold to AIDS house,” *News & Observer*, August 18, 1991.

¹⁹⁷ “About Crape Myrtle Festival,” Crape Myrtle Festival website, www.crapemyrtlefest.org.

¹⁹⁸ “Congregations respond to people with AIDS,” *News & Observer*, October 8, 1992; “AIDS: The issue is health,” *News & Observer*, April 23, 1997.

space for offices and a resource center.¹⁹⁹ ASPYN ran a telephone helpline and held meet-ups for teens in coffee shops. Call logs show that teens in the 1990s were grateful for someone to talk with, before Gay-Straight Alliance clubs were established in local schools and prior to the widespread accessibility of information via the internet. However, records show that ASPYN struggled to reach a broad cross-section of Raleigh teens due to limitations of meeting places and some teens' lack of access to transportation.²⁰⁰ In the 1990s, **Wrenn House** relocated to **908 W. Morgan St.**, the former location of the Raleigh Artists' Community. Run by Haven House of the United Way, Wrenn House provided temporary shelter and support to the roughly one thousand Wake County teens that ran away each year in that period. It was not uncommon for LGBTQIA+ teens to be represented in the runaway cohort.²⁰¹ In the later 1990s, the United Way worked in conjunction with the Safe Place program, which designated certain public spaces, like grocery stores, pizza restaurants, and fire stations, as "Safe Places" with identifiable signage. Youth seeking help in any of these places would be connected with counselors at Wrenn House, where program goals were to provide a safe and legal place for kids in crisis and to reunite young people with their families.²⁰² Wrenn House remains in operation at that address at this time.²⁰³ Meanwhile, the Triangle Community Works! coalition's goal of establishing a community center was achieved with the opening of the LGBT Center of Raleigh 2010.²⁰⁴

Throughout the 1980s, panic over AIDS had likely slowed the pace of gay visibility in the wider community. A 1992 *News & Observer* article described a gulf between gay people who were "out" and those who were not. Mab Segrest, head of the N.C. Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, told the paper that "There are about 200 people active and keeping things going in Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. And then there are about 1,000 that'll come to marches and things. And there are different grades of out. Some are out at work, some only at church, some only to friends."²⁰⁵ In 1990, the 15th annual Southeastern Conference for Lesbians and Gay Men was held in Raleigh, at the **Radisson Plaza Hotel** (now a Sheraton Hotel) at **421 S. Salisbury St.**²⁰⁶ Brandie Cline recorded in her short history of LGBT Raleigh that Raleigh resident Roy Dicks, who attended the conference, felt a sense of victory when he "walked in the front door" to a very public conference.²⁰⁷ However, when local architect Les Geller first arrived in Raleigh in 1994, he found the gay community was still "very underground."²⁰⁸

Bigotry was not uncommon, but gay men and lesbians found more support from allies in this period. In the spring of 1994 at **Enloe Magnet High School** at **128 Clarendon Crescent, 2**

¹⁹⁹ "Bulletin Board," *News & Observer*, October 14, 1995; Triangle Community Works records, 1974-2008, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

²⁰⁰ "ASPYN: LGBT Adolescence and the Creation of Safe Spaces," OutHistory website, www.outhistory.org.

²⁰¹ "Shelter for runaways schedules dedication," *News & Observer*, March 30, 1996.

²⁰² "Safe Place programs offer area youth confidential help," *News & Observer*, December 16, 1999.

²⁰³ "Teens can talk about dating," *News & Observer*, February 2, 2009.

²⁰⁴ "Our Story," LGBT Center of Raleigh website, <https://www.lgbtcenterofraleigh.com/our-story>.

²⁰⁵ "Active, closet gays worlds apart," *News & Observer*, March 8, 1992.

²⁰⁶ "Timeline of Queer Raleigh," Appendix Two: Selected Timeline, in the research files of the City of Raleigh Museum.

²⁰⁷ Cline, 14.

²⁰⁸ "Key Triangle LGBTQ leaders on the meaning of 'pride,'" *News & Observer*, June 29, 2022.

students hung anti-gay posters around the building. In response, 6 students posted a parody leaflet and distributed it at school. All students were suspended and the story hit the local press. “We did not really think we were doing anything particularly groundbreaking...[but people] were shocked that we had stood up to it, and not just let it slide like it normally happens,” explained student Ian Palmquist. Palmquist had come out to a friend the day before the bigoted posters went up. Among the “Enloe Six,” as the responding students came to be called, only 1 was openly gay at the time. Palmquist counted himself as not yet out at school, and the other 4 were straight. The Enloe Six appealed their suspension, and it was eventually reversed. Palmquist would go on to continue working as an advocate for gay rights in North Carolina both in college and as a profession.²⁰⁹

More businesses catering predominantly to LGBTQIA+ people opened and were becoming increasingly visible in Raleigh in the 1990s. The gay bookstore **White Rabbit Books and Things** opened at **309 W. Martin St.** in the Depot Historic District, and operated from 1991-2010, relocating to **300 W. Hargett St.** for a brief period before closing. Jim Baxter of *The Front Page* had noticed that the **Paper Plant**, a used bookstore popular with artists, was vacating its space and knew that John Neal, owner of a Greensboro gay bookstore, was toying with starting another location. Neal agreed to open in the spot, offering Baxter both the building’s back room for *The Front Page* operations and a job managing the bookstore at the front.²¹⁰ By the late 1990s, the White Rabbit was a fixture. A 1997 feature in the *News & Observer* found that the bookstore played a “central role” in the “snapshot of a city slowly coming out of the closet.” The warehouse district surrounding the store, including 3 gay clubs nearby and the newspaper published out of the back room, was the “the closest thing Raleigh has to a pink quarter.”²¹¹

The 3 clubs included the long-running Capital Corral at 313 W. Hargett St., joined in 1991 by **Legends Nightclub** at **330 W. Hargett St.**, and **FLEX** at **2 S. West St.** (demolished) in 1995. Legends held weekly drag shows, and in 1996, the club was cited for violating city zoning on the basis that the shows classified the club as an adult establishment. Legends sued the City. Nine of the club’s drag performers took out an advertisement in *The Front Page* to encourage attendance at shows and to raise money for the lawsuit. The judge found that the City improperly classified the entertainment, and Legends won the suit.²¹² FLEX, meanwhile, had opened in the basement space previously occupied by the music venue and dance club the **Fallout Shelter**, which had been gay-friendly, hosting a mixed crowd that included gay and straight college types, goths, and alternative music fans since the mid-1980s.²¹³ A public comment on one of the City’s surveys that accompanied this project noted that FLEX “was a

²⁰⁹ “Free-speech incident has Raleigh students suspended,” *The News & Observer*, March 4, 1994; Interview with Ian Thomas Palmquist by Chris McGinnis, 2001, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

²¹⁰ “White Rabbit Books—a personal reminiscence,” *IndyWeek*, December 22, 2010.

²¹¹ “Run, Rabbit, run,” *News & Observer*, April 8, 1997.

²¹² “‘Drag’ shows OK in Raleigh, judge says,” *News & Observer*, November 8, 1996; “Stonewall revisited?,” *The Front Page*, May 24, 1996.

²¹³ “Last dance for The Fallout Shelter,” *News & Observer*, December 21, 1994.

spot for the full spectrum, including drag queens, go-go boys, and leather daddies.”²¹⁴ The 2 new bars, like CC, became community fixtures with their longevity and sponsorship of fundraisers and community events.²¹⁵ Beyond downtown, the hip-hop club Fevers shut down in favor of a new gay club called **Two Snaps Up**, housed at **3210 Yonkers Road** in the same warehouse space briefly in the mid-1980s occupied by the gay dance club **Sensations**.²¹⁶

Another social outlet for the community centered around sports and recreation. Pilkington recalls that Gay Club of Raleigh had long sponsored volleyball games at the sand courts at **Jaycee Park** at **2405 Wade Ave.** and “PicNics” at Pullen and Umstead Parks. A softball team practiced in Raleigh but had to travel to Norfolk to play another team with gay players.²¹⁷ The Kings and Queens bowling league began playing every Thursday night at **Capital Lanes** (demolished) at **1827 Capital Boulevard** in 1990. By 1997, the league was twice as large at “120 or so gay men—plus a few women,” according to a *News & Observer* feature in that year.²¹⁸

St. John’s MCC also made itself more visible in this period, purchasing a mid-20th-century concrete-block church building and the ca. 1911 house next door, **805** (demolished) and **807 Glenwood Ave.**, in the **Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District** in 1994.²¹⁹ The modest, front-gabled church building had previously been home to the First Church of the Assemblies of God. The neighborhood had developed in the early 20th-century and remained quite stable through mid-century. In the third quarter of the century, however, as residents moved out to new suburban developments, the area experienced a downturn. By the time St. John’s purchased the property, however, some residential re-development of the former Methodist Home property to the north had made the Glenwood-Brooklyn neighborhood more desirable. Less than a decade after St. John’s moved in, the area was listed in the National Register of Historic Places.²²⁰ **St. John’s MCC** eventually moved to **622 Maywood Ave.** and in 2022 to its current location at **4 N. Blount St.**

The MCC had a new home and increased community visibility, but it did not have full acceptance from other Christian denominations. At the same time that St. John’s prepared to move to Glenwood-Brooklyn, the 7 Metropolitan Community Church denominations applied for membership in the North Carolina Council of Churches. Through the council, various denominations could work together on behalf of “charitable and social justice causes.” MCC was voted in, but not without some opposition and debate. Upon MCC’s acceptance, the state Methodist Conference, the largest denomination in the council, pledged to withhold all support for the council until the MCC denominations were expelled. Rev. Jimmy Creech spoke out

²¹⁴ “FLEX,” Roster notes.

²¹⁵ “LGBT nightlife in the Triangle,” *News & Observer*, February 4, 2022.

²¹⁶ “Rapping up a big reputation,” *News & Observer*, June 22, 1990.

²¹⁷ Pilkington interview.

²¹⁸ “Thursday nights, the Kings and Queens bowl in a league of their own,” *News & Observer*, May 20, 1997.

²¹⁹ The Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 2002.

