



Mark Hubbard Photo Collection,
State Archives of North Carolina

Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ Historic Context



Raleigh
Planning

Contents

- 1 LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Project Background 1**

- 2 Project Terminology 2**

- 3 Phase II Summary 3**

- 4 Methodology and Project Components 3**

 - Public Input 3
 - Research..... 4
 - LGBTQIA+ Historic Context 4
 - Registration Requirements 5
 - Project Recommendations..... 6
- 5 Historic Context: LGBTQIA+ Raleigh 7**

 - 5.1 Raleigh before the Gay Liberation Movement, ca. 1870-19707**
 - Social Decorum & Christian Thought..... 7
 - Laws, Government Policies, and Ordinances 13
 - Places to Meet and Congregate 16
 - Early Community Formation..... 24
 - Properties Mentioned in Raleigh Before Gay Liberation 25
 - 5.2 LGBTQIA+ in Raleigh: 1970 through ca. 1995.....26**
 - The 1970s: Leaning into Liberation..... 26
 - Properties Mentioned in The 1970s: Leaning into Liberation..... 36
 - The 1980s: Politics and Pushback, Advocacy and AIDS 38
 - Properties Mentioned in the 1980s: Politics and Pushback, Advocacy and AIDS..... 48
 - The 1990s: Advocacy Continues..... 48
 - Properties Mentioned in the 1990s: Advocacy Continues..... 56
- 6 Conclusion 58**

 - 6.1 Registration Requirements for Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ Properties58**
 - 6.2 LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations60**
 - Appendix A contains the full 20 LGBTQIA+ site evaluations for reference. 60
 - 6.3 Established and Proposed Alternative Designation Programs62**
 - Established Programs 62
 - National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)..... 62
 - Local Raleigh Historic Landmarks (RHL) and Historic Overlay Districts (HOD) 62

6. 4 Suggested Alternative Programs	63
Historic Marker Program	64
Digital Mapping and Interpretation.....	64
Oral History Program	65
Legacy Business Designation.....	65
Cultural Districts.....	66
Heritage Communities.....	66
Historic Resources Guidebook.....	66
6. 5 Justification for Developing Alternative Designation Programs.....	67
7 Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Recommendations	68
<hr/>	
8 Bibliography	72
<hr/>	
Books	72
Reports and Scholarly Works.....	73
Online Articles and Research	74
Interviews and Oral Histories.....	75
Real Estate Records	76
Manuscript Collections.....	76
9 APPENDIX A: LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations	78
<hr/>	
10 APPENDIX B: List of LGBTQIA+ Identified Places*	171
<hr/>	





View of Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel side entrance and Trailway buses looking south, 400 Fayetteville St.

1 LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Project Background

In June of 2024, the City of Raleigh hired MDM Historical Consultants, Inc. (MDM), to complete Phase II of the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study. The project's goal is to produce materials that will help in assessing potential historic sites connected to LGBTQIA+ people. Phase I produced a list of over 200 properties that have connections to LGBTQIA+ history. Phase II focuses on providing a historic context statement for properties identified in Phase I that date back to the 20th century.

This report, a Phase II 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 the properties on the list. 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 and people in Raleigh.



2 Project Terminology

It is a priority for 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 under discussion. When quoting earlier media or historical figures, outdated terms may be preserved in the quotation. The goal is to always be respectful and accurate.

Lillian Faderman has a helpful "Brief History of Changing Terminology" at the start of her book *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. The 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.

3 Phase II Summary

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

Phase II 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.
- » Additions to the preliminary roster of places produced in Phase I, made through public input and the results of research conducted by MdM and City staff.
- » Evaluation of 20 properties from the list of identified places. The consultant and City staff selected the 20 properties, informed by research in Phases I and II as well as by public input. MdM evaluated the properties in the fall of 2024 using the historic context developed for Phase II.
- » 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 will be held in early 2025.

4 Methodology and Project Components

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

Public Input

Phase II 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 I. 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 for the Raleigh Historic Development Commission (RHDC), recommending methods of non-regulatory historic recognition, and the extensive materials produced by the 2016 National Park Service for the LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study.

The Raleigh Planning and Development department collected public input through surveys posted on the City's website. These surveys encouraged respondents to name and rank Raleigh sites they viewed as important to LGBTQIA+ history, communities, and individuals. A draft of this historic context and recommendations was made available for public comment for 2-½ weeks in October 2024.

Research

Phase II builds upon the research completed in Phase I. 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 published histories and online archival sources. Digitized archival newspapers are available at newspapers.com and at digitalnc.org. 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. Oral histories are also available online at 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. These sources are listed in the bibliography of this report.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Context

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

The historic context statement for this project generally covers the 20th century, particularly the 25-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 I and limitations of the Phase II schedule and budget. The goal of this phase is to provide contextual material to complement the Phase I properties list. The 20th-century time period provides context for a large number of properties in the list (as it stands in 2024). While the history of LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh predates the 20th century, there are no entries in the list from earlier periods. Additionally, while there are many identified properties that post-date the 1990s, a *historic*

context, by definition, is looking at the past. This context is a starting point, but we don't always begin at the beginning.

Generally, a historic context statement centers on a particular property type (tobacco barns), architectural style (the Craftsman style), or geographic area (Raleigh's city limits before 1975). Typical methodology is to examine and document 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.

The context is a framework history—not a comprehensive one—meant to aid in the assessment of properties for potential recognition.

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 do the geographies of these communities overlap. Beginning in the 20th century, more people traveled from rural areas or small towns in 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 reflects the project's genesis in the City of Raleigh Planning and Development department and the Raleigh Historic Development Commission, which has always completed work rooted in geography and a place-based framework.

Both Brandie Cline and Jeffrey A. Harris noted the scarcity 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 reason in making recommendations for future work.

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

historic context related to their subject property. In addition, they can augment with historical information and additional context and can describe how the property meets the registration requirements. This will help demonstrate that their property has the special significance required for landmark designation.

Designation recognizes (and seeks to preserve) Raleigh's historic resources. Individuals completing Raleigh Historic landmark designation reports for properties related to LGBTQIA+ history can reference this document for overall historic context related to their subject property. In addition, they can augment with historical information and additional context and can describe how the property meets the registration requirements.

Survey

MdM and City staff selected 20 properties from the list for evaluation under this context using results from research and public input. Selected sites met minimum qualification standards, including:

- » Initial research could confirm the street address.
- » The location is inside current Raleigh city limits.
- » The building is still standing.
- » The LGBTQIA+ associated use dates to the mid-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. Selection also took into account a place's association with underrepresented groups within Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities, the overall range of site types and associated years, and the likelihood of finding more information within the project timeframe.

MdM photographed the selected properties in September, October, and November 2024 and used this context and registration requirements to evaluate each for potential Raleigh Historic Landmark designation.

Project Recommendations

Based on research and survey findings, MdM made recommendations in this report about next steps in documenting, recognizing, and interpreting places in Raleigh that are significant

in LGBTQIA+ history. This includes ideas to celebrate places that may not qualify for local landmark designation or that have been demolished.

5 Historic Context: LGBTQIA+ Raleigh

Properties included in the LGBTQIA+ list that are mentioned in the historic context are bolded in the text. A table following each main section lists those properties to summarize places referenced in the context. Appendix B contains the complete (as of the date of this report) LGBTQIA+ list of identified places for reference. Appendix B is organized alphabetically.

5.1 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. This was true for all matters surrounding the ways in which they differed from the dominant paradigm. Differences were sometimes intuited, suspected, or known but rarely 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. It was not repealed until 2010. Throughout the period, various Federal and state laws, local ordinances, religious teachings, and prevailing ideas about social decorum created and enforced these realities.

For a few, this social contract was acceptable. 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 gatherings for decades.¹ For many others, however, arousing even the suspicion of same-sex desire could provoke bigotry, bullying, and 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. Targeted keyword searches for 1900-1969 in white Raleigh's establishment morning newspaper, the *News & Observer*, and in *The Carolinian*, Raleigh's African American newspaper, helped inform research for this period. (Note that digitized issues of *The Carolinian* at digitalnc.com, only include material from 1935 to 1992. The newspaper, originally known as *The Carolina Tribune*, began printing in 1927.)

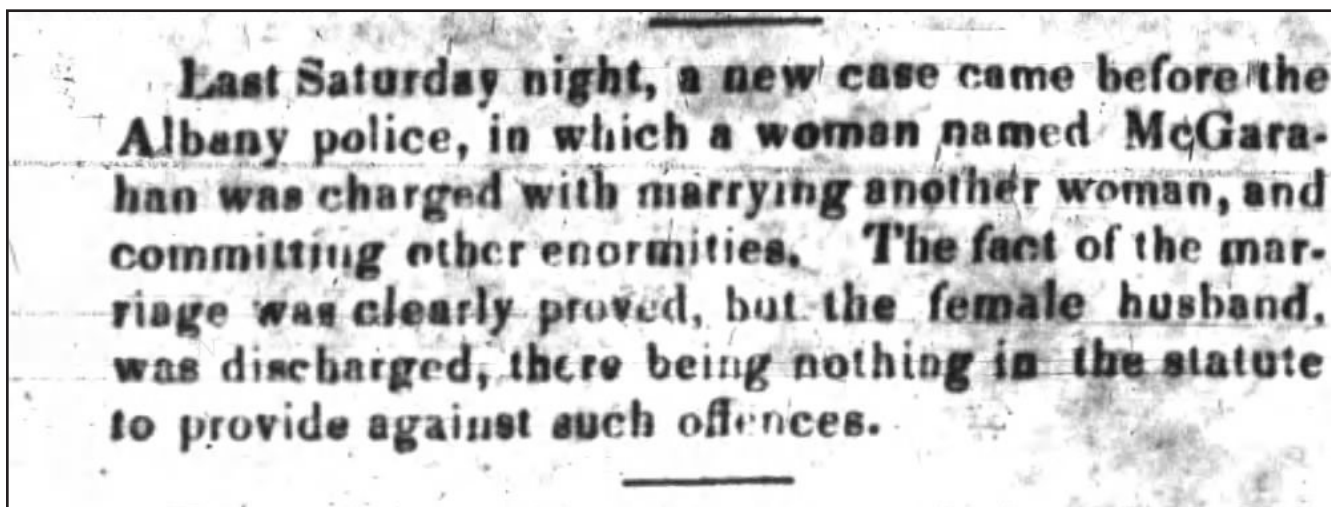
Even with the benefit of digitized issues and keyword searches, newspaper reporting from the first half of the 20th century on people who might now identify as LGBTQIA+ is difficult

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

to find. For instance, an article noting the death of former Wake County resident George Green in 1902 was identified through a search in the Digital Transgender Archive, not through a keyword search of the newspapers. George and Mary Green purchased an 82-acre tract in Swift Creek Township in 1870 from Bell Burwell Jr. The Wake County township was four 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 during 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 of the couple's move. 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 as a man for reasons 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 called 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



Example of the terminology used in early media coverage documenting LGBTQIA+ relationships.

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 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.

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. Mary kept the information private throughout their decades-long marriage 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 in the *News & Observer* but not relating to any people or places in Raleigh.⁸ These terms appeared in that paper in the 1920s and 1930s in a scant few articles that generally used them to report on "themes" explored in the work without going into detail or judging the work for inclusion of the content. During this period, the *News & Observer* often reprinted wire articles about people and events elsewhere. In *The Carolinian*, just two articles between 1935 and 1949 were found with the search "homosexual" and "lesbian." These included a column discussing now-debunked ideas about the development of sexual orientation and a sensationalized wire story of the death of a woman who left her husband for another woman.⁹ Neither paper produced local reporting focused on LGBTQIA+ people. 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 Catholic and Protestant denominations. The prevailing belief among them was that same-sex sexual activity was not consistent with the practice of Christian faith. Raleigh-based Rev. Carlton D. M. Rutherford (1951-2017), raised in Scotland Neck, 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."¹⁰ Interestingly, outright statements to this effect did not commonly appear in local newspapers until the last quarter of the 20th century, as part of the pushback against gay civil rights activists.¹¹

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 considered 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.