²²⁰ J. Daniel Pezzoni, “Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002, <https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA4189.pdf>.

against this, and the Methodists tactic was unsuccessful. Council members voted to allow the MCC to remain.²²¹

Meanwhile, other mainstream Christian churches in the Triangle continued the work initiated by RRNGLE in the 1980s. In 1990, after hosting conferences for the wider community in the 1980s, **Pullen Memorial Baptist Church at 1801 Hillsborough St.** began a year-long education program for its own congregation. The work was at the urging of member Pat Long, a lesbian who kept her sexuality and her same-sex partner separate from her church, even upon the death of her partner.²²² The following year, Rev. Mahan Siler requested that Pullen's Board of Deacons work with him to decide whether to officiate at the blessing of a gay couple's union within the church. Deacons were divided and agreed to put it to a vote of the whole congregation.²²³ The congregation decided by a margin of "nearly 2-1" to allow the union, and the ceremony took place in March 1992. The Raleigh Baptist Association and the Southern Baptist Convention removed Pullen from membership for doing so.²²⁴

According to *The Front Page*, Rev. Jimmy Creech had performed same-sex unions in the 1980s when he was pastor of Fairmont United Methodist Church at 2501 Clark Ave.²²⁵ Those ceremonies apparently remained under-the-radar, but by the 1990s, Rev. Creech's officiating at civil unions for lesbians and gays drew national attention. In 1998, Creech was dismissed from his duties at the First United Methodist Church in Omaha, Nebraska, after performing a union there that ran counter to church guidelines. He returned to Raleigh on a leave of absence, where he performed 2 more unions. In the interim, church law had changed on the issue, and Creech was defrocked for performing the later unions. He spoke reproachfully against the trial and its verdict, stating "I believe the law that prohibits pastors from celebrating holy unions with gay and lesbian couples is an unjust and immoral law."²²⁶

Towards the middle of the 1990s, state and federal political actions included disappointing outcomes for LGBTQIA+ communities. In 1993, after promising on the campaign trail to repeal the Department of Defense ban on lesbians and gay men serving in the military, President Bill Clinton codified polite society's long-standing attitude toward gay people with his Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy. Clinton termed it an "honorable compromise" with military leadership, touting that it would bring an end to the witch hunts that had long targeted lesbian and gay soldiers. However, the policy stigmatized soldiers who desired or engaged in same-sex acts or relationships, and enforcement was strict, creating a toxic fear for those who served.²²⁷ The policy remained in effect until a law repealing it was passed and signed in 2010 by President

²²¹ Hartman, 113; "Gay church group gaining acceptance," *News & Observer*, June 12, 1993.

²²² Hartman 30-31.

²²³ Hartman 31-35.

²²⁴ "Gay union gets Pullen's blessing," *News & Observer*, March 2, 1992; Hartman, 39-49.

²²⁵ "Rev. Creech faces trial," *The Front Page*, January 30, 1998.

²²⁶ *News & Observer* November 17, 1999; "Minister faces second trial for officiating at gay unions" *News & Observer* November 17, 1999; "2nd Same-Sex Ceremony is Performed by Minister," *New York Times*, April 28, 1999; "Pastor defrocked for holding gay marriage," *New York Times*, November 18, 1999.

²²⁷ Faderman, 495-507.

Barack Obama. Also in 1993, some North Carolina lawmakers made an effort to decriminalize consensual anal and oral sex. The bill did not make it out of the House Judiciary Committee.²²⁸ In a 1994 revision to criminal penalties, a CAN conviction remained a felony but was reduced to the lowest class of felonies. Some changes were made to sentencing guidelines as well.²²⁹

The political fight for rights continued in Raleigh and throughout the state. Galvanized by Harvey Gantt’s (ultimately unsuccessful) challenge for the U.S. Senate seat of longtime anti-gay Raleigh politician Jesse Helms, political organizers established NC Pride PAC in 1990. In 1993, Mary Watson Nooe proposed that the City request state enabling legislation to expand its non-discrimination ordinance. Nooe wanted the ordinance to apply to all employers. NC Pride PAC representatives attended the council meeting, as did a small group of protestors.²³⁰ NC Pride PAC had also organized a substantial postcard campaign to show council members the level of community support for such a change to the ordinance. Still, the motion failed. However, financial support the PAC contributed to several successful General Assembly candidates showed growing political clout, according to a *News & Observer* story.²³¹ Towards the end of the decade, NC Pride PAC and the North Carolina Human Rights Fund merged to form **Equality NC**, located at **126 E. Hargett St.**²³² The advocacy group would have much to do in the first quarter of the twenty-first century, as state and federal laws—as well as Supreme Court decisions—addressing marriage equality, military service, gender identity, and non-discrimination continued to advance, and sometimes contract, the rights of LGBTQIA+ people.

Roster Properties mentioned in The 1990s: Advocacy Continues

Appendix B contains the complete LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Hustead House	3104 Orton Pl	AIDS Hospice Home	1990s
Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County	608 Johnson St.	Helpline	1990s
Wrenn House	908 W. Morgan St.	Shelter	1980s-present
Radisson Plaza Hotel	421 S. Salisbury St.	Hotel & Conference Ctr.	1990
Enloe Magnet High School	128 Clarendon St.	School/Advocacy	1994
White Rabbit Books & Things (former Paper Plant location)	309 W. Martin St.	Bookstore	1991-2010
White Rabbit Books & Things	300 W. Hargett St.	Bookstore	2010s
Legends Nightclub	330 W. Hargett St.	Nightclub	1991-present
Flex Nightclub (former Fallout Shelter location)	2 S. West St. (demolished)	Nightclub	1990s-2020s
Two Snaps Up	3210 Yonkers Rd.	Nightclub	1990s

²²⁸ “Foes of sodomy bill to try to kill measure,” *News & Observer*, April 22, 1993.

²²⁹ Marc Stein, “North Carolina’s Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination,” History News Network website, www.historynewsnetwork.org.

²³⁰ “Proposal to protect gay rights silenced,” *News & Observer*, January 6, 1993.

²³¹ “Gays show political power,” *News & Observer*, March 18, 1993.

²³² “Equality NC, the country’s oldest statewide LGBTQ Rights organization, turns 40,” www.IndyWeek.com, 9/24/2019.

(former Sensations Location)			
Jaycee Park	2405 Wade Ave.	Park	1990s
AMF Capital Lanes	1827 Capital Blvd. (demolished)	Bowling alley	1990s
St. John’s Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) (first standalone loc.)	805 & 807 Glenwood Ave.	Church and House	1990s
Equality North Carolina	126 E. Hargett St.	Advocacy Offices	1990s-present

Conclusion

This historic context provides a framework for evaluating properties that reflect the history of LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh during the 20th century. As such, it is not a complete or definitive history of the period. As noted above, there is a scarcity of documentation relating to the topic in general and the lives of people who are non-white, non-binary, transgender, bisexual, and intersex in particular. However, as properties are nominated for historic status and recognized and interpreted in other ways, the story of LGBTQIA+ life in Raleigh will continue to be revealed and celebrated.

Registration Requirements for Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ Properties

[Registration requirements will be developed at the close of the draft report public comment period and will be inserted here.]

LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations

Appendix A contains the full 20 LGBTQIA+ site evaluations for reference. [Two sample site evaluations are included in Appendix A below for reference. The remaining 18 site evaluations will be prepared and included in the LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study final report.]

As a part of the Phase 2 project scope, 20 sites listed in the LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places were selected for additional evaluation. The evaluation provides more in-depth research and analysis of the properties and their significance within Raleigh’s larger LGBTQIA+ historic context. Each evaluation includes a current photo, map, physical description, summary of LGBTQIA+ historic significance, brief general history, and an evaluation of the property’s remaining historical integrity for potential recognition.

PLACE NAME	HISTORIC ADDRESS
Androgyny Center, The	220 N Boylan Ave
Cameron Court Apartments / "Queens Court"	804 W Hargett St
Capital Corral (CC) & Glitter Gulch (+ The Queen Bee, Capital Leathermen, & 313)	313 W Hargett St
Community United Church of Christ (+ St. John's MCC & Triangle Sports Alliance)	814 Dixie Trl
Flex (+ Fallout Shelter)	2 S West St
Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County	608 W Johnson St
Hustead House	3104 Orton Pl
J.C. Raulston Home	318 E Davie St
Legends	330 W Hargett St
LGBTQ Pride Center (formerly the NC State GLBT Center)	2610 Cates Ave
Mousetrap, The (+ Glenwood, Glenwood Park, & 1622)	1622 Glenwood Ave
Nash Square Park	200 S McDowell St
Power Company	3141 North Blvd
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church	1801 Hillsborough St
Rialto Theater	1620 Glenwood Ave
Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel (Kitty Hawk Tavern / Admiral's Galley)	400 Fayetteville St
Triangle Gay Alliance	412 Kinsey St
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh (+ Raleigh Gay Club, PFLAG)	3313 Wade Ave
Unitarian Universalist Women's Coffeehouse	119 Hawthorne Rd
White Rabbit Books & Things / The Front Page Newspaper (2) (+ Pink Triangle Tours)	309 W Martin St

Established & Proposed Alternative Designation Programs

Established Programs

Properties in Raleigh that have been officially named “historic” carry one or more types of designation. The federal-level National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) lists individual properties and districts. The local-level Raleigh Historic Landmark (RHL) program designates individual properties. The local-level Historic Overlay District (HOD) program designates districts. Some programs confer financial benefits and/or design review obligations for owners. The NRHP and RHL/HOD programs have their own registration requirements. To date, no properties in Raleigh have been listed in the NRHP or as an RHL or HOD for association with LGBTQIA+ history. Brief outlines of the programs follow.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is the nation’s official list of historic properties worthy of preservation. Briefly, to be eligible for listing in the NRHP, a property must have significance in one of four criteria: patterns of history, association with an important person, architecture, or archaeology. The significance may be at the national, statewide, or local level.

The property must also retain architectural or historic integrity. Integrity is “the ability of a property to convey its significance,” according to the National Park Service (NPS), which oversees the program. Simply put, properties convey significance when they retain the appearance they had in the period when the historic event, trend, or association occurred. This is true whether a place is eligible for architecture, for association with an important person, or for an historical event or trend. To help make this assessment, NPS recognizes seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

NPS has extensive guidance regarding determining eligibility, evaluating integrity, and nominating properties to the NRHP under the “Publications of the National Register of Historic Places” page on its website.