9 "Henderson's Comments," *The Carolinian*, February 22, 1947; "Death brings end to lesbian interlude," *The Carolinian*, October 15, 1949.

10 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, stjohnsmcc.org.

11 "North Carolina Public TV refuses to air 'Tongues Untied,'" *The Carolinian*, July 25, 1991; Dr. Albert E. Jabs, Letter to the editor,

The medical field, meanwhile, pathologized same-sex desire, beginning in the mid-19th century. The 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ In 1951, however, Judge William T. Hatch remarked in Wilmington that the state lacked facilities where "homosexuals" could get treatment. He stated that gay people needed treatment rather than the punishment state law dictated. Both *The Carolinian* and the *News & Observer* reported the story.¹⁶ More than a decade later, an editorial in *The Carolinian* stated that paper's belief that homosexuality was a mental illness and that treatment was more appropriate than punishment.¹⁷ In 1967, the state director of mental health reported that 30 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, he thought that 30 admissions was low and noted that the state's facilities were inadequate for the population size he predicted.¹⁸

Such pathologizing also existed in the military and bolstered that institution's 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, Secretary of the Navy, and

The Carolinian, April 23, 1992; "Gay church group gaining acceptance," *News & Observer*, June 12, 1993.

- 12 "Out of DSM: Depathologizing Homosexuality," *Behavioral Sciences* Vol. 5, Issue 4: 565-75, viewed online at ncbi.nlm.nih.gov.
- 13 "Gas Treatment," *News & Observer*, May 18, 1947.
- 14 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.
- 15 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. Additionally, the Communities History Workshop at UNC has been transcribing and digitizing old records from Dix Hospital since at least 2019.
- 16 "Judge Urges Treatment for Homosexuals," *The Carolinian*, August 4, 1951; "Judge Cites State Needs," *News & Observer*, August 1, 1951.
- 17 "Is Punishment the Answer?" *The Carolinian*, March 17, 1962.
- 18 "Hargrove: Sex Deviates Numerous," *News & Observer*, 1967.

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.¹⁹ 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 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.²⁰

Toward the middle of the 20th century, reporting in the both *The Carolinian* and 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 Carolinian* ran a wire story in 1948 highlighting Kinsey's finding of no difference in the sexual behavior between Black respondents and those of any other race. The *News & Observer*, in contrast, reprinted an article noting Kinsey's finding that half of the married men interviewed had cheated on their wives.²¹ Neither article mentioned Kinsey's findings on homosexual activity: same-sex sexual contact or experience among American men was not uncommon.²² However, other media reported widely on the work. As few as six months after publication, it was 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."²³ Despite Kinsey's 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.²⁴

19 Lew Powell, "Josephus Daniels, FDR and their 'unprintable' scandal," NC Miscellany Blog, UNC University Libraries website.

20 "LGBTQ Military History" and "Blue and 'Other than Honorable' Discharges," Golden Gate National Recreation Area, National Park Service website.

21 "Sexual behavior shown in Survey," *News & Observer*, November 19, 1947.

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

23 "New Kinsey Report Preview Tells of Sex Life of Women," *News & Observer*, April 27, 1950.

24 Bronski, 185.

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 & 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.²⁵ 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."²⁶ 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."²⁷

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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ The *Carolinian* did not pick up Jorgensen's or McLeod's stories, but did print a wire story about gender-affirming surgery for Carole Small more than a decade later, in 1967.³⁰ The article, though consistently referring to Small as "he" and as a man, only seemed to question Small's decision to live as a Black woman in America rather than as a woman generally.

25 "Bronx 'Boy' is Now a Girl," *New York Times*, December 2, 1952; "Happy to become a woman," *News & 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.

26 "Strange news," *News & Observer*, December 9, 1952.

27 "Jorgensens Visiting Daughter in Denmark," *News & Observer*, December 21, 1952.

28 "U.S. Male Becomes a 'Woman,'" *News & Observer*, February 25, 1954.

29 "Objection," *News & Observer*, January 20, 1955.

30 "Seeks sex-change operation in Denmark," *The Carolinian*, February 25, 1967.

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" (CAN) 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, mandating 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 five years and a maximum of 30. This was reduced to four months and 10 years, respectively, in 1965.³¹ 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.³²

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."³³ In the early 20th century, *The Carolinian's* and the *News & Observer's* reporting on crimes against nature (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.³⁴ A 1946 case involving a party of five men in a hotel room at the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel at 400 Fayetteville St. 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.³⁵ A case in 1950 referred to a suspect as a "bachelor," often a coded reference to an unmarried man's suspected same-sex attraction, and reported on his assaulting several young and teen boys at Kerr Lake.³⁶ The local paper,

31 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.

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

33 "NC's Crime Against Nature Law: Discrimination on the books," *The Front Page*, November 12, 1993.

34 "Elizabeth City Man Draws 165 Years in State Prison," *News & Observer*, August 23, 1924; "Hanged Himself in Jail," *News & Observer*, Jun 11, 1908; "Forsyth trustees face morals rap," *The Carolinian*, October 6, 1956.

35 "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.

36 "Man, 49, Held in Morals Case," *News & Observer*, December 31, 1954.

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 "homosexual" and "bisexual," who murdered his wife.³⁷ While these articles do not represent an exhaustive coverage from the first half of the 20th century in Raleigh's mainstream 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 or lesbian or who had Communist leanings. Efforts to eliminate these groups from federal employment 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, assuming that they would reveal federal secrets rather than risk exposure. In his book about 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."³⁸

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."³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ Eventually, in 1953, President Eisenhower signed an executive order banning gay people from working in the federal government.⁴¹ 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, back at the state level, 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.

37 "Wayne Lonergan confesses to murdering estranged wife," *News & Observer*, October 29, 1943.

38 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.

39 Johnson, 3; "M'Grath Critical of Charges Made in Red Spy Probe" *News & Observer*, April 1, 1950.

40 Johnson, 147-178.

41 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.

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 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."⁴²

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. It died after the House Committee on State Government concluded that the cost of the study should not be the responsibility of the state.⁴³ 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 sudden 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."⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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

⁴² James R. Spence, "The Law of Crime against Nature," 32 NC L Rev 312 (1954) 312, 322.

⁴³ "Bill Calls for Sex Crime Study," *News & Observer*, April 30, 1957; "Study Group Bill Killed in Committee," *News & Observer*, June 1, 1957.

⁴⁴ Bronski, 207.

⁴⁵ "Hargrove: Sex Deviates Numerous," *News & Observer*, 1967.

⁴⁶ "Relaxed Homosexual Laws Urged," *News & Observer*, October 20, 1969.

Law as well as notice by the general public.⁴⁷ Magazines highlighted in Waters' 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 20th century, several cities across the state passed ordinances that outlawed cross-dressing, but this study has not found 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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ However, the City lacked authority to enforce federal anti-discrimination laws. Often, the federal agencies charged with enforcement were backlogged six months or more.⁵⁰ 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 their jobs, housing, and services.

Places to Meet and Congregate

Before the 1970s, against this background, Raleigh had no establishments 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 I that the African American LGBTQIA+ community gravitated toward Durham, even for people living in Raleigh.⁵¹

Before the 1970s, against this background, Raleigh had no establishments that publicly advertised as catering to people who today might identify as LGBTQIA+.

⁴⁷ Michael Waters, "Hiding in plain sight," *Columbia Journalism Review* (February 9, 2021), viewed at cjr.org.

⁴⁸ Marc Stein, "North Carolina's Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination," History News Network website.

⁴⁹ "City Council adopts ordinance against racial discrimination," *News & Observer*, November 18, 1969.

⁵⁰ "Raleigh may seek civil rights enforcement authority," *News & Observer*, December 13, 1975.

⁵¹ Jeffrey A. Harris, Phase I: Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study Working Files, City of Raleigh and the Raleigh Historic Development Commission.

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 1924 Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel at 400 Fayetteville St. The hotel was known as an unofficial headquarters for legislators, lobbyists, and newspaper reporters before construction of the Legislative Building in 1963. The hotel was also busy with traveling salesmen and businessmen, conventions, and leisure travelers.⁵² Due to the political, business, and military background of so many guests at the hotel, visitors to the bar would have been predominantly white and male. Additionally, women did not tend to spend time in bars in the early- to mid-20th-century period unless there on a date with a man.



N.53.16.4699. From the State Archives of North Carolina; Raleigh, NC.

Interior of the Kitty Hawk Tavern at the Sir Walter Hotel, ca. 1940.

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.⁵³ 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

⁵² Catherine Bishir and Jim Sumner, "Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1978, NC Listings in the National Register, NC State Historic Preservation website. 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.

⁵³ "Raleigh Ushers in 1943 in Rather a Quiet Mood," *News & Observer*, January 1, 1943; "Byways of the News" *News & Observer* 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.

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 as 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.⁵⁴ Once the State Legislature building opened in 1963, providing office space for legislators, the Sir Walter Raleigh'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.⁵⁵

Details from a few newspaper stories allude to the pattern of men meeting in a bar and renting a hotel room. The stories that made it into the newspaper, of course, only include trysts that did not end well. In 1962, a man was attacked in his room in the Sir Walter Raleigh. 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").⁵⁶ In 1959, a man from Charlotte met another man in the Kitty Hawk and took him back to his room at a different hotel. The Charlotte man reported that the two had a couple of drinks, and then he went to bed. When he woke up, his car and other belongings from the room were gone.⁵⁷ Both stories leave out significant details that are likely telling—or rather, not asking and not telling.

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 getting in fights in the bar were featured in a few short articles in the *News & Observer*. An example from 1961 is the story describing a group of soldiers from Fort Bragg (renamed Fort Liberty in 2022) 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.⁵⁸ Perhaps because of such behavior, a 1964 advertisement for a tavern manager specified "Retired service man preferred."⁵⁹ A gossip piece from 1956 provided 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.⁶⁰

54 "Kitty Hawk Tavern: The 'Tea Room,' 1950s, Clayton Jackson," Queerolina Map, "Queerolina: Experiences of space and place through oral history," UNC-CH Library website.

55 "Under the Dome--Surroundings," *News & Observer*, January 25, 1968.

56 "Man is attacked in hotel room," *News & Observer*, January 23, 1962.

57 "Charlotte Man Claims Robbery," *News & Observer*, February 14, 1959. The hotel was The Alamo Plaza at 1816 Louisburg Road. The hotel no longer exists; a portion of Louisburg Road is now known as Capital Boulevard.

58 "Soldier Charged after incident," *News & Observer*, August 6, 1961.

59 "Tavern Manager," *News & Observer*, April 23, 1964.

60 "Byways of the News," *News & Observer*, May 31, 1956.

Nearby, at 514 Fayetteville St. (now occupied by the Marriott Hotel) was the **Ex-Log Cabin**, a restaurant with a beer license in 1942.⁶¹ 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 a confectionary or candy store.⁶² 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.⁶³ The Ex-Log was a restaurant by 1941 (with a relatively low rating from the County Health Department).⁶⁴

By 1942, complaints from neighbors resulted in a petition to revoke its license to sell beer, alleging that the restaurant “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, including closing overnight, not allowing dancing, and, oddly, not to play piccolo music.⁶⁵ 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 1951.⁶⁶

The earliest “gay bars” in Raleigh appear to have been bars with mixed clientele that included LGBTQIA+ people and were known in the LGBTQIA+ communities as places to meet others discreetly. Bars where LGBTQIA+ people could more fully be themselves came later, although that timeline has not been clearly established. Nationally, many cities saw gay or gay-friendly bars proliferate during and after World War II. The massive mobilization of personnel for the war brought many gay people in 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.⁶⁷ 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 when such information was not easily obtainable otherwise.⁶⁸ Each year, the volume generally only listed one or two Raleigh bars.

An early example of a Raleigh bar where LGBTQIA+ people could express themselves more fully is the **Cardinal Room** at 102 W. Martin St. (demolished). The bar was adjacent to the

⁶¹ “County Revokes 2 Beer Permits,” *News & Observer*, March 5, 1942.

⁶² Hill Directory Company, *Hill’s Raleigh City Directory, 1936* (Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1936): 668, 772-773.

⁶³ “Thieves Break in Store on Fayetteville Street,” *News & Observer*, May 17, 1940.

⁶⁴ “Ratings Given Eating Places,” *News & Observer*, December 5, 1941.

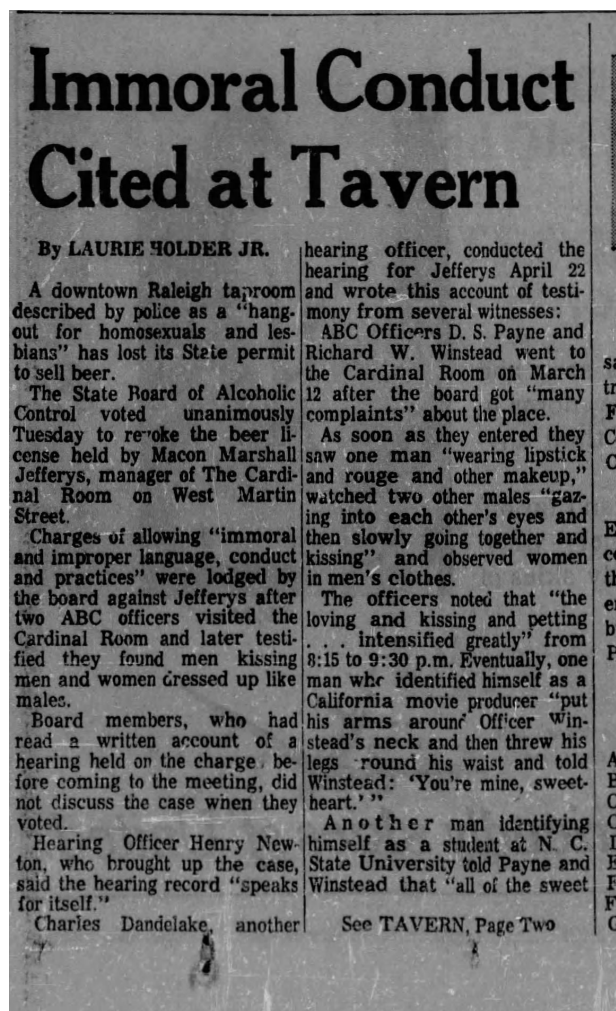
⁶⁵ “Padlock placed on Ex-Log Cabin,” *News & Observer*, November 15, 1942; “Cabin permitted to reopen here,” *News & Observer*, December 4, 1942.

⁶⁶ “Assault and Robbery Reported to Police,” *News & Observer*, June 11, 1951.

⁶⁷ “LGBTQ Histories from the WWII Home Front,” National Park Service website.

⁶⁸ Amanda Regan and Eric Gonzaba, *Mapping the Gay Guides*, (2019-ongoing): Mapping the Gay Guides website.

Andrew Johnson Hotel (northwest corner of W. Martin and S. Salisbury streets, demolished) and was characterized as a "tavern" and "taproom" with a permit to sell beer in 1966. That year, their license was revoked due to "immoral conduct." The *News & Observer* 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



Local newspaper coverage of The Cardinal Room at the Andrew Johnson Hotel.

the owner for allowing "immoral and improper language, conduct and practices." Two ABC agents had visited the Cardinal Room, apparently undercover, to investigate the "many complaints" received by the ABC board. They reported 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.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ "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 10 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.

target. Many of the block-busters fell squarely on the plant.

PADLOCK PLACED ON EX-LOG CABIN

Raleigh Police and Sheriff's Deputies Close Beer Establishment

The Ex-Log Cabin on South Fayetteville Street was padlocked at 10:30 last night by order of resident Superior Court Judge W. C. Harris and Wake Sheriff Numa F. Turner.

No date has been set for the hearing of the owners of the establishment, Mike M. Wehbie and Mary M. Wehbie, in Superior Court.

In the complaint signed by Solicitor William Bickett, it was stated that "frequent complaints have been made for a long time by persons residing in the community . . . of the manner in which the business is operated and conditions existing in and about the place."

It further was asserted that for some time both men and women under the influence of liquor have "been fighting around the place . . . engaging in loud and boisterous cursing and singing and other disorderly conduct."

It was charged that on numerous occasions men and women of bad character and reputation frequent the place and that "frequently women of bad character leave and come back in company of men under the influence of intoxicants and also that men and women of bad character come to and leave the premises in taxi cabs during late hours of the night and that these conditions have existed over a long period of time."

The padlock was placed on the establishment by Sheriff's Deputies Tom Matthews and L. Adkins and Capt. J. M. Kelly, Sgt. L. L. Collins, Patrolmen H. T. Bailey and R. A. Liles of the Raleigh Police Department.

Local newspaper coverage of the Ex-Log Cabin.

Other downtown gay bars included two 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 1977.⁷⁰

It appears in editions of *Bob Damron's Address Book* from 1972 through 1976 as a "mixed" bar that some "straights" visited.⁷¹

James T. Sears, writing about several southerners in *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*, described the bar as "Victorian-decorated."

This was likely in the first location, a Victorian-era hotel building.⁷² 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.⁷³



Covers from *Bob Damron's Address Book*.

Beyond downtown Raleigh, the Five Points area was also

home to social spaces quietly enjoyed by white gay men, and sometimes lesbians, 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. Despite the "retail beer" listing, the establishment operated as a bar, evidenced by the city directory listing of Mrs. Gabby L. Terrell as a waitress there in 1960.⁷⁴ Hull recalled that The Anchorage was a small, casual

70 "Hotel Raleigh," Goodnight Raleigh blog; City Council Minutes, May 2, 1966, page 496. The Park Central Hotel had previously been called the Hotel Raleigh and Park Hotel.

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

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

73 Pilkington interview; Cline, 6.

74 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).

place with banquettes along one wall and a bar along the opposite wall.⁷⁵ Given its location in a white, upper-middle-class neighborhood, the bar would have catered only to white patrons in that 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 Raleigh Hotel, embedded in service areas near the southeast corner of the building. Patrons reach the bar through a door from the alley along the south elevation or from an inconspicuous door off the building's deeply recessed main entrance. The defunct bar space existed in the basement of the building as late as 2020, with 1970s décor that included a bar and booths.⁷⁶ 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 1977.⁷⁷

While some bars existed in plain sight, others were hidden in spaces that Raleighites would not happen across.

Phase I 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 **Office Tavern** at 1813 Glenwood Ave., in business 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 its crowd from N.C. State University, the surrounding neighborhoods, and from local theaters.⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ In a later 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. Before 1970, these bars were not universally known as gay bars or good meeting places, 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.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ The space was viewed by the author in 2000.

⁷⁷ Trolley Tour script; Pilkington interview.

⁷⁸ Pilkington interview. The Cameron Park Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 1985.

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ Harris, Phase I 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.

Also identified were public outdoor spaces known for cruising or public men's restrooms used for "tea-rooming". These places included **Nash Square**, a stretch of **Fayetteville St.**, restrooms in the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, the former **Museum of Natural History** (Annex to 2 W. Edenton St.), and **Harrelson Hall** (demolished) at N.C. State University.⁸¹ Arrests for "vagrancy" and "public nuisance" in Nash Square, vague charges that could cover cruising, appear in *News & Observer* articles in 1924 and 1944.⁸² 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 five men for crimes against nature after observing them in a restroom at the state's natural history museum.⁸³ 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."⁸⁴

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 at the 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.⁸⁵ However, a 2011 interview with Anthony Oakes of Winston-Salem mentions that he "helped bring the first ball to North Carolina" in 2001. Oakes had been active in the ballroom scene for four years at that time, known there as Mother NC Anky Miyake-Muglar.⁸⁶ An underground culture of drag performances had been thriving in Black communities in cities like New York and Washington, D.C., since the end of the 19th century.

Histories of the art form of drag commonly cite performances by female and male impersonators in the late 1800s and early 1900s as precursors to 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 (location unknown, 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

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

82 "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.

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

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

85 Sears, Ch.9, FN 17.

86 "By any means necessary," *Winston-Salem Chronicle*, January 27, 2011.

Academy of Music (demolished) and Metropolitan Hall (demolished).⁸⁷ 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, in 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. Around the country, such performances became more complicated as municipalities adopted ordinances in the 20th century banning cross-dressing.⁸⁸ Stories about female impersonators' performances still ran in some Raleigh papers as late as the 1970s, when Lynne Carter and Daphne Davis appeared in Raleigh at the Frog and Nightgown bar in the Village Subway.⁸⁹ A 1978 article in the *Charlotte Observer*, however, noted that there were "some 20 professional drag queens" in that city at the time, performing in nightclubs and gay bars.⁹⁰

Early Community Formation

The middle decades of the 20th century saw quiet and private community formation among LGBTQIA+ people across the country. These groups were particularly focused on addressing other aspects of queer life beyond romantic and sexual relationships and encounters. Drag performers in Black and Latino communities came together in the ballroom and house scene, the latter often providing community and shelter. On the west coast, gay men established the Mattachine Society and four lesbian couples started the Daughters of Bilitis, organizations to promote the rights and welfare of gay people. The groups spread to large cities across the United States. 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 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 Black Americans and for women's equality were LGBTQIA+ people. These were intersecting and overlapping movements, sometimes harmonious but often in conflict.⁹¹

⁸⁷ "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 likely no longer exists; the Tucker Hall at NCSU is a dormitory built in 1947.

⁸⁸ "Amusements," *Raleigh Times*, October 26, 1909; "Today—The Honey Boys," *News & Observer*, March 14, 1914; "'Lasses' White is here today," *News & Observer*, December 15, 1926; Kristen Riley, "From female impersonation to drag," Wellcome Collection website.

⁸⁹ "'Love 'em first, then kid 'em,'" *News & Observer*, November 15, 1972; Frog and Nightgown advertisement for Daphne Davis show, *News & Observer*, May 22, 1974.

⁹⁰ "Charlotte's gays no longer hiding ," *Charlotte News*, January 21, 1978.

⁹¹ Bronski, 205-211; "1969: The Stonewall Uprising," LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide, Library of Congress Website, guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/stonewall-era.

Properties Mentioned in Raleigh Before Gay Liberation

Appendix B contains the complete list of identified LGBTQIA+ places for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years
Dorothea Dix Hospital	Dix Hill	Hospital	possibly 1950s-1960s
Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel	400 Fayetteville St. Kitty Hawk—Davie St. space Admiral's Galley—Basement Men's Bathroom—Basement	Bar Bar Tea-room	1942-1967 1970s 1940s-1970s
Ex-Log Cabin	514 Fayetteville St. (demolished)	Restaurant	1940s
Cardinal Room	102 W. Martin St. (demolished)	Bar	1960s
Queen Bee	138 W. Martin St. (demolished) 313 W. Hargett St.	Bar	1960s-1970s
Teddy Bear Lounge	Andrew Johnson Hotel (demolished)	Bar	1970s
The Anchorage	2003b Fairview Rd., Five Points	Bar	ca. 1957-1963
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-20th C
Museum of Natural History	100 N. Salisbury St. (altered)	Museum	1960s
Harrelson Hall	2610 Stinson Drive (demolished)	Classrooms	Mid-20th C
Raleigh Memorial Auditorium	2 E. South St. (altered)	Auditorium	1960s

5. 2 LGBTQIA+ in Raleigh: 1970 through ca. 1995

There is significantly more documentation of trends related to LGBTQIA+ life in Raleigh from the 1970s onward 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 covers aspects of Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history organized roughly into decades, giving a temporal structure to themes and trends.