Local Historic Landmarks and Historic Overlay Districts

Raleigh’s two local designation programs also encourage preservation. The designation criteria for local designation are similar to that of the NRHP with a focus on local significance and less stringent requirements for integrity.

To aid in understanding individual properties, previous survey reports on Raleigh architecture provide context and registration requirements for various topics, including kit houses, Modernist architecture, the Method community, and Nash Square. This report is another volume in that library and can be used to evaluate and nominate properties for local historic designation when they have an LGBTQIA+ association.

Suggested Alternative Programs

Given the limitations of the NRHP and local historic landmark designation and the desire of the City of Raleigh to recognize places associated with LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh, it is appropriate to consider additional ways to recognize, interpret, and celebrate locations, buildings, and sites for their association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history.

In 2023, Courtney Blaskovich produced a report to the City suggesting several alternatives to the established regulatory designations run by the NPS and the RHDC. "By shifting the focus from rigid regulations to flexible and adaptive strategies," Blaskovich found, various types of non-regulatory recognition "could provide a pragmatic and inclusive framework for acknowledging the importance of these places."

As part of the public participation aspect of this project, the Raleigh Planning and Development Department issued a survey requesting public input on seven alternative forms of recognition for LGBTQIA+ important places. The City listed seven alternatives and asked respondents to rank them. The list below shows the resulting ranking.

- Historic Markers (overall top vote getter)
- Digital Mapping (tied for 2nd)
- Oral History Program (tied for 2nd)
- Legacy Business Program (tied for 4th)
- Heritage Communities (tied for 4th)
- Cultural Districts (tied for 6th)
- Printed Guidebook (tied for 6th)

Historic Marker Program

The state and some cities in North Carolina have historic marker programs. Physical signs in public areas highlight the location of important events or association with a significant individual. Markers are typically metal, pole-mounted signs. Metal marker signs could also be affixed to buildings or embedded in sidewalks. The state marker program does not require that a building associated with the significant trend, event, location, or person retains integrity or even survives. Rather, the signage marks the location associated with the significant thing or person. The markers are concrete elements of the landscape and do not require the public to seek out information. If a marker program was established specifically to interpret LGBTQIA+ history, a distinct appearance would reinforce the connection among the markers and illustrate the diversity of spaces within Raleigh that reflect the history. Such a program could be overseen by the RHDC.

Designation considerations: Markers should reflect the most representative or impactful events or people for a couple of reasons: space to convey the significance on a marker is limited and too many markers on the landscape could paradoxically dilute the effect of the program.

Digital Mapping and Interpretation

Digital mapping programs, such as ARCHES, the RaleighHistoric app, and/or ArcGIS Story Maps, offer platforms both for collecting information from the public as well as for disseminating information to the public. ARCHES is designed specifically to share information about cultural heritage sites with the public. The program uses digital maps and an easy keyword search to link visual historic assets, like photos, documents, and oral history recordings. ARCHES is an open-source platform that provides an intuitive way for people to learn about the connections between local places, people, events, and objects.

Though not as well-equipped as ARCHES, the Raleigh Historic mobile app (raleighhistoric.org) is an existing City tool which provides an incredibly accessible way to recognize and interpret places related to LGBTQIA+ history. As the app itself states, “Raleigh Historic...curates Raleigh’s landscape through the use of geo-located historical text and archival images. As the site develops, archival film, oral history and other audio, as well as short documentary videos will be included.” Individual properties can be featured under the “Stories” tab. Each feature can accommodate images, text, and a location map as well as links to documentation, including NRHP nomination forms and local landmark designation reports and ordinances. The “Tours” tab collects individual properties that share a theme or geographic area and includes an introduction that ties the collection of properties together and plots them all on a location map. Some collections are presented as self-directed walking or bike tours. Others can simply be enjoyed as a cohesive group of properties without respect to their geographic distribution. The multitude of themes within the arc of LGBTQIA+ history could be easily accommodated on the Raleigh Historic mobile app. The ability to search for properties either through scrolling or with keyword searches, and the added ability to ‘discover’ new sites when reading through a theme or following a self-guided tour, increases accessibility.

Designation considerations: Properties or sites selected for digital mapping and interpretation could include a broad variety of levels of significance and importance and would not need to retain any historic or architectural integrity for effective interpretation, including demolished buildings. Properties that could be organized into themes or tours might be favored so as to increase impact through the groupings. Tours or collections could be created and publicized in conjunction with specific events, like performances, art or historical exhibit openings, Pride events, or announcements about recognition of LGBTQIA+ properties under one of the other programs listed here.

Oral History Program

An oral history program is essential to capturing more information about the lives of LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh. There is an immediate and pressing need to implement this program, due in part to the dearth of primary source documentation about LGBTQIA+ life in the 20th century. A robust oral history program could expand our knowledge and understanding of places connected to the lives and work of people who are not cisgender or who are LGBTQIA+ people of color, and/or who are lesbians.

Designation considerations: This is not technically a designation alternative, but it is a powerful and important means for recording information about LGBTQIA+ people and history in Raleigh. An important consideration is to work toward full representation within the scope of the oral histories collected.

Legacy Business Designation

Another idea presented in Blaskovich’s report was a Legacy Business Program. This designation could recognize contributions to history and culture made by a business operating in Raleigh for an extended period. A Legacy Business Program in San Antonio, Texas, recognizes businesses that have existed for at least two decades and have “contributed to the history, culture, and identity” of that city. With this designation, a business could relocate and maintain the designation. The designation would not be tied to an unchanged appearance. Long-running nightclubs like Legends and FLEX appear to be excellent candidates for this sort of designation. San Antonio has made nominating businesses very simple, allowing initial nominations from the public by mail, email, or social media hashtag. Presumably, there is a longer application process to establish the business’s actual legacy. Blaskovich notes that legacy businesses are all listed on the San Antonio Legacy Business Program’s website, where an interactive story map has a description of each Legacy Business. In Raleigh, benefits tied to Legacy Business Designation could include promotional activities or assistive services in coordination with the city’s existing infrastructure for business development.

Designation considerations: Properties that qualify for this program would need to meet a few requirements—at least a decade in business in Raleigh and a demonstrated contribution to the culture and/or history of the city, for instance. Again, businesses’ locations would not need any historic and/or architectural integrity or longevity in a particular location to qualify.

Cultural Districts

Cultural Districts are an inactive program of the Policy Arts and Culture section of the 2030 Comprehensive Plan. Cultural District designation can recognize areas with a concentration of places that contribute to or reflect a distinct culture important to Raleigh’s identity. Additionally, Cultural Districts can recognize areas that lack the historic integrity required for NRHP or HOD designation. The program could offer a means of recognizing the cultural importance of some aspect(s) of LGBTQIA+ life and the contributions to cultural life made by these communities.

Visual or place-keeping projects could enhance a sense of place and cultural meaning or historical impact within the district. Examples could include murals, painted crosswalks, utility box wraps, sculpture, signage, and street-pole banners.

Designation considerations: There is no official process for designating a cultural district. Conceptually however, the Cultural District designation relies upon a geographic area maintaining a notable concentration of LGBTQIA+ related places in the city. However, architectural or historic integrity would not necessarily be a component of a cultural district.

Heritage Communities

Heritage Communities recognize districts with historical or cultural significance that lack the historic integrity required for NRHP or HOD designation. The idea is based on an existing program in Greensboro, North Carolina. Also important is the fact that the designation does not change zoning or taxation.

Designation considerations: The Greensboro program requires districts to have “contributed significantly to the social, cultural, industrial, political, or economic life” of the city. Additionally, the district must *not* be eligible for the NRHP and there must be strong community support for the designation.

Historic Resources Guidebook

A print publication could serve the same purpose as the Raleigh Historic mobile app, highlighting individual properties with text, images, and maps, and collecting properties into themes or time periods. Of course, a print publication would be more expensive and would not allow for updates. Still, a book is concrete. Information in an app can feel ephemeral.

Designation considerations: As a guidebook has more physical limitations than a digital publishing format, only a limited number of properties could be included. It would be most appropriate for a community-based steering committee of stakeholders, historians, and other experts to make decisions about which properties to include in a physical publishing project.

Justification for Developing Alternative Designation Programs

The NRHP and the RHL/HOD programs have, in large part, been developed with historic preservation in mind. There is therefore a focus on the architectural integrity of the property, in addition to its significance, in determining whether it is eligible for designation.

Many sites connected to LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh do not retain sufficient integrity for these designations for a number of reasons. Bars, community centers, cruising spots, stores, and other queer spaces often were historically often hidden or secret. Businesses located in rented spaces often had to shut down or relocate. Once a space gets reused for another purpose, the integrity tied to the LGBTQIA+ history is likely to be lost due to alterations. Some of Raleigh’s most iconic LGBTQIA+ places dating to the 20th century are gone or altered, including the commercial space for White Rabbit Books & Things and *The Front Page* or the bar spaces of the Capital Corral and Glitter Gulch, Mousetrap, or the Queen Bee. Additionally, some properties that retain integrity and may be eligible for historic designation, such as houses where the Coffeehouse or the Triangle Gay Alliance met, might not be nominated due to a change in ownership. Finally, many properties recognized by the general public as important to LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh are related to the more recent past. The NRHP generally begins to consider properties for eligibility only once they reach fifty years of age.

Of the 20 properties surveyed in Phase 2 [**results of NR/Locally eligible properties here**]. See Appendix [surveyed property evaluation forms] for the evaluation forms.

As noted above, NRHP nominations and Local Designation Reports can be amended to include LGBTQIA+ significance that was not known or recognized at the time of initial designation. However, it is always worth evaluating whether the funds spent producing additional documentation may be better used elsewhere, such as on alternative recognition that might be more accessible to the public. Often, the public does not know the significance of an NRHP-listed property or a local landmark, particularly when the designation is not related to architecture.

Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Phase 2 Recommendations

Several recommendations for future work follow. In addition to expanding our knowledge and understanding, a broad and diversified approach to capturing LGBTQIA+ history will offer more opportunities for members of LGBTQIA+ communities to produce the work.