Note 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 in the quest for civil rights and for visible communities. This followed nationwide trends of the 1950s and 1960s. While they had never received much coverage in the local press, gay rights activities were 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. Gay men and lesbians established groups for the purpose of providing friendship, support, and advocacy during 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. Toward 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 was 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 St., a contributing property in the Boylan Heights Historic District.⁹² 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, as its membership

⁹² "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.

included transgender people, lesbians, gay men, drag performers, and people leaving heterosexual marriages. There were both Black and white members. Such inclusiveness would not always characterize groups and businesses established for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh in that 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.⁹³ 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."⁹⁴ Bland sent out a candidate questionnaire in the spring of the presidential election year of 1972. Many candidates ignored it. Some local and state politicians who supported anti-discrimination laws for gay men and lesbians did reply, including presidential primary candidate Shirley Chisholm. Within days of reporting the story, the *Charlotte Observer* ran an editorial supporting repeal of the sodomy law.⁹⁵

The AIDS epidemic also hindered the progress of gay liberation. It had a profound impact on LGBTQIA+ communities in Raleigh.

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."⁹⁶ Despite this apparent energy and successful promotional 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

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

⁹⁴ "Homosexual Alliance is Formed in Triangle," *News & Observer*, December 30, 1971.

⁹⁵ "Most candidates ignore gay group," *Charlotte Observer*, April 14, 1972; "N.C. Homosexuals and the law," *Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1972.

⁹⁶ "A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer," *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983; Sears, 91-93; also see footnote 17 from Chapter 9.

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*.⁹⁷ By the summer of 1975, women from Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill met to consider forming a union, inspired by a "socialist-feminist" conference they had attended at Antioch College in Ohio.⁹⁸ In Raleigh, the Francis Renfrow Doak Women's Center began meeting in 1976 or earlier, in the Friends Meeting House at 120 Woodburn Ave., located in the Charles Doak family residence. Workshops on "assertiveness training" and "personal awareness," drew audiences several times larger than organizers anticipated, demonstrating a previously unmet need. By 1977, the center opened a one-room temporary shelter for women and later offered 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*.⁹⁹

Bob Bland later noted that many of his feminist friends in Raleigh were coming out as lesbians in the early 1970s.¹⁰⁰ However, in her 2013 overview history of LGBT Raleigh, Brandie Cline records 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"¹⁰¹ Calling themselves the Women's Culture Collective, they began hosting social gatherings that they called "coffeehouses." They were offered meeting space in a bungalow at 119 Hawthorne Rd., almost directly behind the Friends Meeting House. The Unitarian Universalist Fellowship (UUF) of Raleigh owned the house. The 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."¹⁰² 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. They changed to monthly rather than twice-monthly meetings, hosting social gatherings rather than programmed events. 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 volunteers¹⁰³ A member involved with the group noted decades later in an oral history that the Coffeehouse ironically did not allow

97 "North Carolina's First Women's Center," *News & Observer*, January 17, 1975.

98 "Triangle Women Consider Union," *News & Observer*, August 6, 1975.

99 "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.

100 "A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer," *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983.

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

102 "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.

103 "Women's Coffeehouse Reorganizes," *Lambda*, March 1, 1984; "Around the city," *News & Observer*, June 3, 1983.

transgender women to join, and that the regular membership was not particularly racially diverse. The Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse was active at least from 1978.¹⁰⁴

An allied local business to the coffeehouse events was **New Leaf Bookshop** at 223 N. Bloodworth St. in Raleigh's **Oakwood Historic District**.¹⁰⁵ Janet Walkiewicz and Louis Sawyer, known at the time as Lou, opened the shop in a former restaurant space in November 1977, 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.¹⁰⁶ Sawyer also founded the **Androgyny Center** in 1977 and operated out of an office on Barrett Dr. in 1978 (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."¹⁰⁷ Sawyer advertised lesbian and feminist counseling and later queer/transgender mental health services in *The Front Page*, eventually relocating to Durham.¹⁰⁸

Unlike New Leaf Bookshop, women-centric and lesbian "spaces" in this period were often founded as 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.¹⁰⁹

The **Oakwood** neighborhood, home to the New Leaf, also became home to many gay and lesbian Raleigh residents in the 1970s.¹¹⁰ This 19th century, near-downtown neighborhood had been in a downturn. Many of the large single-family houses had been converted to apartments or boarding houses. Gay couples rehabilitated several dwellings beginning in the early 1970s. W. Ames Christopher and Bill Caligari purchased and rehabilitated one of the Pullentown houses on the 400 block of Elm St. A 1973 feature in the "Today's Woman" section of the *News & Observer* referred to the couple as "bachelors" and described their painstaking restoration.¹¹¹ With the announcement of a major roadway through the neighborhood in 1972, Christopher and others organized to fight the project. Christopher

¹⁰⁴ Cline, 8-9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ "'Human lib' is theme of books in new store," *News & Observer*, December 15, 1977.

¹⁰⁷ "Center helps solve problems found in 'alternative lifestyle,'" *News & Observer*, July 23, 1978.

¹⁰⁸ "Church news," *News & Observer*, October 17, 1987.

¹⁰⁹ "Ladyslipper Music: Welcome," Ladyslipper website; Ladyslipper's rich history helped shape women's music," *QnotesCarolinas*, June 14, 2019, *QnotesCarolinas* website.

¹¹⁰ Howard interview; Pilkington interview.

¹¹¹ "Brain and Brawn, Time and Travel Make Historic House a Unique Home," *News & Observer*, July 6, 1973.

announced a meeting to coordinate opposition in a letter to the editor of the *News & Observer*.¹¹² Nearly 130 residents attended and the grassroots effort was ultimately successful. The group also got the neighborhood listed in the National Register of Historic Places. In 1975 the **Oakwood Historic District** became the city's first local historic district.¹¹³ The work saved the neighborhood from physical division and was a significant step forward for historic preservation in Raleigh.¹¹⁴ In the 1980s, ads for houses for sale and rooms for rent or roommates wanted in Oakwood appeared regularly in the classified section of *The Front Page*. Many of those ads were placed by real estate agent and preservationist Chris Yetter. He and his partner Steve Zamparelli purchased and restored "a rambling ruin" at the corner of Oakwood Ave. and N. East St. around 1980. They sold it and restored a second house on Bloodworth St. later in the 1980s.¹¹⁵

This rediscovery of the charm and quality of old buildings in somewhat neglected parts of the city often included the work of LGBTQIA+ people.

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 southwest of downtown Raleigh.¹¹⁶ The area was situated between **Nash Square** and the Boylan Heights Historic District. Now marketed as the Warehouse District, a section of it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the Depot Historic District in 2002. Karl Larson, a photographer who grew up in Raleigh and took photographs of the area as a student at N.C. State University, 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, in his 20s, was among the performers. The show occurred about a dozen years before Sedaris was catapulted to fame

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

113 The Oakwood Historic District was listed in the NRHP in 1974.

114 "Neighborhood History," Society for the Preservation of Historic Oakwood website.

115 "Athletic event," *News & Observer*, March 31, 1987.

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

with a radio reading of his essay "The Santaland Diaries."¹¹⁷ For the rest of the 20th century, the warehouse district would be the location of several places important to the LGBTQIA+ communities, garnering the nickname "the gayborhood."

Similarly, west of the warehouse district toward and including Hillsborough Street 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 St. were reportedly home to a lot of LGBTQIA+ people in the period. The complex was nicknamed "Queens Court."¹¹⁸ An artists' collective called the Raleigh Artists' Community occupied the dwelling at 908 W. Morgan St. The gay-friendly **Irregardless Café** opened at 901 W. Morgan St. and **Charlie Goodnights Saloon** (demolished) opened next door 861 W. Morgan St. 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."¹¹⁹

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 N.C. State University. He created places and programs that influenced the field of horticulture. He also created community and safe gatherings for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh and beyond. Raulston established the university's 10-acre arboretum in 1976, now named the **JC Raulston Arboretum** at 4415 Beryl Rd., and introduced a "horticultural renaissance" to the nursery industry in the state and the U.S.¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹ The (former) **J.C. Raulston House**, a renovated warehouse at 318 E. Davie St. in what is now the East Raleigh-South Park Historic District and Prince Hall Historic District, was large enough to host gatherings.¹²² "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.¹²³

117 Karl Larson, "Reminiscences of a Raleigh Boy, Part 4: The Warehouse District," Goodnight Raleigh blog; M. Ruth Little, "Depot Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2002, NC Listings in the National Register of Historic Places, NC State Historic Preservation website; "Chronology," avibwegner.com. Lot 13 is west of today's Contemporary Art Museum.

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

119 "Street change; New Activity," *News & Observer*, February 13, 1975.

120 Bobby J. Ward, "J. C. Raulston," Biography page at the JC Raulston Arboretum website.

121 Bobby J. Ward, "J. C. Raulston and the network he created for gay and lesbian gardeners," August 23, 2012, Garden Rant blog. [NULL](#)

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

123 David Hunt, "People, Plants and Pride: The Passions of J. C. Raulston," Friends of the JC Raulston Arboretum Newsletter, Vol.24, No.2 (Fall 2021): 7-8.

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. In the 1970s, to provide an alternative social outlet to the bar scene, he began hosting "over-30" potluck dinners at the **Voorhees House**, his flat-roofed, Modernist dwelling (of his own design) at 2727 N. Mayview Rd. (demolished). Voorhees had left his job 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, for instance, he presented a talk on "Growing Up Gay" for the public at UUF. He also helped establish the Raleigh chapter of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG).¹²⁴

Longtime Raleigh resident and gay activist Willie Pilkington came to Raleigh right after high school, in the early 1970s, and met Voorhees at the potluck dinners. Pilkington found Voorhees to be a guiding influence and began planning social events for the community with him. 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 potluck events, creating discussion groups, recreational softball and roller-skating outings, and political advocacy. What was initially called "Gay Gathering" evolved into Gay Club of Raleigh, perhaps a reflection of the diversity of social activities organized. Events were held at Voorhees' house, other private homes, and frequently at **Unitarian Universalist Fellowship (UUF) of Raleigh** at 3313 Wade Ave. Gay Club, active from 1976-1991, met every other week, generally at UUF, in addition to hosting other social activities and recreational sports events all over Raleigh. Meetings might include discussion groups, movie nights, or socializing. The discussion groups would prove key to later advocacy. Voorhees and Pilkington wanted an environment where



NO.2-11-1975. From the N&O negative collection, State Archives of North Carolina; Raleigh, NC. Photo copyrighted by the News and Observer.

Owners, Chip Lovell (left) and Garry Hoover are seen in front of Charlie Goodnight's Saloon, February 11, 1975.

¹²⁴ "John Voorhees Obituary," *News & Observer*, June 9, 2007; Pilkington, interview with the author; "Church Briefs," *News & Observer*, February 11, 1978.

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. Pilkington also started a printed newsletter to keep club members informed of social events and other newsworthy items, which he operated out of the **Pilkington-Dilley House** at 611 Boundary St. in Oakwood. His “Gay Club News” evolved into a weekly digital newspaper called “Raleigh GLBT Report.” Pilkington continues to produce the report as a newsletter emailed to a mailing list. Pilkington and his spouse, John Dilley, who met roller skating at a Gay Club event, lived in their Boundary St. house from 1980-1995 and created a residential garden featured in the *New York Times* and other publications.¹²⁵

In 1979, Pilkington invited several men to a meeting to discuss establishing a legal defense fund. Organizers included John Voorhees, Rev. Willie White, Patrick Sears, John Boddie, Art Sperry, and Doug Pruden, according to Pilkington’s recollection.¹²⁶ The group established the North Carolina Human Rights Fund, and *The Front Page* soon wrote that the group intended to “promote and defend the human and civil rights of lesbians and gay men” in the state.¹²⁷ In practice, the fund’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 broadened its work and evolved into Equality NC, the oldest statewide LGBTQIA+ organization.¹²⁸

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, D.C., gave him the idea to start something similar in Raleigh. White and his partner, Robert Pace, advertised a Bible study in their apartment at 900 W. Morgan St. in February 1976. Keith Hartman, who wrote about conflict over LGBTQIA+ rights in North Carolina churches and divinity schools, notes that White posted signs in gay bars in Raleigh and Durham to advertise the Bible study. 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. That summer, they officially affiliated with the national MCC, founded in 1968 and headquartered in Los Angeles. St. John’s then met a few times at the **Quaker House** at 120 Woodburn Rd. 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 Trl., their host for 17 years.¹²⁹ UUF welcomed and invited

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

126 Willie Pilkington, October 25, 2024, email correspondence with the author and Raleigh Planning and Development department.

127 “Give a damn,” *The Front Page*, October 25, 1979; Cline 10.

128 “Our History,” Equality NC Website.

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

St. John's members into their congregation, but UCC was willing to let St. John's have its own 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 N.C. 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 NC State, a secular group.¹³⁰

Jim Baxter started the free biweekly ***The Front Page*** newspaper 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 Varityper 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-year history, starting at 324 S. Harrington St. in the **Sperry & Associates Office** of Art Sperry's advertising firm. Its longest-term location was at 309 W. Martin St.¹³¹

Despite the frequent, ever-changing bar landscape, gay and gay-friendly bars continued to exist in Raleigh. 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 1970.¹³² The next month, the bar hosted a happy hour for the Raleigh Spinsters Club. The brief notice in the paper stated that "Guests include the Bachelors Club and Spinsters Club guests."¹³³ 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.¹³⁴ The following February, the Raleigh Spinsters and local bachelors mingled again at "that bistro

130 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; "Around the City," *News & Observer*, September 27, 1979; "Church news" *News & Observer*, November 3, 1979.

131 "Before the 'Net, there was *The Front Page*," *IndyWeek*, June 21, 2006, viewed at IndyWeek website [NULL](#). Digitized issues of *The Front Page* are available at the DigitalNC website.

132 "Cocktail Waitress," *News & Observer*, September 4, 1970.

133 "Today's Events," *News & Observer*, November 19, 1970.

134 Raleigh's Single Men Speak Out," *News & Observer*, December 6, 1970.

known as the Mousetrap."¹³⁵ The 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."¹³⁶ Soon after, on, 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 intentionally created a space for gay men; they were even open with the ABC board about that when applying for a permit to sell beer.¹³⁷ 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."¹³⁸ Around that time, the bar occupied the front room with dancing at the back.¹³⁹

Two doors down stood the **Colony Theater (now the Rialto)** at 1620 Glenwood Ave. in 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, 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.¹⁴⁰

Bars catering to or friendly to lesbian and gay patrons in Raleigh's downtown were concentrated around **Nash Square**. As early as April 1974, a restaurant with bar known as the **Executive Lounge** existed in the **Hotel Carolina** (demolished) on the north side of Nash Square.¹⁴¹ 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.'"¹⁴² Across the square, the Queen Bee had relocated in 1976 to 313 W. Hargett St., 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

¹³⁵ "Passing Scene," *News & Observer*, February 24, 1971.

¹³⁶ "Beer," *News & Observer*, August 14, 1972; "Local Young Republicans Try Beer Party Politics," *News & Observer*, August 15, 1972.

¹³⁷ Jackson interview.

¹³⁸ "Hayes Barton unhappy with neighborhood bars," *News & Observer*, April 24, 1974.

¹³⁹ Willie D. Pilkington, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023.

¹⁴⁰ "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.

¹⁴¹ *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.

¹⁴² Regan and Gonzaba, *Mapping the Gay Guides* database.

of interest," recalled Sperry, explaining his themed disco concept.¹⁴³ In 1979, the storefront next door at 315 W. Hargett St. became part 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.¹⁴⁴ The area around Capital Corral and Nash Square was a popular area for cruising, as was the **300 block of Hillsborough St.**, where the circular tower of the 1969 **Holiday Inn** had recently been erected.

As activists continued to work toward securing civil rights, attitudes in mainstream local papers began expressing support, or at least curiosity, about gay men and lesbians and their lives. The *News & Observer*, as well as the *Charlotte Observer*, ran locally reported stories in this period about some of the challenging aspects of being gay in North Carolina.¹⁴⁵ Some editorial pages explicitly supported gay rights. *The Carolinian* ran a 1977 editorial opposing the Dade County, Florida, referendum to repeal its ordinance banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The referendum, famously supported by singer Anita Bryant, had attracted the attention of the nation. *The Carolinian* editors noted that those with same-sex desire "are human beings who want to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness... But what bothers us most about the Dade County question is the unbelievable attitude of so many blacks, both locally and nationally. They seem to have forgotten all too quickly the stigma of discrimination inherent in name-calling and stereotyping which lead to denials of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."¹⁴⁶ At the same time, papers often ran articles about religious conservatives and their objections to LGBTQIA+ people. This tension of denigration versus support also played out on the pages of newspapers in the form of letters from both sides, both to newspaper editors and to advice columnist Dear Abby.

Properties Mentioned in The 1970s: Leaning into Liberation

Appendix B contains the complete List of Identified LGBTQIA+ 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 loc.	119 Hawthorne Rd.	Meeting Place	1970s

¹⁴³ Art Sperry, interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023; Harris, 11.

¹⁴⁴ 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.

¹⁴⁵ "Homosexuals seek understanding through organization," *News & Observer*, February, 22, 1972; "Fear of discovery dominates lives of some gays," *Charlotte Observer*, April 29, 1981.

¹⁴⁶ "Homosexuals: Humans pursuing life, liberty, and happiness," *The Carolinian*, June 2, 1977.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh	3313 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 Apts. / "Queens Court"	804 W. Morgan St.	Apartment Building	1970s
Irregardless Café	901 W. Morgan St.	Restaurant	1970s-present
Charlie Goodnights Saloon	861 W. Morgan St. (demolished)	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
Raleigh Friends Meeting	120 Woodburn Rd.	Meeting hall	1970s
St. John's MCC at Community United Church of Christ	814 Dixie Trl.	Religious Service	1970s-present
The Front Page (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	242 W. Hargett St. (Hotel Carolina) demolished	Bar	1970s
Hotel Carolina	NE cor W. Hargett & S. Dawson Sts.	Hotel	1970s

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Capital Corral & Glitter Gulch	313-315 W. Hargett St.	Bar, Nightclub	1976-2011
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 gay liberation movement made strides and newspaper reporting continued to shift to somewhat less stigmatizing coverage of gay and lesbian people. Activists organized marches to increase visibility and celebrate community. At the same time, pushback from conservative political and religious groups impeded progress toward equal treatment. The AIDS epidemic began in this period and had a profound impact on LGBTQIA+ communities. A major local advance in rights came late in the 1980s 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 that the advocacy of the previous decades was beginning to take root. According to Willie Pilkington, a group of politically engaged LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh, including John Boddie, John Voorhees, and himself, introduced a resolution advocating for civil rights and repeal of CAN laws at a local Democratic Party meeting. They were inspired by and started a local version of what was originally called the Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club, an activist organization founded in San Francisco in 1971. As a result of the local group's action, the Democratic party of Wake County passed a resolution at its April 1980 convention calling for "legal protection of homosexuals and lesbians". The resolution included civil rights protections and the repeal of laws "used to stigmatize persons on the basis of sexual preference."¹⁴⁷ 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.¹⁴⁸

Advocating for gay rights remained politically dicey in this period, however, due to demonstrations staged by conservatives. One example was in 1984, an election year, when

¹⁴⁷ "Gay protection backed in Wake," *News & Observer*, April 23, 1980.

¹⁴⁸ "4th District Democrats choose convention delegates," *News & Observer*, June 3, 1984.

the state was revising its criminal code. 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 the public pressure.¹⁴⁹ Gov. Jim Hunt, in his 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, Helms attacked Hunt by highlighting the gay community's support for Hunt's campaign.¹⁵⁰

The AIDS epidemic also hindered the progress of gay liberation. It had a profound impact on LGBTQIA+ communities in Raleigh. The first cases of AIDS emerged in 1981 and quickly made national headlines. These initial cases surfaced in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York and afflicted otherwise healthy, often young, gay men. It was not immediately understood that the HIV virus caused AIDS. Conservative political commentator Patrick Buchanan immediately made AIDS political and asked in his newspaper column if Democrats were still willing to advocate for civil rights for "active homosexuals."¹⁵¹ The first AIDS case reported 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 cluster of diseases that were then known as gay-related immune-deficiency (GRID).¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ In a report on June 28, 1983, *The Front Page* announced "AIDS Comes To The Carolinas..." and noted that patients in three of the four 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.¹⁵⁴

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 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 founded 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.¹⁵⁵

149 "Altering law on sex crime called tough by legislators," *News & Observer*, September 29, 1984.

150 "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.

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

152 "UNC-CH Researchers Study Baffling Illness," *The Front Page*, September 28, 1982.

153 "Gay Health Issues," *The Front Page*, May 11, 1982.

154 "AIDS Comes to the Carolinas...," *The Front Page*, June 28, 1983.

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

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 similarly organized networks of LGBTQIA+ people that could act publicly. Healthcare accessibility was also 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. Carter noted that the "stigma associated with AIDS in the black community [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 by holding a conference at Shaw University for Black churches that were helping members with AIDS.¹⁵⁶ 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*.¹⁵⁷

Efforts by state government to combat rising HIV rates began in the mid-1980s. David Jolly, one of the 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 in his efforts. He sought funding from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention for active community groups. Jolley focused on programs for non-white communities, such as Teens Against AIDS, a Raleigh program coordinated by Strengthening the Black Family.¹⁵⁸

In 1987, Chris Weedy (1954-2021), a medical social worker and therapist, began facilitating the state's first support group for people with HIV/AIDS. Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group Weedy was working at the time with Family Services of Wake County (now known as Triangle Family Services) and co-facilitated the group with Cranor Graves of N.C. State University. Early on, the support group met at the UUF campus on Wade Avenue. However, due to the members' need to keep their HIV status private, the **Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group** meeting location soon shifted to Weedy's own apartment at 109 N. Boylan Ave. After Weedy married Jimmy Creech in 1992, the group's meeting place relocated to the **Chris Weedy & Jimmy Creech House** at 412 S. Boylan Ave. in Boylan Heights. The group continued to meet at the couple's home until 2012. Weedy remained the group facilitator except for a few years in the late 1990s when she lived out of state.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ 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.

¹⁵⁷ "Black churches urged to join fight on AIDS," *News & Observer*, October 4, 1987.

¹⁵⁸ Inrig, 59.

¹⁵⁹ Jimmy Creech, October 25, 2024, email correspondence with Raleigh Planning and Development department; "Unitarian support group," *The Front Page*, April 21, 1987.