1. Prioritize both an historical marker program and digital mapping and/or digital interpretive programs as the best first steps to recognize and interpret LGBTQIA+ places in Raleigh that have been documented through this project. An historical marker program is the most visible means by which to identify and honor significant LGBTQIA+ sites. Digital mapping programs, such as ARCHES, the RaleighHistoric app, and/or ArcGIS Story Maps, offer platforms both for collecting information from the public as well as for disseminating information to the public. Digital platforms can display historical photographs, play audio recordings of oral histories, and make available historical records or maps. The programs can provide easy and intuitive public access to geo-located information about LGBTQIA+ historic sites, including those that no longer exist.
2. As noted above, a more robust oral history program would expand our knowledge and understanding of places connected to the lives and work of people who are not cisgender or who are LGBTQIA+ people of color, and/or who are lesbians. Such a program could be sponsored by RHDC, the City of Raleigh Museum, the Raleigh Arts Documentarian-in-Residence program, or co-sponsored by the City and a college or university partner. This is another high-priority recommendation.
3. Consider how the City can recognize and interpret LGBTQIA+ history associated with city-owned property, including but not limited to Council Chambers, city parks, and Nash Square. The work done to create Latta University Historic Park, including research, documentation, interpretation, designation as a RHL, dedication event, and management by the Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program, could serve as a model.
4. Create a diverse LGBTQIA+ History Steering or Advisory Committee, based within the appropriate city department or board/commission, to assist with research and provide an opportunity for public involvement.
5. In addition to historic preservation or architecturally based projects (such as this project and projects in Recommendations 1 and 2), the City of Raleigh should look to historical geographers, documentarians, and public historians to explore and interpret LGBTQIA+ history for citizens.
6. Regularly connect students and faculty in History, Public History, American Studies, Women and Gender Studies, Cultural Resource Management, Archival Studies, and Library Sciences from NCSU, NCCU, UNC-CH, and other Triangle-area colleges and universities to residents to collect info/resources that residents want to share. This could include oral history, documents, manuscript collections, and/or artifacts. Additionally, encourage students and faculty to continue to generate original research on LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh.

7. Commission historical research into a number of other areas to document, celebrate, and interpret the experiences and contributions of LGBTQIA+ people to Raleigh’s history. This work would not need to be rooted in architectural survey, documentation, and designation, as this project has been, and could be combined with Recommendations 2, 4, and 5. Suggested topics might include:

- Stories of groups and communities less-well represented in this place-based report, including those of transgender, non-binary, intersex, and bisexual people, lesbians, and non-white LGBTQIA+ people.
- The history of drag performance in Raleigh, including research into the “Queen Street” neighborhood at Young Street between Wake Forest Road and Ann Street, an area anecdotally known to be associated with drag performers.
- The history of state law, city ordinances, and other city- or county-level regulations that affected LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh, including researching whether Raleigh passed ordinances that have banned or limited cross-dressing or drag performances or ABC regulations for wine, beer, or liquor licensure.
- Contributions to historic preservation by LGBTQIA+ people, beginning in the late 20th century and in neighborhoods such as Oakwood.
- The possible medical treatment of LGBTQIA+ people at Dix Hospital and treatment of LGBTQIA+ people at state prisons and in state institutions in the late 19th- through late-20th centuries. Also research whether North Carolina’s eugenics laws were ever applied to LGBTQIA+ people.
- The experiences of gay and lesbian college students in Raleigh throughout the twentieth century, including at single-sex educational institutions or dormitories, the liberation and later advocacy movements at colleges, and the effect of students on the development of LGBTQIA+ attitudes in Raleigh.
- Conduct additional research into related historical themes, such as sports, theater, music, art, literature, design, and culture.

8. Conduct additional research to document and contextualize the history of places on the LGBTQIA+ roster that continues into the first quarter of the 21st century, such as Legends. Collaborate with Raleigh Arts and local arts organizations, including local theaters, musicians, museums, and university arts programs, to explore and interpret LGBTQIA+ history through art for citizens. Any performances, shows, or public art that result could be staged in or located at a place highlighted in this report, particularly one connected to the subject of the performance or show.

9. Continue to compile a list of people who have made/may make significant contributions to LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh and consider future research projects to record and tell their stories.

Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Phase 2 Bibliography

Books

Bronski, Michael. *A Queer History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2011.

American history written, in the author's words, "with a political point of view" that "looks at how American culture has shaped the LGBT or queer experience, while also arguing that queer people not only shaped but were pivotal in creating our country.

Inrig, Stephen J. *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics & Race in the South*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011.

Covers the history of the AIDS epidemic and how it affected North Carolina people, communities, and institutions.

Johnson, David K. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Details the mid-20th-century period when gays and lesbians were fired from or forced out of employment with the federal government and the resistance efforts and gay rights advocacy that grew out of it. Also includes a brief but extremely helpful history of "changing terminology" regarding LGBTQIA+ people, which is illuminating for developing a fuller understanding historical texts.

Faderman, Lillian. *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015.

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Includes chapters on St. John's Metropolitan Community Church, Rev. Jimmy Creech and Fairmont United Methodist Church, and Pullen Baptist.

Howard, John. *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Excellent scholarly history of rural gay life in Mississippi, with contextual information applicable to this project as well as demonstrations of the ways in which local historical trends can differ from national trends.

O'Rourke, Marjorie. *Haven on the Hill: A History of North Carolina's Dorothea Dix Hospital*. Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, 2010.

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Anthology of “individual narratives of characters whose lives variously intersect” to recount stories of “queer southern life,” according to the author, and including people and events in North Carolina’s Triangle area.

Skidmore, Emily. *True Sex: The Lives of Trans Men at the Turn of the 20th Century*. New York: New York University Press, 2017.

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Rosenthal, G. Samantha. *Living Queer History: Remembrance and Belonging in a Southern City*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023.

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Reports and Scholarly Works

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Little, M. Ruth. “Depot Historic District.” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2002. <https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA0724.pdf>

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Summary of the Lavender Scare, the mid-century period when non-heterosexual people were fired from or forced out of employment with the federal government, published by the Prologue, a magazine of National Archives that explored the holdings and the stories those records told.

Chadwick-Schultz, Kayla. "Charlotte Pride: Charlotte LGBTQ+ History Timeline."
<https://www.charlottenc.gov/CS-Prep/City-News/Charlotte-LGBTQ-History-Timeline>

Brief but useful timeline for comparative context; includes references to some Charlotte newspaper articles.

Goodnight Raleigh Blog. <http://goodnightraleigh.com/about-us/>

A blog established in 2007, initially to show nighttime images of Raleigh, that expanded into discussions of history, architecture, and architectural change in Raleigh.

Hunt, David. "Bibles and Blue Jeans: How Gay Liberation Came to NC State," NC State News Website. <https://news.ncsu.edu/2019/06/bibles-and-blue-jeans/>

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Library of Congress. "1969: The Stonewall Uprising." LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide, Library of Congress Website, <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/stonewall-era>.

National Park Service. Telling All Americans' Stories: LGBTQ Heritage.
<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqheritage.htm>

The NPS website includes many excellent capsule histories relating to LGBTQ heritage under its "Telling All Americans' Stories" heading.

Palmer, David, et al. "LGBT Identities, Communities, and Resistance in North Carolina, 1945-2012." Published online by OutHistory at outhistory.org, 2012.

Project reports on various topics by UNC-Chapel Hill students for David Palmer's seminar, U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Histories.

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Tanks, Cassie, and Hooper Schultz. Queerolina Online Exhibit. 2022. <https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/queerolina/welcome>

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Interviews and Oral Histories

Floyd, Wanda. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 29, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

Haywood, Vance. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 10, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

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Hull, Bill. Interview by Chris McGinnis, June 21, 2001. Interview K-0844. Southern Oral History Program Collection, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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Roberts, Trey. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 27, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

Shepard, Ellen. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

Sperry, Art. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris. February 28, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

Stone, David. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase 1, Raleigh Planning Department.

Wilder, Bobby Gene. Interview with Brandie Kay Cline, July 10, 2013. LGBT Oral History Collection, City of Raleigh Museum.

Real Estate Records

Wake County Register of Deeds. www.wake.gov.

iMaps. Wake County GIS Interactive Mapping Application. www.wake.gov.

Manuscript Collections

The following collections were not consulted for this report but are included here as potential resources for future research.

Front Page Newspaper Records, 1975-2006. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Collection of correspondence, research and clippings files, administrative records, mailing lists, surveys, flyers, press releases, and other items related to the publication of The Front Page, a bi-monthly publication for the LGBTQ+ community in North and South Carolina, founded by Jim Baxter in Raleigh in 1979 and published through May 2006. It merged with Charlotte-based Qnotes Carolinas.

Southern Communities: Listening for a Change: History of Gay Men and Transgender People in the South, 2000-2002. Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

According to the Southern Oral History Program (SOHP), "These interviews by Chris McGinnis, an undergraduate at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill...give a perspective of gay life in the South, with particular emphasis on North Carolina in the 1960s through the 1980s. The interviews chronicle the development of the gay community in the South and explore early gay bars, social events and festivals of the gay community, gay organizations and activism, and places where gay men met and engaged in public sex, among other topics."

Sexual Revolution at UNC. Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

According to the SOHP, "This collection follows transformations among UNC-Chapel Hill LGBTQIA+ students at the intersection of gender, race, and class during the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, tracing its impact on their lives, relationships, and activism during those decades and later years." Raleigh residents and patrons/employees of Raleigh businesses and other establishments may have attended and/or had formative experiences at UNC-Chapel Hill, so interviews in this collection may be useful for context to Raleigh's history and Raleigh projects.

Triangle Business and Professional Guild Records, 1970-2006. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Includes newsletters, news clippings, and some administrative material relating to this networking organization created for the gay and lesbian Triangle-area professional community.