Weedy's advocacy took other forms as well. Notably, she drafted and successfully lobbied for state legislation that more than doubled aid for children in foster care who were HIV positive. Weedy was a founder in 1989 of the AIDS Service Agency of Wake County, now part of the Alliance for AIDS Services NC. Her work garnered several awards, including the 1994 Sandra E. Hendrickson AIDS Service Award from the Wake County Department of Health. In 1996, then-Governor Jim Hunt awarded Weedy the Order of the Long Leaf Pine, the state's highest civilian honor.¹⁶⁰

Throughout the 1980s, other groups formed to support those with HIV/AIDS, including Families and Friends of People with AIDS, which met on alternate Wednesdays at the former Mary Elizabeth Hospital at 1100 Wake Forest Road.¹⁶¹ 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.¹⁶² It would move in the 1990s to 908 W. Morgan St.

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 their 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.¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴ Activists organized a larger march in Durham in June of 1981, "to demonstrate unity, celebrate the 12th anniversary of the gay rights movement and emphasize the importance of personal freedom."¹⁶⁵ Known at the time as "Our Day Out," it is now generally considered the state's first Pride March.¹⁶⁶

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

¹⁶⁰ "Chris Weedy 1954-2021," *News & Observer*, March 13, 2021.

¹⁶¹ Harris, 16.

¹⁶² "Shelter for runaways schedules dedication," *News & Observer*, March 30, 1996.

¹⁶³ "Courthouse vigil protests sunbather beating, death," *News & Observer*, April 18, 1981.

¹⁶⁴ "Marchers protest attacks on gays," *News & Observer*, April 25, 1981.

¹⁶⁵ "Durham march for gay rights to be today," *News & Observer*, June 27, 1981.

¹⁶⁶ "Key Triangle LGBTQ leaders on the meaning of 'pride,'" *News & Observer*, June 28, 2022.

denomination restricted gay men and lesbians from being ordained.¹⁶⁷ The language enabled the churches to state that they were excluding behavior, not people. 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 six women and eight men attending, and the chapter voted to affiliate with the national group.¹⁶⁸ In 1986, however, the Vatican banned Dignity from meeting in churches or church-owned facilities. The Vatican further directed Catholic bishops to oppose efforts across the country that sought to guarantee protection of civil rights to gay and lesbian people. This meant gay Catholics involved with Dignity were now in a position of being better supported by the lay-led ministry than by church leaders.¹⁶⁹ Amid the pushback within several Christian denominations, St. John's MCC remained active and 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 placed 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.¹⁷⁰

The historic preservation activities of the newly formed Society of the Preservation of Historic Oakwood also 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.¹⁷¹

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 (HRHRAC), an appointed citizen's group that advised Raleigh's City Council, began encouraging the council to take action on behalf of the civil rights of lesbians and

¹⁶⁷ Hartman, 2, 155.

¹⁶⁸ Harris, 12-13; "Raleigh Dignity chapter affiliates," *The Front Page*, May 8, 1980.

¹⁶⁹ "History," DignityUSA website.

¹⁷⁰ "Around the city: Group Meetings," *News & Observer*, January 24, 1981; "Church news," *News & Observer*, October 24, 1981.

¹⁷¹ "Oakwood turns out to launch new bed-and-breakfast inn," *News & Observer*, June 7, 1984; "Preview Tour," *News & Observer*, December 18, 1984; "Grand Finale," *News & Observer*, November 22, 1983; "Time to relax," *News & Observer*, December 14, 1982.

gay men.¹⁷² The HRHRAC was aware of discrimination, harassment, and violence in Raleigh, including an incident in which the Parks department rescinded a permit for Gay Club to hold its annual Gay Freedom Day picnic in **Pullen Park**—and was later instructed by Council members to reinstate it.¹⁷³ Council eventually asked City staff to investigate 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.”¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵

In August 1987, the HRHRAC scheduled a hearing in **City Council Chambers** at the **Raleigh Municipal Building** at 222 W. Hargett St. to take public testimony on the matter.¹⁷⁶ Over 75 people attended the hearing, including 20 Raleigh residents from the LGBTQIA+ communities. Several members of Raleigh's clergy also 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 individuals who gave 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.”¹⁷⁷ In addition to the violence, the committee found instances of harassment and discrimination. In a report to City Council, the committee stated it was “convinced that our city remains a hostile environment for our gay and lesbian citizens.”¹⁷⁸

The committee recommended that the Council revise the City's 1969 antidiscrimination ordinance to include sexual orientation. According to Pilkington's recollection, the proposed revision languished without council action. A city council election was coming up in the fall,

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

173 Pilkington interview; “Clayton native labors for cause,” undated *Clayton News* clipping in the collection of Willie D. Pilkington.

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

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

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

177 “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.

178 “Raleigh passes anti-discrimination ordinance,” *The Front Page*, January 12, 1988.

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.¹⁷⁹ When Walters lost to Nooe, the *News & Observer* noted that "The election left Raleigh with its most strongly neighborhood-oriented council in more than a decade."¹⁸⁰ In contrast, *The Front Page* reported that "strong support from gay men and lesbians helped pro-gay City Council candidate Nooe finish ahead of anti-gay Ed Walters, a six-term incumbent."¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸²

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.¹⁸³ 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.¹⁸⁴

After the hearing, a local clergy association began meeting to discuss how Raleigh's churches could support lesbians and gay men.¹⁸⁵ Rev. Jim Lewis, an Episcopal priest, knew that there were clergy who quietly supported the civil rights sought by the gay and lesbian communities.¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷ 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

179 "Raleigh victory," *The Front Page*, October 20, 1987; Pilkington interview.

180 "Myrick stressed road construction in drive for mayor's seat," *News & Observer*, November 5, 1987.

181 "Raleigh victory," *The Front Page*, October 20, 1987.

182 "Nooe Wins Run-off," *The Front Page*, November 17, 1987.

183 "City passes law protecting gays," *News & Observer*, January 6, 1988; Hartman 4.

184 "Raleigh official, activist dies," *News & Observer*, December 21, 2014.

185 "Gay rights stand splits church," *News & Observer*, January 21, 1990.

186 Pilkington interview; Hartman, 3-4.

187 Hartman, 4-6; "Gays and equality," *News & Observer*, March 3, 1988.

civil rights for gay and lesbian people" in light of discrimination and violence.¹⁸⁸ In this same period, however, that paper still published substantial pieces describing homosexuality as contrary to biblical principles.¹⁸⁹

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."¹⁹⁰ In 1988, despite Raleigh's anti-discrimination ordinance that benefited lesbian, gay, and bisexual city employees, 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."¹⁹¹ 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.¹⁹² The parade drew 2,000 marchers walking east from the N.C. State University Bell Tower on Hillsborough St. to the State Capitol.¹⁹³ Raleigh would host the Pride March again in 1989 and 1993 and again as a co-host with Durham in 2001 and 2010.¹⁹⁴

Black lesbian and gay people in Raleigh generally gathered in each other's homes rather than in bars or clubs.

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

¹⁸⁸ "Conference Set to Examine Gay, Lesbian Rights," *Carolinian*, March 7, 1988.

¹⁸⁹ "God's View of Homosexuality," *Carolinian*, August 3, 1991.

¹⁹⁰ "Raleigh Police Charge Seven With 'Crime Against Nature,'" *The Front Page*, April 1, 1981.

¹⁹¹ "Pride '88" advertisement, *News & Observer*, June 24, 1988.

¹⁹² Hartman, 7-8, 29.

¹⁹³ "Homosexuals, supporters march in pride celebration," *News & Observer*, June 26, 1988; "Gays say life's good, but not perfect," *News & Observer*, September 15, 1988.

¹⁹⁴ Cline, 12.

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 a truly remarkable statement about where we are despite these two hostile forces.¹⁹⁵

Still, in 1989, there were more reported hate crimes against LGBTQIA+ people in North Carolina than in any other U.S. state.¹⁹⁶

Safe spaces, of all kinds, remained important. In 1983, 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



Raleigh's first Gay Pride March on Saturday, June 25, 1988.

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

196 "7,000 Hate Crimes on Gays Reported in '89," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1990.

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."¹⁹⁷ 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.)"¹⁹⁸

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 **William B. Umstead State Park** at 8801 Glenwood Ave., and **Pullen Park** at 520 Ashe Ave. were all locations for the picnics.¹⁹⁹ 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*.²⁰⁰

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 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."²⁰¹ An adult bookstore, **Bachelors Books & Movies** at 3411 S. Wilmington St. took out a large advertisement in 1982 to announce its opening.²⁰² The **Camera's Eye** at 1433 S. Wilmington St. and **Chateaux II** at 1210 Downtown Blvd. (now Capital Blvd.) were also popular adult bookstores in the gay community in the 1980s.

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

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

199 Pilkington interview.

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

201 "Black & White Men Together Revive," *The Front Page*, April 4, 1989.

202 "We're Here Raleigh," *The Front Page*, May 11, 1982.

Properties Mentioned in the 1980s: Politics and Pushback, Advocacy and AIDS

Appendix B contains the complete list of identified LGBTQIA+ places for reference.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Glenwood Park	1622 Glenwood Ave.	Bar	1980s
Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group	109 N. Boylan Ave.	Meeting place	1987-1992
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 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 1,500 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 against discrimination, and for anonymous testing.²⁰³ With the rise in AIDS cases, and deaths, in North Carolina, there was also an increase in the number of caregiving, fundraising, and policymaking organizations to help deal with the epidemic. Groups creating community also formed.

²⁰³ "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 Pl., 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.²⁰⁴ The Wake County AIDS Service Agency (now the Alliance for AIDS Services NC) 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 up to five people.²⁰⁵ Other neighbors were very supportive, volunteering their time to mow the lawn and help out with the household.²⁰⁶

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.²⁰⁷

Volunteerism increased during this period. 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.²⁰⁸

In 1995, 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. Community UCC, continuing its allyship, hosted the coalition, providing

204 “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.

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

206 “1 year later, neighbors both kind, cold to AIDS house,” *News & Observer*, August 18, 1991.

207 “About Crape Myrtle Festival,” Crape Myrtle Festival website.

208 “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.²⁰⁹ ASPYN ran a telephone helpline and held meetups for teens in coffee shops. Call logs show teens were grateful for the helpline because it provided someone to talk with. Before Gay-Straight Alliance school clubs were established in the 1990s and prior to accessible information via the internet, teens had few trusted resources. However, records show that ASPYN struggled to reach a broad cross-section of Raleigh teens due to limitations of meeting places and lack of access to transportation.²¹⁰ 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.²¹¹ 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 teens in crisis and to reunite young people with their families.²¹² Wrenn House remains in operation at that address today.²¹³ Meanwhile, the Triangle Community Works! coalition's goal of establishing a community center was achieved with the opening of the LGBT Center of Raleigh 2010.²¹⁴

LGBTQIA+ teens also created their own community in this period. In the late 1990s through at least the early 2000s, older teens would congregate in Five Points at Third Place Coffee, at 1811 Glenwood Ave., and Lilly's Pizza, in the former Office Tavern space at 1813 Glenwood Ave. Raleigh native Daniel Thomas Abbott recalled that "The internet was in its early days of emerging as a tool to meet other people, so often meet ups would be centered [at the Third Place] due to its open environment and younger LGBTQ leaning staff at the time. The Third Place also had a wide variety of free print media we could access such as *The Triangle*, *The Front Page*, and *The Raleigh Hatchet*...The Third Place and Lilly's Pizza were places where many teens were first introduced to socializing with other LGBTQ folks in the Raleigh area."²¹⁵

Throughout the 1980s, panic over AIDS had 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

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

210 "ASPYN: LGBT Adolescence and the Creation of Safe Spaces," OutHistory website.

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

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

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

214 "Our Story," LGBT Center of Raleigh website.

215 Daniel Thomas Abbott, October 23, 2024, October 2024 response to LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Draft Report Survey.

marches and things. And there are different grades of out. Some are out at work, some only at church, some only to friends."²¹⁶ Professional groups with LGBT memberships, like Raulston's Lavandula and Labiatae Society, continued to be places for people to socialize and network in safe communities. The Triangle Business and Professional Guild, which had been established in the late 1980s by Voorhees, Pilkington, and members of Gay Club of Raleigh, continued to grow. The group often met at Ballentine's Cafeteria (demolished) in what was then known as Cameron Village Shopping Center (now the Village District).²¹⁷

In March 1990, local organizers hosted the 15th annual Southeastern Conference for Lesbians and Gay Men in Raleigh, at the **Radisson Plaza Hotel** (now a Sheraton Hotel) at 421 S. Salisbury St.²¹⁸ The conference, first held in Chapel Hill in 1972, had grown to draw attendees from southern and southeastern states ranging from Texas to West Virginia. Sharon Worthington of Chapel Hill and Willie Pilkington of Raleigh co-chaired the organizing committee, and Roy Dicks, also of Raleigh, took on the role of treasurer. During the summer before the conference, roughly 30 people, many members of Gay Club of Raleigh, volunteered to help plan events for the conference. The organizing group was cognizant that getting more people involved could strengthen connections within and activism on behalf of LGBTQIA+ communities. Fundraising was also essential to a successful conference, as it could set the stage for future work with seed money. Pilkington noted that bringing the convention to Raleigh was an important task following the city's passage of the non-discrimination ordinance. "I wondered, 'How can we show the city council what the gay community can do?'" Pilkington told *The Front Page* in 1989, while conference planning was underway. "How can we show them what they did for us [passing a non-discrimination ordinance] was worth doing?" Organizers also noted that the city's convention and tourism staff was very forthcoming with planning assistance. Ultimately, the work was immensely satisfying.²¹⁹ Roy Dicks noted that he felt a sense of victory when he "walked in the front door" to a very public conference.²²⁰

While organizers strove to create a conference with events and resources valuable to the LGBTQIA+ communities across in southern and southeastern states, they also planned several features for the wider Raleigh community. There were two days of extensive informational sessions about AIDS and repeal of sodomy laws, for instance. Speakers lectured on strategies for repeal and on LGBT history. In contrast, an open-to-the-public marketplace had space for a hundred vendors, envisioned like a flea market. But most notable and affecting to the entire community was the display of a large portion of the AIDS

²¹⁶ "Active, closet gays worlds apart," *News & Observer*, March 8, 1992.

²¹⁷ Information about the Triangle Business and Professional Guild was provided by various community members through online surveys that were part of this project, including comments on the draft report via the October 2024 LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Draft Report Survey; Willie Pilkington, email correspondence with the author, July 31, 2024.

²¹⁸ "Timeline of Queer Raleigh," Appendix Two: Selected Timeline, in the research files of the City of Raleigh Museum; Willie Pilkington, October 26, 2024, communication with Raleigh Planning and Development department.

²¹⁹ "1990 SE Conference Needs Volunteers," *The Front Page*, August 15, 1989; "1990 SE Conference Update," *The Front Page*, December 6, 1988.

²²⁰ Cline, 14.

Memorial Quilt. Hundreds of quilt panels, personalized for and dedicated to the memory of individual people who had died of AIDS, were displayed in the main arena of the Civic Center. Pilkington, on behalf of the conference, had requested that Raleigh City Council co-sponsor display of the quilt. On January 16, 1990, council voted to do so and to contribute a third of the cost of bringing quilt to the city for the conference. The display of the quilt was well-publicized, with features in *The Front Page*, *The Carolinian*, and the *News & Observer*. The conference opened with a memorial candlelight vigil, and then the quilt display was opened to the public. It was the largest display of sections of the quilt in the U.S. that year.²²¹ At the time, 679 North Carolinians had died of AIDS.²²²

Despite the progress represented by the visibility of the conference, when local architect Les Geller first arrived in Raleigh in 1994, he found the gay community was still “very underground.”²²³ 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 Cres., two students hung anti-gay posters around the building. In response, six 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 one was openly gay at the time. Palmquist counted himself as not yet out at school, and the other four were straight. The Enloe Six appealed their suspension, and it was eventually reversed. Palmquist would continue working as an advocate for gay rights in North Carolina both in college and as a profession.²²⁴

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.²²⁵ 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 three gay

221 “AIDS Memorial Quilt comes to Raleigh Civic Center,” *The Carolinian*, March 15, 1990.

222 “SE Conference Coming Together,” *The Front Page*, January 23, 1990; “The Quilt Comes to NC,” *The Front Page*, April 3, 1990; “The AIDS Quilt,” *News & Observer*, March 18, 1990.

223 “Key Triangle LGBTQ leaders on the meaning of ‘pride,’” *News & Observer*, June 29, 2022.

224 “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.

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

clubs nearby and the newspaper published out of the back room, was the "the closest thing Raleigh has to a pink quarter."²²⁶

The three 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. 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.²²⁷ FLEX opened in the basement space previously occupied by the **Fallout Shelter**, a music venue and dance club. The Fallout Shelter had been a gay-friendly venue, hosting a mixed crowd that included gay and straight college types, goths, and alternative music fans since the mid-1980s²²⁸ A public comment on one of the online surveys that accompanied this project noted that FLEX "was a spot for the full spectrum, including drag queens, go-go boys, and leather daddies."²²⁹ The two new bars, like CC, became long-lasting community fixtures with their sponsorship of fundraisers and community events.²³⁰ Beyond downtown, the hip-hop club Fevers shut down in favor of a new gay club called **Two Snaps Up**, housed at 3210 Yonkers Rd. in the same warehouse space briefly in the mid-1980s occupied by the gay dance club **Sensations**.²³¹

Another social outlet for the community centered around sports and recreation, the latter often sponsored by Gay Club of Raleigh in this period. Pilkington recalls that Gay Club had long organized pickup 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.²³² Gay Club also sponsored hikes in William B. Umstead State Park and other parks outside of Raleigh and roller skating at **Sportsworld of Raleigh** at 912 Hodges St. The Kings and Queens bowling league began playing every Thursday night at **Capital Lanes** (demolished) at 1827 Capital Blvd. 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.²³³ The Triangle Sports Alliance formed in this period to advocate for equal protection of gay and lesbian people within the sporting community. The UCC on Dixie Trail. provided meeting space for the organization.

St. John's MCC also made itself more visible in this period. In 1994, the congregation purchased a mid-20th century concrete-block church building and the ca. 1911 house next

226 "Run, Rabbit, run," *News & Observer*, April 8, 1997.

227 "'Drag' shows OK in Raleigh, judge says," *News & Observer*, November 8, 1996; "Stonewall revisited?," *The Front Page*, May 24, 1996.

228 "Last dance for The Fallout Shelter," *News & Observer*, December 21, 1994.

229 "FLEX," List of Identified Places notes.

230 "LGBT nightlife in the Triangle," *News & Observer*, February 4, 2022.

231 "Rapping up a big reputation," *News & Observer*, June 22, 1990.

232 Pilkington interview.

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

door, 805 and 807 Glenwood Ave. (both demolished). The location was in the **Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District**. The modest, front-gabled church building had previously been home to the First Assembly of God and the Unity Church of Raleigh. The neighborhood had developed in the early 20th century and remained quite stable through mid-century. In the third quarter of the century 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.²³⁴ **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 state's seven Metropolitan Community Church denominations applied for membership in the North Carolina Council of Churches. Through the council, various denominations could work together on 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 against this, and the Methodists tactic was unsuccessful. Council members voted to allow the MCC to remain.²³⁵

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 Pat Long, a church member who kept her sexuality and her same-sex partner separate from her church, even upon her partner's death.²³⁶ 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.²³⁷ 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.²³⁸

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.²³⁹ Those

234 J. Daniel Pezzoni, "Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002, NC Listings in the National Register, NC State Historic Preservation website.

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

236 Hartman 30-31.

237 Hartman 31-35.

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

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

ceremonies apparently remained under-the-radar, but by the 1990s, Rev. Creech's officiating at civil unions for lesbians and gay men 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. While in the Triangle, Creech co-officiated at a union service at the United Church of Chapel Hill for two men. In the interim, church law had changed on the issue, and Creech was defrocked for performing the service in Chapel Hill. 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."²⁴⁰

Toward 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. The strict enforcement of the policy created a toxic fear for those who served.²⁴¹ The policy remained in effect until a law repealing it was passed and signed in 2010 by President 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.²⁴² 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.²⁴³

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.²⁴⁴ NC Pride PAC 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*

²⁴⁰ 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; Jimmy Creech, October 25, 2024, email correspondence with Raleigh Planning and Development department.

²⁴¹ Faderman, 495-507.

²⁴² "Foes of sodomy bill to try to kill measure," *News & Observer*, April 22, 1993.

²⁴³ Marc Stein, "North Carolina's Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination," History News Network website.

²⁴⁴ "Proposal to protect gay rights silenced," *News & Observer*, January 6, 1993.

story.²⁴⁵ Toward 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.²⁴⁶ The advocacy group would have much to do in the first quarter of the 21st century. State and federal laws—as well as Supreme Court decisions—were addressing marriage equality, military service, gender identity, and non-discrimination. These laws and decisions both protected and denied the civil rights of LGBTQIA+ people.

Properties Mentioned in the 1990s: Advocacy Continues

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

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
Chris Weedy & Jimmy Creech House (also meeting place of Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group)	412 S. Boylan Ave.	Advocacy/ Meeting Place	1992-present
Hustead House	3104 Orton Pl.	AIDS Hospice Home	1990s
Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County	608 Johnson St.	Helpline	1991-ca. 2007 (unverified)
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
Equality NC	126 E. Hargett St.		1990s
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

²⁴⁵ "Gays show political power," *News & Observer*, March 18, 1993.

²⁴⁶ "Equality NC, the country's oldest statewide LGBTQ Rights organization, turns 40," September 24, 2019, IndyWeek website.

Place Name	Historic Address	Historic Use	Years Associated
(former) Flex Nightclub (formerly the Fallout Shelter)	2 S. West St.	Nightclub	1990s-2020s
Two Snaps Up (formerly Sensations)	3210 Yonkers Rd.	Nightclub	1990s
Jaycee Park	2405 Wade Ave.	Park	1990s
Sportsworld of Raleigh	912 Hodges St.	Skating Rink	1980s-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. (demolished)	Church and House	1990s
Equality North Carolina	126 E. Hargett St.	Advocacy Offices	1990s-present

6 Conclusion

This historic context provides a framework for evaluating properties that reflect the history of LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh during most of 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.

6.1 Registration Requirements for Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ Properties

Properties in Raleigh's city limits may be eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark (RHL) if the Raleigh Historic Development Commission (RHDC) finds the property to be of historical, prehistorical, architectural, archaeological, and/or cultural significance and to possess integrity of design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and/or association.

Designation follows preparation of a Landmark Designation Report (LDR), which must include a building description and history, an explanation of the property's significance within its relevant context, and an evaluation of historic integrity. The LGBTQIA+ context included in this report can be referenced in LDRs for properties claiming significance for association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history. Additional context will often be needed.

The following registration requirements can be used to help determine whether a property is significant within the context of Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history in the 20th century. The context in this report and these registration requirements should be referenced in a LDR for a property claiming significance under this context. Properties may be eligible for RHL designation under this context even if not mentioned in this report.

1. Does the property's period of significance date to the 20th century?

Properties eligible for designation will have a defined "period of significance," that period of time that relates to the property's significant history. An early 20th century house used in the 1970s for offices providing mental health services to the LGBTQIA+ community, for instance, will have a period of significance limited to the years the house was used for that purpose.

This context covers history from the 20th century. Properties connected to an aspect of LGBTQIA+ history that do not date to the 20th century may still be eligible for RHL designation, but the designation report would need the particular historic context for that period of time developed for that property.