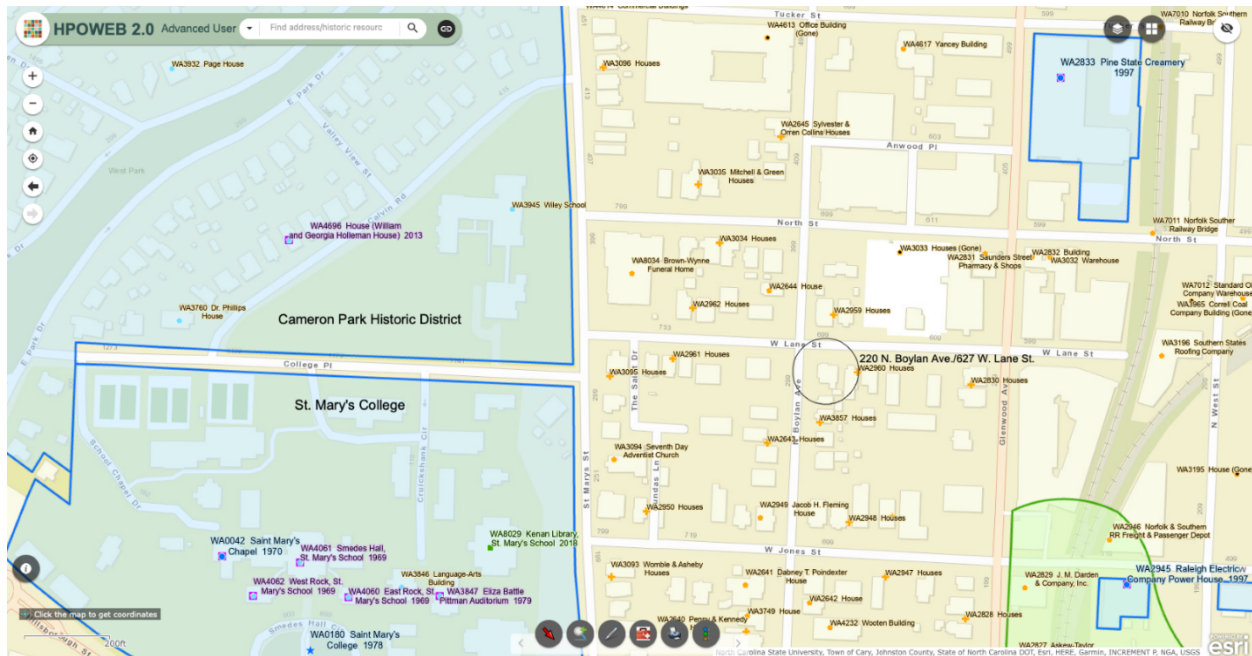
APPENDIX A: LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations

Androgyny Center

SITE NAME (SSN if applicable)	Androgyny Center (included in WA3857 and/or WA2960 blockface files)
LOCATION	220 N. Boylan Ave.
BUILT/ALTERED	1905 (Wake County iMaps)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1981-1983
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	September 28, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham, NC



220 N. Boylan Ave. at SE corner with W. Lane St.
 Photo on left is oblique view of north elevation and façade with camera pointing SE.
 Photo on right is oblique with façade and S elevation with camera pointing NE.



Location of 220 N. Boylan Ave., second office location of the Androgyny Center.

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: Second office location of an affirming mental health provider for LGBTQIA+ people. Founded in 1977 by Louis Sawyer, in Raleigh’s period of the gay liberation movement. Sawyer identified as lesbian at the time and now identifies as a transgender man.

The Androgyny Center provided “feminist/gay counseling” for individuals, couples, and groups from this location from at least 1981 to 1983. While this is a brief period in the long existence of the center, this is the only positively identified location in Raleigh that still stands. Sawyer established the practice in 1977 and occupied an office on Barrett Drive in 1978. The precise location of that office has not been identified. From 1983-1998, the center occupied Suite 115 at 7208 Creedmoor Rd., a strip-style suburban office complex. In 2006, those buildings were demolished and the site was redeveloped. The Androgyny Center appears to still exist in 2024 and operates out of an office in Durham.

Description: The property is a late Queen Anne-style, single-story, side-gabled dwelling built in 1905. It has a shed-roofed front porch, a three-sided bay window at one gable end, and a rear ell with shed roof that acts as a secondary façade. The secondary façade addresses W. Lane St. The house has weatherboard siding, four-over-four wood sash, quatrefoil vents and cornice returns at gable ends, chamfered porch posts, and bracketed eaves at roof overhangs on the bay window and the porches. Some door and window openings have been altered to accommodate the multi-office function that the building has served since at least the 1980s. Additions made to the rear appear to date to the early 20th century and later. A low, stone retaining wall at the front yard is likely contemporary with the house. Outbuildings in the rear yard date to the 21st century but are compatible in scale and appearance. The parcel retains a residential appearance. It has small front and side lawns, shade trees, and a driveway off W. Lane St leading into the rear yard. Some small outbuildings occupy the rear yard. The surrounding neighborhood appears generally residential. Some houses have been converted to commercial use and others have been replaced by commercial buildings dating to the second half of the twentieth century. This is particularly true at the west side of the intersection of N. Boylan Ave. and W. Lane St.

General historical sketch: Louis Sawyer established the Androgyny Center in Raleigh in 1977. He was pursuing a Ph.D. in psychology in that year and working as a mental health counselor. (Also at the time, he was known as Lou Sawyer and identified as lesbian.) In the same year, Sawyer and his colleague Janet Walkiewicz established New Leaf Bookshop in the Oakwood neighborhood. The two had previously worked together at the Johnston County Mental Health Clinic. Sawyer also worked at Dorothea Dix Hospital in the late 1970s. He completed his Ph.D at North Carolina State University (NCSU) in 1982.

Sawyer had two goals in establishing the Androgyny Center. The first was to provide affirming mental health services to the LGBTQIA+ community. The second was to provide training and education to mental health professionals on behalf of the community. However, a 1978 feature in the *News & Observer* reporting on these aims used terminology common in the day and noted that the center’s target audience was “gays” and “Raleigh’s homosexual community.” Sawyer added that the center was also for “others who choose an alternative lifestyle.” The feature listed the address simply as Barrett Dr., presumably the center’s first location. In that period Sawyer could only staff it part-time due to his graduate school studies, other employment, and the bookstore. He noted in a 2008 oral history interview that only a few therapists in the late 1970s had expertise providing affirming care to LGBTQIA+ people.

Sawyer advertised in *The Front Page*, a biweekly newspaper for the LGBTQIA+ community in Raleigh and the region, and in *Lambda*, the newsletter of the student-run Carolina Gay Association in Chapel Hill.

Over the next decades, the practice's articulated purpose evolved. The center advertised "feminist/gay counseling" in 1983 and "counseling for gay men and lesbians" in 1986. By 1988, the advertisement listed "psychotherapy from a feminist/transpersonal perspective for lesbian and gay individuals and couples." Over time, the professional literature progressed in sophistication and understanding of LGBTQIA+ topics. As Sawyer read this literature and began working with transgender clients, he began to have more clarity about his own lifelong questions about his gender and identification.

Groups supporting LGBTQIA+ people invited Sawyer to speak on mental health topics and provide training for mental health professionals. In the 1980s and 1990s, the *News & Observer* sometimes contacted Sawyer for news stories relating to LGBTQIA+ issues. In 1993, Sawyer was featured in the *News & Observer* among several other area residents who planned to participate in the upcoming March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. The paper noted that Sawyer was in private practice "working primarily with other lesbians and lesbian couples" and identified as lesbian. Sawyer told the paper that the march offered "an opportunity to effect [*sic*] the health and happiness of so many people who have been afraid to live their life in the open. Being closeted has an incredible effect on people's mental health."

Sawyer grew up in Lumberton and moved to Raleigh in 1965. He studied sociology as an undergraduate student at NCSU before earning a Ph.D. in psychology there in 1982. Sawyer is also a jazz musician and has performed regularly at clubs and events in the Triangle throughout this same period.

Historical integrity evaluation: The property retains all seven aspects of historical integrity for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. When it housed the center's offices, the dwelling had the appearance of a residential property in an historic neighborhood that combined early 20th century residential development with later commercial redevelopment. The house remains at its original location and therefore retains integrity of *location*. It retains a great deal of original material, including siding, windows, porch posts, brackets, and gable vents, and therefore retains integrity of *materials* and *workmanship*. The combination of original materials and retention of early massing and its immediate residential setting of yards, driveway, and outbuildings preserves the integrity of *design*. The house and yards and their immediate surroundings retain the appearance of an historic early-twentieth-century neighborhood with some later commercial redevelopment, preserving integrity of *setting*, *feeling*, and *association*.

Sources:

Dr. Louis Sawyer, interview with Terah Crews. Viewed online at <https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/sohp&CISOPTR=4601&filename=4629.pdf>

Advertisements in *The Front Page* newspaper, 1983-2005.

"'Human lib' is theme of books in new store," *News & Observer*, December 15, 1977.

"We are your neighbors," *News & Observer*, April 25, 1993.

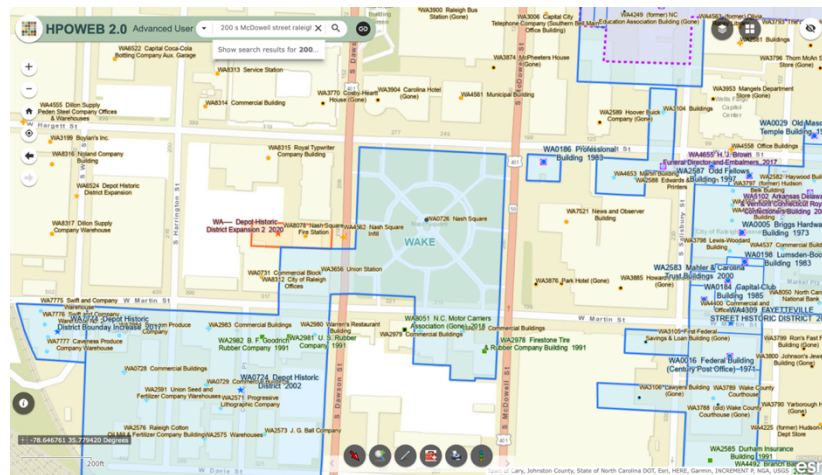
Nash Square

SITE NAME (HPO Survey Site Number if applicable)	Nash Square (WA0726)
LOCATION	200 S. McDowell Street entire block bounded by E. Hargett, S. McDowell, E. Martin, & S. Dawson Sts. completely within Depot Historic District (WA0724)
BUILT/ALTERED	1792: indicated in William Christmas plan for City of Raleigh 1913: landscaped according to a Beaux Arts-style plan 1939-1940: alterations by civil engineer Arnold Peterson and funded by WPA
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	Documented in the 1960s through the 1980s, but likely earlier
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	September 28, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham, NC



Views of Nash Square, 200 S. McDowell St.

*Photo at left shows ca. 1913 concrete path and mature trees (camera facing W to S. Dawson St.).
Photo at right shows lawn, trees, circular path and lampposts (camera facing S toward W. Martin St.)*



*Location of Nash Square (at map center),
in the Depot Historic District (shaded blue and extending to the south and west from the square).*

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: Nash Square was a popular cruising spot (a place for gay or bisexual men to meet other men for trysts) in the 20th century prior to gay liberation.

Several places have been identified as cruising spots in the middle of the 20th century. Examples include certain stretches of Hillsborough, Fayetteville, and W. Hargett Sts. and public restrooms in the Sir Walter Hotel, the Hotel Carolina (demolished), the Museum of Natural History (demolished), North Hills and Crabtree Malls, and Harrelson Hall (demolished) at North Carolina State University. Nash Square retains the most integrity of all these places and is the most publicly accessible.

Description: Nash Square occupies an entire city block immediately south of the Raleigh Municipal Building and a few blocks southwest of the State Capitol. Landscaping includes planting beds, shrubs, and mature shade trees and younger understory trees. Park hardscaping includes concrete paths and low brick walls that create planting beds at the block's corners. Straight paths run diagonally from each corner to the center. A firefighters' monument stands at their intersection and is surrounded by sections of low curved wall. Another path forms a wide circle around the monument and through the middle of the park. At each cardinal point on the circle, a straight path extends to each street bounding the park. Benches of iron and artificial wood have been installed at intermittent locations along the paths. Wrought-iron lampposts likewise are placed around the park near the paths. Other small monuments and works of public art also dot the park. In the 1800s, the city blocks surrounding Nash Square had single-family dwellings, large gardens, and outbuildings. Later, industrial buildings, warehouses, hotels, and commercial, office, and government buildings replaced the houses. The buildings that surround the square today date to the second and third wave of development. None of the first wave remains, and most of the second wave has been demolished as well.

Brief historical sketch: The park has existed since the late 1700s and has changed significantly in appearance over time. It is included on the 1792 William Christmas plan for the city and was originally un-landscaped open space. By 1872, the park consisted of a lawn with tree-lined path running diagonally between its northeast to southwest corners. Two large trees dotted the lawn on the east side. Diagonal and circular paths cut through the square by 1879. A ca. 1913 redesign appears to have slightly revamped the circulation pattern. The wrought-iron lampposts may date to that year as well. Additional hardscaping in 1939-1940 added brick walls at the corners to draw attention to park entrances and to provide new planting beds. The paths were refined again and paved with concrete. Concrete benches installed in that period have been removed. Benches, memorials, and public art in the park now generally appear to date to the early 21st century.

In the 1800s and roughly the first half of the 1900s, the park had many uses. These included recreation, education, military, and civic activities. Groups of people, both Black and white (but not mixed), lounged, picnicked, and walked in the park. Some played organized sports, including baseball and tennis, and the late-1800s Raleigh Bicycle Club met here for group rides. A school building stood in Nash Square from 1858-1872 and was used by a number of different schools. Local militias and Confederate troops drilled in Nash Square. Community and civic celebrations often occurred in the park. Traveling circuses and entertainment troupes also performed here. The surrounding residential blocks were considered fashionable during much of this period. Additional history and development information about the park and the surrounding area can be found in the 2002 Depot Historic District National Register of Historic Places Nomination and the 2018 Study of the Historic Context and Physical Evolution of Nash Square.

The LGBTQIA+ association with Nash Square dates from at least the middle of the 20th century, according to community tradition. At this time, the blocks surrounding Nash Square were decidedly less

residential and now included hotels, the 19th-century Union Station (WA3656, heavily altered), the 1940 Raleigh Bus Station (WA3900, demolished), and warehouses and light-industrial buildings. As the neighborhood changed, the hotels fronting the square lost cachet. The establishment business, political, and social community in Raleigh stopped patronizing the area. Consequently, Nash Square and surrounding blocks became more available to people not part of the establishment. Some engaged in illicit activities. Others were LGBTQIA+ people who still needed to hide their sexual and gender identities. Due to community attitudes and “crime against nature” (CAN) laws, there was overlap between the groups. The 2018 historical context of Nash Square briefly mentions that members of the LGBTQIA+ community met at the Hotel Carolina (WA3904, demolished) at the northeast corner of W. Hargett and S. Dawson Sts. There was a tearoom in the basement of the hotel, and the bar at the first floor was mentioned in the 1977 issue of *Bob Dameron’s Address Book*. Newspaper reports from the 1970s refer to “prostitutes,” “homosexuals,” “transvestites,” “winos,” and men visiting an “adult bookstore,” to convey the seediness of the area. The manager of the Hotel Carolina attempted to cut down on sex work occurring in the building by charging extra to rooms hosting non-registered hotel guests overnight.

Community tradition holds that men frequently cruised in Nash Square as early as the middle decades of the twentieth century. The travel-related buildings that stood nearby contributed to this popularity because of the anonymity they offered. This was an important element to gay or bisexual men in the middle of the twentieth century, who generally kept their sexuality very private. In addition to the Hotel Carolina, the 1893 Park Central Hotel (WA3876, demolished) overlooked Nash Square from the southeast corner of W. Martin and S. McDowell Sts. The 1940 Raleigh Bus Station (WA3900, demolished) stood on the block north of Nash Square.

Reinforced or burgeoned by this informal use of the park, gay bars and bars friendly to LGBTQIA+ people also operated nearby in at least the 1960s and 1970s. Most of the bars occupied the hotel buildings are now demolished: the Queen Bee once located in the Park Central Hotel; the Executive Lounge occupied space in the Hotel Carolina; and the Teddy Bear Lounge was in the Andrew Johnson Hotel that once stood at the corner of S. Salisbury and W. Martin Sts. One surviving building that housed gay bars in the area is 313 W. Hargett Street. It was briefly the last location of the Queen Bee before reopening as the long-running Capital Corral. Such bars, as well as the café in the Raleigh Bus Station, offered places for LGBTQIA+ people (generally referred to with other words in the period, some of which are now considered offensive) to meet and socialize. (The former Capital Corral building at 313 W. Hargett St. is also evaluated in this project.)

In at least the 1960s through the 1980s, the Raleigh police made arrests in and around Nash Square. Men suspected of cruising faced felony and misdemeanor charges under the state’s CAN statute. The police and the State Bureau of Investigation worked undercover in the bars and around Nash Square, or hid in public restrooms, to identify people to arrest. As early as the 1920s and 1940s, police “raided” Nash Square and cited people under vagrancy and public nuisance ordinances and for possession of liquor in public.

Historical integrity evaluation: The property retains all seven aspects of integrity in connection with its LGBTQIA+ significance: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The park is in its original location and retains significant elements of the ca. 1913 and 1939-1940 design plans. This includes the concrete paths laid out in the Beaux Arts circulation pattern; the wrought iron street lamps; the low brick walls defining the corner entrances; and the overall landscape plan of shade trees, smaller trees, shrubs, lawns, planting beds, and open space. These were the main components of

its appearance during in the mid- to late-20th century. The park therefore retains integrity of *location, design, materials, and workmanship* from its likely period of significance with LGBTQIA+ history. The loss of the hotels, the bus station, and the former Raleigh Municipal Building (later the Raleigh Police Department), are unfortunate because the concentration of specific building types around the park likely played a role in the development of the LGBTQIA+ significance. However, the only constant in the blocks surrounding the park has been change, and Nash Square remains in a bustling part of town. Downtown activity still surrounds Nash Square, including activities related to government, business, professional services, and commerce. The built environment surrounding the park and the energy it generates do therefore preserve the integrity of *setting, feeling, and association* with its LGBTQIA+ significance.

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APPENDIX B: LGBTQIA+ Roster of Identified Places*

**There are some places in this list where a clear association with Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ communities has not been verified. The goal is that the roster becomes a living document, and places may be added or deleted in the future depending on additional research. The final format for how this roster will truly be kept live, easily updated, and available for public access has not yet been determined.*

PLACE NAME	HISTORIC ADDRESS	SITE TYPE	EARLIEST YEARS ASSOCIATED
1622	1622 Glenwood Ave	Bar/Club	1990s
"Queen Street" neighborhood	Various Locations	Neighborhood	1970s
"Under One Roof"	3622 Haworth Dr	Professional Services	1980s
300 Block of W Hargett St	300 W Hargett St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1970s
440 Nightclub	2526 Hillsborough St	Bar/Club	2020s
A Safer Place Youth Network / ASPYN	Unknown	Healthcare	1970s
Abracadabra Café & Theatre	4000 Atlantic Ave	Allied Business	1980s
Admiral's Galley / Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel	400 Fayetteville St	Bar/Club	1970s
Adult Entertainment Center	6804 Davis Cir	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
AIDS Community Residence Association (ACRA)	816 Barbara Dr	Organization	1990s
Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club	Unknown	Political-Related Site	1980s
Alliance of AIDS Services	3109 Poplarwood Ct, Ste 200	Healthcare	2020s
AMF Capital Lanes	1827 Capital Blvd	Allied Business	1990s
Anchor Financial Group	4020 Westchase Blvd, Ste 460	Professional Services	1990s
Anchorage, The	2003b Fairview Rd	Bar/Club	1950s
Andrea Moriarty, Ammons Pittman Realtors	911 Paverstone Dr	Professional Services	1990s
Androgyny Center, The (1)	220 N Boylan Ave	Healthcare	1970s
Androgyny Center, The (2)	7208 Creedmoor Rd, Ste 115	Healthcare	1990s
Archdale Building Grounds	512 N Salisbury St	Political-Related Site	1980s
Armistead Maupin Childhood Home	210 Groveland Ave	Private Residence	1950s
Art Space	201 E Davie St	Allied Business	1980s
Artist's Corner, The	133 E Hargett St	Bar/Club	1980s

Bachelor's Library / Bachelors Books and Movies	3411 S Wilmington St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Bishops House, St. Mary's College	900 Hillsborough St	Organization	1990s
Blue Lady Lounge	126 N Harrington St	Bar/Club	1970s
Borough, The / Hadley's / The District	317 W Morgan St #117	Bar/Club	2000s
Boyer Hall, St. Augustine's College	1315 Oakwood Ave	Political-Related Site	1980s
Brewery, The	3009 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1990s
Broughton High School	723 St Marys St	Political-Related Site	1980s
Brown-Wynne Funeral Home & Crematory	300 St Marys St	Allied Business	1980s
CAM Museum	409 W Martin St	Recreation	2010s
Camera's Eye / Snapshots Video & News	1433 S Wilmington St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Cameron Court Apartments / "Queens Court"	804 W Hargett St	Private Residence	1980s
Candy Pahl	127 W Hargett St	Professional Services	1990s
Cantina 18	433 Daniels St	Allied Business	2010s
Capital Corral & Glitter Gulch	313 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	1970s
Capital Leathermen	313 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	1990s
Capitol Blvd News	2236 Capital Blvd	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1990s
Cardinal Room / Andrew Johnson Hotel	102 W Martin St	Bar/Club	1960s
Carolina Aging Alliance (formerly SAGE)	4 N Blount St	Organization	2020s
Carolina Counseling Associates	3800 Barrett Dr, Ste 301	Healthcare	1980s
Casa Carbone Ristorante	6019-A Glenwood Ave	Restaurant	1980s
Catherine Hedberg	2016 Cameron St #224	Healthcare	1990s
Charlie Goodnight's Comedy Club	861 W Morgan St	Bar/Club	1980s
Chateaux II / Castle News & Video	1210 Downtown Blvd	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Chris Weedy & Jimmy Creech House	412 S Boylan Ave	Private Residence	1990s
Chris Yetter, York Properties, Inc.	311 Oberlin Rd	Professional Services	1990s
Church of the Good Shepherd / Shepherd's Table Soup Kitchen	121 Hillsborough St	Religious Institution	1990s
City Council Chambers, Raleigh Municipal Building	222 W Hargett St	Political-Related Site	1980s
City Gallery of Contemporary Art	220 S Blount St	Allied Business	1980s

City of Oaks School of the Arts (COSA)	200 S West St	Recreation	1990s
Cloud and Fire Coffee House	2512 Hillsborough St #200	Allied Business	1990s
Colony Tanning Center	122 E Millbrook Rd	Professional Services	1990s
Community Counseling Center with A. Wayne Cannon	3535 S Wilmington St, Ste 206	Healthcare	1990s
Community United Church of Christ	814 Dixie Trl	Religious Institution	1970s
Cornerstone Builders	Unknown	Allied Business	1990s
Crabtree Valley Mall Men's Restrooms	4325 Glenwood Ave	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Crickets	2824 North Blvd	Allied Business	1980s
Cup A Joe	3100 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1990s
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (1)	10909 Raven Rock Dr	Healthcare	1980s
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (2)	7808 Six Forks Rd	Healthcare	1980s
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (3)	901-E Paverstone Dr	Healthcare	1990s
David Sedaris Childhood Home	5406 North Hills Dr	Private Residence	1960s
Dean D. Blakeley, MD, Tarboro Road Family Medicine	102 N Tarboro St	Healthcare	1990s
Deep South the Bar	430 S Dawson St	Bar/Club	2000s
Detour	3329 North Blvd	Bar/Club	1980s
Dorothea Dix Hospital (formerly Dix Hill)	Unknown	Healthcare	1950s
Dr. Annie Louise Wilkerson, MD & Francis Aida Epps House	5229 Awls Haven Dr	Private Residence	1950s
Edelstein & Payne Attorneys (1)	610 W Peace St	Professional Services	1980s
Edelstein & Payne Attorneys (2)	315 E Jones St	Professional Services	2020s
Edenton Street United Methodist Church	228 W Edenton St	Religious Institution	1990s
Eliza Battle Pittman Auditorium, St Mary's School	900 Hillsborough St	Recreation	1980s
Enchantments	5100 Holly Springs Rd	Allied Business	1980s
Enloe Magnet High School	128 Clarendon Cres	Political-Related Site	1990s
Episcopal Church of the Nativity	8849 Ray Rd	Religious Institution	1990s
Equality North Carolina	126 E Hargett St	Organization	1980s
Est Est Est Restaurant	19 W Hargett St	Restaurant	1980s
Executive Lounge / Hotel Carolina	242 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	1970s
Ex-Log Cabin, The	514 Fayetteville St	Bar/Club	1940s
Fairmont United Methodist Church	2501 Clark Ave	Religious Institution	1980s
Families and Friends of People with AIDS/ARC Support Group	1100 Wake Forest Rd	Organization	1980s

Family Services of Wake County	1000 Wake Forest Rd	Healthcare	1980s
Fayetteville Street corridor	Unknown	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1940s
Fiction Kitchen	428 S Dawson St	Allied Business	2010s
Fifteen	317 W Morgan St, #113	Bar/Club	2010s
Fjelsted & Womble Galleries	205 Wolfe St	Allied Business	1990s
Flamingos Restaurant	607 Glenwood Ave	Allied Business	1990s
Fleming Center Inc., The	3613-3616 Hayworth Dr	Healthcare	1980s
Flex Nightclub (+ Fallout Shelter) (1)	2 S West St	Bar/Club	1990s
Flex Nightclub (2)	615 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	2020s
Galleria	441 Daniels St	Allied Business	1980s
Gallery C	432 Daniels St	Allied Business	1990s
Garden Accents	3011 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1980s
Gary W. Fischer, Hair Waves Studio	3113 Charles B Root Wynd	Allied Business	1990s
Gators	2106 Hillsborough St	Bar/Club	1990s
Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County	608 W Johnson St	Healthcare	1980s
Gay Club	3313 Wade Ave	Organization	1980s
Gay Persons Gathering Events	3135 Morningside Dr	Organization	1980s
Glenwood	1622 Glenwood Ave	Bar/Club	1980s
Glenwood Park	1622 Glenwood Ave	Bar/Club	1980s
Glenwood South Galleries / Glenwood South Antiques & Fine Art	126 Glenwood Ave	Allied Business	1980s
Grass Roots Press	401 1/2 W Peace St	Allied Business	1980s
Green Monkey, The (1)	1217 Hillsborough St	Bar/Club	2010s
Green Monkey, The (2)	215 S Wilmington St	Bar/Club	2020s
Greg Warren Designs	518 W Jones St	Allied Business	1990s
Hair by Nature's Way	2524 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1980s
Halifax Park / Halifax Community Center	1023 Halifax St	Recreation	1990s
Harrelson Hall, NCSU	2610 Katharine Stinson Dr	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1970s
Hart's Bookstore (1)	124 E Martin St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1970s
Hart's Bookstore / Our Place (2)	327 W Hargett St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Hillsborough Street corridor	Various Locations	Neighborhood	1970s
Holiday Inn (Block along Hillsborough St)	320 Hillsborough St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1970s
Holshouser Building, NC State Fairgrounds	4900 Hillsborough St	Recreation	1990s
Hustead House	3104 Orton Pl	Healthcare	1980s

IHOP	1317 Hillsborough St	Restaurant	1980s
Innovations	517 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1990s
International Books	408 W Rosemary St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Irregardless Café	901 W Morgan St	Restaurant	1960s
It's A Grind	5001 Falls of Neuse Rd	Allied Business	2000s
J.C. Raulston House / Lavandula & Labiatae Society	318 E Davie St	Private Residence	1980s
Jaycee Park, Sand Volleyball Courts	2405 Wade Ave	Recreation	1990s
JC Raulston Arboretum	4415 Beryl Rd	Recreation	1980s
Jennifer Rakowski, Tristart Homes and Realty	282 W Millbrook Rd	Professional Services	1990s
John C. Pittman, MD	12 N Boylan Ave	Healthcare	1990s
John Hardy House / Out in Black Magazine	Unknown	Private Residence	1990s
John Voorhees House / Gay Gatherings site	2727 Mayview Rd	Private Residence	1970s
K&W Cafeteria, Room 1 / Raleigh Business and Professional Network (RBPN)	511 Woodburn Rd	Restaurant	1980s
Kings and Queens Bowling League	5501 Commercial Ave	Organization	2010s
Kitty Hawk Tavern, The / Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel	11 W Davie St	Bar/Club	1940s
Le Chateau	511 E Davie St	Bar/Club	1980s
Legends Nightclub	330 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	1990s
LGBT Center of Raleigh (1)	316 W Cabarrus St	Organization	2010s
LGBT Center of Raleigh (2)	411 Hillsborough St	Organization	2010s
LGBT Center of Raleigh (3)	324 S Harrington St	Organization	2010s
LGBT Center of Raleigh (4)	119 E Hargett St	Organization	2020s
LGBT Center of Raleigh (5)	3109 Poplarwood Ct, Ste 209	Organization	2020s
LGBTQ Pride Center (formerly the NC State GLBT Center)	2610 Cates Ave	Organization	1980s
Light Group of AA and AL-Anon	3824 Barrett Dr	Organization	1980s
Longview Estate ("The Poe House")	108 Poe Dr	Organization	1990s
Mary and George Green Farm	Unknown	Private Residence	1870s
Mary Watson Nooe House	405 Perry St	Private Residence	1980s
May-Mak Plant Farm, Inc.	Route 12, Box 20	Allied Business	1980s
McMillan & Smith Law Office	205 W Martin St	Allied Business	1990s
Mel Tomlinson Childhood Home	11 Brunswick Terrace	Private Residence	1960s
Meredith College	3800 Hillsborough St	Organization	2000s
Methodist Center	1307 Glenwood Ave	Religious Institution	1990s

Moore Square	201 S Blount St	Political-Related Site	1990s
Mousetrap, The	1622 Glenwood Ave	Bar/Club	1970s
Nash Square Park	200 S McDowell St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1940s
National Organization for Women, NC	204 N Person St, Room 202	Organization	1980s
National Organization for Women, Raleigh	111 Ridgewood Dr, #1401	Organization	1980s
NC State Museum of Natural History	100 N Salisbury St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1960s
NCSU Green Room	Unknown	Organization	1970s
NCSU Stewart Theatre	2610 Cates Ave	Recreation	1990s
NCSU Talley Student Center	2610 Cates Ave	Organization	1990s
NCSU Talley Student Center Annex Cinema (Witherspoon Cinema)	2810 Cates Ave	Recreation	1990s
NCSU Thompson Theatre	2241 Dunn Ave	Recreation	1990s
New Leaf Bookstore	223 N Bloodworth St	Allied Business	1970s
Nice Price Books and Records (1)	222 N Bloodworth St	Allied Business	1970s
Nice Price Books and Records (2)	3106 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1970s
Niko's	925 W Morgan St	Bar/Club	1980s
North Carolina Legislative Building	16 W Jones St	Political-Related Site	1990s
North Hills Mall Men's Restrooms	4321 Lassiter Mill Rd	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
North State Clinical Associates	8408-A Glenwood Ave	Healthcare	1980s
Oakwood Inn	411 N Bloodworth St	Allied Business	1980s
Oakwood Historic District	Various Locations	Neighborhood	1970s
Off the Mall Haircutters	305 Blake St	Allied Business	1980s
Office of John Boddie	115 1/2 W Morgan St	Professional Services	1970s
Office Tavern, The / Lilly's Pizza	1813 Glenwood Ave	Restaurant	1960s
Old Village Florist	4516 Wake Forest Rd	Allied Business	1980s
Ollie Reagan, Jr. House	4020 Grimstead Ln	Private Residence	1980s
Open Mind	3023 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1980s
Our Lady of Lourdes Church / Raleigh Dignity	2906 Anderson Dr	Religious Institution	1980s
Our Lady of Lourdes Church Parish Center	2718 Overbrook Dr	Religious Institution	1980s
Paper Plant	309 W Martin St	Allied Business	1980s
Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), Triangle Area	100 Peartree Ln	Organization	1990s

Park Studio Theatre / Theatre Raleigh / Theatre in the Park	107 Pullen Rd	Recreation	1980s
Party Addicts	2400 Paula St	Bar/Club	2020s
Pat Sears House / NC Human Rights Fund site	1227 Mordecai Dr	Private Residence	1970s
Pegasus Plus	6805 Davis Cir	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Pink Triangle Tours	309 W Martin St	Professional Services	1990s
Plan One, Inc.	320 S Salisbury St, Ste 308	Professional Services	1980s
Players Retreat	105 Oberlin Rd	Allied Business	1960s
Poole's Diner	426 S McDowell St	Allied Business	2000s
Power Company	3141 North Blvd	Bar/Club	1980s
Pride PicNic sites	Various Locations	Recreation	1980s
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church	1801 Hillsborough St	Religious Institution	1980s
Quail Ridge Books	3510 Wade Ave	Allied Business	1990s
Queen Bee, The (2)	313 W Hargett St	Bar/Club	1970s
Queen Bee, The / Park Central Hotel (1)	138 W Martin St	Bar/Club	1960s
Radisson Plaza Hotel / Raleigh Plaza Hotel	420 Fayetteville St	Political-Related Site	1980s
Raleigh Books	111 Fayetteville St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Raleigh Citizens for Gay and Lesbian Equality	201 St Albans Dr	Organization	1980s
Raleigh Civic Center	500 Fayetteville St	Political-Related Site	1980s
Raleigh Ensemble Players	201 E Davie St	Recreation	1980s
Raleigh Flea Market	4900 Hillsborough St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Raleigh Friends Meeting House	625 Tower St	Religious Institution	1990s
Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group (1)	109 N Boylan Ave	Organization	1980s
Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group (2)	1416 Park Dr	Organization	1980s
Raleigh Little Theatre	301 Pogue St	Recreation	1990s
Raleigh Memorial Auditorium*	2 E South St	Political-Related Site	1970s
Randal D. Brown, CPA	7 N Bloodworth St	Professional Services	1990s
Rathskellar, The	2412 Hillsborough St	Restaurant	1980s
Raymond's Flowers & Gifts	8015 Falls of Neuse Rd	Allied Business	1980s
Reader's Corner, The	3201 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1980s
Red Rooster, The	2005 Fairview Rd	Bar/Club	1970s

Rev. Willie White & Robert Pace House	900 W Morgan St	Private Residence	1970s
Reynolds Coliseum	2411 Dunn Ave	Political-Related Site	1980s
Rialto Theater	1620 Glenwood Ave	Recreation	1970s
Richard Jenrette Childhood Home	2611 Fairview Rd	Private Residence	1930s
Robert's Florist	714 W Peace St	Allied Business	1980s
Ron "Rolo" Fleming, Judie's Professional Travel / Rainbow Travel	2801 Blue Ridge Rd	Professional Services	1990s
Ruby Deluxe	415 S Salisbury St	Bar/Club	2010s
Ruby Deluxe	415 S Salisbury St	Bar/Club	2020s
Sensations (+ Two Snaps Up)	3210 Yonkers Rd	Bar/Club	1980s
Smith & Kearns Restaurant	223 W Martin St	Restaurant	1980s
So & So Books	719 N Person St	Allied Business	2010s
Solutions for Better Health	3816 Bland Rd	Healthcare	1990s
Sperry & Associates (+ Alliance of AIDS Services / AIDS Service Agency of Wake County / The Front Page / LGBT Center of Raleigh)	324 S Harrington St	Organization	1980s
Spy	330 W Davie St	Bar/Club	2010s
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (1)	814 Dixie Trl	Religious Institution	1970s
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (2)	805 Glenwood Ave	Religious Institution	1990s
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (3)	622 Maywood Ave	Religious Institution	2010s
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (4)	4 N Blount St	Religious Institution	2020s
St. Raphael's Parish	5801 Falls of Neuse Rd	Religious Institution	1990s
Stage Four	119 E Hargett St	Bar/Club	1980s
State Capitol Grounds	1 E Edenton St	Political-Related Site	1980s
Stephanie L. Brooke, MS	2241 Noble Rd	Healthcare	1990s
Stonewalls Tavern	1217 Hillsborough St	Bar/Club	2020s
Storage Auto Service	Near Old Wake Forest Rd	Allied Business	1980s
Studio I & II Drafthouse Theatres	2526 Hillsborough St	Recreation	1990s
Studio One Theatre	2420 Hillsborough St	Recreation	1980s
Swinger's Bookstore	124 W Martin St	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1980s
Teddy Bear Lounge / Andrew Johnson Hotel Bar (formerly Bland Hotel)	100 W Martin St	Bar/Club	1960s
Temple Beth Or	5315 Creedmoor Rd	Religious Institution	1970s
The Night Rider / The Wicked Witch	416 W South St	Bar/Club	2020s

Third Place Coffee House	1811 Glenwood Ave	Restaurant	1980s
Trailways Bus Station / Traveler's Junction Café	313 New Bern Ave	Adult Bookstore/ Cruising Spot	1970s
Triangle Area Gay Scientists	Various Locations	Organization	1980s
Triangle Black Pride / Shades of Pride	5000 Sedgewick Dr, Ste C	Organization	2010s
Triangle Business and Professional Network (now Harmony) / Balentine's Cafeteria	410 Oberlin Rd	Organization	1980s
Triangle Community Works! (TCW)	814 Dixie Trl	Organization	1990s
Triangle Gay Alliance	412 Kinsey St	Organization	1970s
Triangle Psychological Center	1300 St Marys St, Ste 251	Healthcare	1980s
Triangle Sports Alliance	814 Dixie Trl	Recreation	1990s
Tucker House	420 N Blount St	Allied Business	1980s
UNC Rex Hospital	4420 Lake Boone Trl	Healthcare	1980s
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh	3313 Wade Ave	Religious Institution	1970s
Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse	119 Hawthorne Rd	Religious Institution	1970s
US District Court	310 New Bern Ave	Political-Related Site	1990s
VAE Raleigh	228 Fayetteville St	Allied Business	1980s
Vance Apartments, The	105 E Edenton St	Private Residence	1970s
VD Center	102 N Tarboro Rd	Healthcare	1980s
Velvet Cloak Inn	1505 Hillsborough St	Allied Business	1980s
W. Samuel "Sam" Tarlton & James Craig House	502 Polk St	Private Residence	1990s
Wake County Health Department	401 E Whitaker Mill Rd	Healthcare	1980s
Wake County Health Department Auditorium	10 Sunnybrook Rd	Healthcare	1990s
Wake County Superior Court	300 S Salisbury St	Political-Related Site	1990s
Walt Whitman Republican Club	Unknown	Political-Related Site	1980s
Warehouse District	Various Locations	Neighborhood	1970s
West at North Condominiums	400 N West St	Private Residence	2010s
White Rabbit Books & Things / Front Page Newspaper (1)	309 W Martin St	Allied Business	1980s
White Rabbit Books & Things (2)	300 W Hargett St	Allied Business	1980s
William B. Umstead State Park	8801 Glenwood Ave	Recreation	1980s
William Peace University (formerly Peace College)	15 E Peace St	Organization	2010s
William Strickland Interiors	600 Glenwood Ave	Allied Business	1990s
William-Cozart Antiques	320 S Harrington St	Allied Business	1980s
Willie D. Pilkington & John Dilley House / Gay Club planning site	611 N Boundary St	Private Residence	1980s
WLLR Radio Station Site	649 Maywood Ave	Allied Business	1980s

Womble & Fussell, Inc.	6040-A Six Forks Rd, Ste 140	Allied Business	1990s
Women's Center	128 E Hargett St	Healthcare	1990s
WORK. Nightclub	112 Fayetteville St	Bar/Club	2020s
Wrenn House	908 W Morgan St	Healthcare	1990s
YWCA Building	554 E Hargett St	Allied Business	1970s
Zebra's	Off Poole Rd	Bar/Club	1980s