2. Does the property retain architectural and historic integrity reflecting the period of significance?

As noted above, many properties connected to LGBTQIA+ history are older than their association with the significant history. These properties are required to

retain architectural and historic integrity from the proposed period of significance rather than from the original construction date. For instance, Legends Nightclub (evaluated as part of this project; see Appendix A), was a mid-century commercial building altered in 1991 to accommodate its new use as a nightclub. Some elements of the building's original appearance remain and are characteristic of the building's construction period, such as the exterior brick cladding. Other elements, including original windows and doors, have been replaced for the new use. However, the building retains the appearance associated with its significant use as an LGBTQIA+ focused nightclub.

Properties with significance do not need to retain all aspects of integrity to be eligible for designation as RHLs. While there is no formula for how much integrity is sufficient to maintain eligibility, the analysis should take into account the rarity or abundance of properties with the same significance. For instance, research for this project showed that buildings housing gay bars either do not survive or have been altered if the business closes or relocates and the building accommodates a new use. Some loss of integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is common and can be sustained without a loss of eligibility. If other aspects of integrity are intact and better examples of properties with the same significance do not exist or have not been identified, a property with some loss of integrity will still be eligible. For instance, there have been changes to the windows and entrances of the façade at the Capital Corral at 313 W. Hargett St. However, the building does retain the appearance of an early 20th century commercial building adaptively reused as a bar/restaurant use. Its setting is also intact, and it has integrity of feeling and association. However, the buildings housing the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance at N.C. State University and the Power Company nightclub have been substantially overbuilt or rebuilt. There has been too much change for either building to have sufficient integrity for eligibility. (See full evaluations in Appendix A and explanation of aspects of integrity in the report for more information.)

In cases where a building does not retain all seven aspects of integrity, a LDR will need a strong argument explaining how the remaining integrity is sufficient to convey historic character. The evaluations in Appendix A for Capital Corral, The Mousetrap, and Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel can be useful models.

3. Does the property reflect some aspect of LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh?

Themes explored in this report include pre-liberation, gay liberation, creating community and social connections, political advocacy, AIDS crisis response, and Pride. This report gives an early- to mid-20th century background and a brief timeline of events in the last quarter of the 20th century to aid in placing a property within context for evaluation. Properties might alternatively be eligible for their connections to art, architecture, theater, music, culture, cultural geography, sports, education, commerce, and/or significant individuals, among other areas. These are

all important elements of LGBTQIA+ life in Raleigh but unfortunately beyond the scope of this project. The limitations of this project should not limit the properties proposed for evaluation as RHLs. Such properties will require more additional context than those that reflect the themes of this report.

The 20 property evaluations below are preliminary evaluations of possible RHL eligibility meant for planning purposes. The evaluations are not LDRs. They can, however, be used by researchers and preparers of LDRs as models for how to apply registration requirements, evaluate aspects of integrity, and construct eligibility assessments and historic context associations.

6.2 LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations

Appendix A contains the full 20 LGBTQIA+ site evaluations for reference.

As a part of the Phase II project scope, 20 sites in the List of LGBTQIA+ Identified Places were selected for survey and evaluation. The evaluation describes each property's significance within Raleigh's 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 historic integrity for potential Local Historic Landmark designation.

PLACE NAME	HISTORIC ADDRESS	EVALUATION RESULT
Androgyny Center, The	220 N Boylan Ave.	Appears eligible.
Cameron Court Apartments / "Queens Court"	804 W Hargett St.	Likely eligible; more research helpful.
Capital Corral (CC) & Glitter Gulch (+ The Queen Bee, Capital Leathermen, & 313)	313 W Hargett St.	Appears eligible.
Community United Church of Christ (+ St. John's MCC & Triangle Sports Alliance)	814 Dixie Trl.	Appears eligible.
Flex (+ Fallout Shelter)	2 S West St.	Appears eligible.
Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County	608 W Johnson St.	Likely eligible; more research helpful.
Hustead House	3104 Orton Pl.	Does not appear eligible due to integrity loss.

PLACE NAME	HISTORIC ADDRESS	EVALUATION RESULT
J.C. Raulston House	318 E Davie St.	Likely eligible; more research helpful.
Legends	330 W Hargett St.	Appears eligible.
LGBTQ Pride Center (formerly the NC State GLBT Center)	2610 Cates Ave.	Does not appear eligible due to integrity loss.
Mousetrap, The (+ Glenwood, Glenwood Park, & 1622)	1622 Glenwood Ave.	Appears eligible.
Nash Square Park	200 S McDowell St.	Appears eligible.
Power Company	3141 North Blvd.	Does not appear eligible due to integrity loss.
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church	1801 Hillsborough St.	Appears eligible.
Rialto Theater	1620 Glenwood Ave.	Eligible, more research helpful for LGBTQIA+ context.
Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel (Kitty Hawk Tavern / Admiral's Galley)	400 Fayetteville St.	Appears eligible.
Triangle Gay Alliance	412 Kinsey St.	Appears eligible.
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh (+ Raleigh Gay Club, PFLAG)	3313 Wade Ave.	Appears eligible.
Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse loc.	119 Hawthorne Rd.	Appears eligible.
White Rabbit Books & Things / The Front Page Newspaper (2) (+ Pink Triangle Tours)	309 W Martin St.	Appears eligible.

6.3 Established and 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 federal NRHP and local RHL/HOD programs have their own registration requirements. To date, no properties in Raleigh have been designated through these programs for association with LGBTQIA+ history. Brief outlines of the programs follow.

National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)

The 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 on 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 Raleigh Historic Landmarks (RHL) and Historic Overlay Districts (HOD)

Raleigh's two local designation programs, authorized under State law, also encourage preservation. The local designation criteria is similar to that of the NRHP with a focus on local significance and less stringent requirements for integrity and the age of the property. By State law, both local historic designation programs require exterior design review through the Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) process.

To aid in understanding individual properties, previous survey reports on Raleigh's architectural history provide historic 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.

6. 4 Suggested Alternative Programs

Given the limitations of the NRHP and RHL/HOD 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, the City's Historic Preservation Planning unit intern, Courtney Blaskovich, produced a report to the City suggesting several alternatives to the established regulatory designations run by NPS and 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 asked respondents to rank them. Results follow.

- » 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)

The National Park Service (NPS) defines seven aspects of integrity.

- » **LOCATION:** The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- » **DESIGN:** The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- » **SETTING:** The physical environment of the historic property, including topographic features, vegetation, manmade features (such as hardscaping or roadways), and relationships between buildings.
- » **MATERIALS:** The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- » **WORKMANSHIP:** The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or history. That is, the evidence of artisans' labor and skill, including vernacular building methods, finishes, or ornament.
- » **FEELING:** A property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- » **ASSOCIATION:** The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

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 RHDC.

Designation considerations: markers should reflect the most representative or impactful events or people. The space to convey the significance on a marker is limited, so complex stories will not be easily told. Additionally, too many markers on the landscape could dilute the effect of the program.

Digital Mapping and Interpretation

Digital mapping programs, such as Arches®, the Raleigh Historic 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 and reveal the relationships between them. The program uses a database with digital maps and an easy keyword search to link historic assets, like photos, documents, and oral history recordings to historic places. This open-source platform provides an intuitive way for people to learn about the connections between local places, people, events, and objects.

Though not as well-equipped to show relationships, 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 (including demolished ones) 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. 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 location or 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 confirm business 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. 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 have less frequent updates.

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.

6. 5 Justification for Developing Alternative Designation Programs

The NRHP and the RHL/HOD programs have, in large part, been developed with traditional historic preservation in mind. Because of this, there is a focus on the architectural integrity of the property, in addition to its significance, when 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 were historically 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 publishing office or the bar spaces of the Capital Corral and Glitter Gulch, Mousetrap, Glenwood Park, or the Queen Bee. Additionally, some properties that retain integrity and may be eligible for historic designation, such as houses where the Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse or the Triangle Gay Alliance met, might not be nominated due to a change in ownership. Finally, many properties recognized by the 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; RLH consideration could begin much earlier than that. The basic consideration is having sufficient period of time pass in which one can look back with historical perspective and can place the property's significance in context.

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.

7 Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Recommendations

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

1. Prioritize both historical marker 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.

A historical marker program is the most visible means by which to identify and honor significant LGBTQIA+ sites. Digital mapping programs such as those described above offer platforms both for collecting information from the public as well as sharing information with 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. Contact owners of properties evaluated under this project that appear to be eligible for RHL designation to identify candidates for designation.

3. Establish an LGBTQIA+ History Steering or Advisory Committee.

The committee could be based within the appropriate city department or board/commission and would assist with future research projects and provide an opportunity for public involvement.

4. Conduct oral histories.

As noted above, a more robust oral history program will expand our knowledge and understanding of places connected to people who are not cisgender or who are lesbian, bisexual, or LGBTQIA+ people of color. 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.

5. Recognize LGBTQIA+ history connected with City property.

Consider how the City can recognize and interpret LGBTQIA+ history associated with city-owned property, including but not limited to City Council Chamber, 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.

6. Explore other types of City-sponsored research and interpretation.

In addition to historic preservation or architecturally based projects (such as this project and projects in Recommendations 1 and 2), the City of Raleigh could look to historical geographers, documentarians, and public historians to explore and interpret LGBTQIA+ history for citizens.

7. Facilitate public-private partnerships.

Regularly connect students and faculty in History, Public History, American Studies, Women and Gender Studies, Cultural Resource Management, Archival Studies, and Library Sciences from 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.

8. Commission or facilitate additional historical research.

There are many themes, events, and trends that should be more deeply explored in the City's effort 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. Work under this recommendation could be combined with Recommendations 2, 4, and 5.

Suggested topics 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 St. between Wake Forest Road and Ann St., 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 when/whether Raleigh passed ordinances that have banned or limited cross-dressing or drag performances or ABC regulations for wine, beer, or liquor licensure. If so, research into cases where people were charged under these ordinances may offer information about transgender people and drag performance in Raleigh.
- » 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 whether North Carolina's eugenics laws were ever applied to LGBTQIA+ people. (The

Communities History Workshop at UNC may be a good partner for this work; the group has been transcribing and digitizing old records from the hospital since at least 2019.)

- » The treatment of LGBTQIA+ people at Raleigh's prisons and in state institutions in Raleigh the late 19th- through late-20th centuries. A few newspaper stories in the first half of the twentieth century noted that people who were arrested were initially sent to the women's prison and transferred to the men's prison after an examination. These may represent early news article about transgender Raleighites and should be further explored.
- » The experiences of gay and lesbian college students in Raleigh throughout the 20th century, including at single-sex educational institutions or dormitories, the liberation and later advocacy movements at colleges, and the effect of student activism on the development of LGBTQIA+ attitudes in Raleigh.
- » History of visibility and Pride events held in Raleigh, including Blue Jeans Day at NCSU in 1978, picnics in the mid-1980s, and marches beginning in 1988.
- » History of businesses and locations on Hillsborough St. that are connected to LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh, particularly in the period just before and during the early years of gay liberation (roughly 1960 through 1980). Community input noted that Hillsborough St., its proximity to both N.C. State University and Raleigh's downtown, and the particular mix of shops, theaters, restaurants, and institutions attracted LGBTQIA+ people and allies and created an area that felt safer than other parts of Raleigh where people could find community.
- » Digitize and/or transcribe recordings of call-in shows at local radio stations WLLS and WPTF that centered on LGBTQIA+ issues and included Raleigh resident and gay rights activist Willie D. Pilkington. Mr. Pilkington retains tape recordings of the programs, which aired between 1986 and 1993.
- » Conduct additional research into related historical themes, such as sports, theater, music, art, literature, design, and culture.

9. Prepare a context statement in the future for the first quarter of the 21st century.

Conduct additional research to document and contextualize the history of places on the LGBTQIA+ list 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.

10. Complete preliminary documentation of sites on the List of Identified LGBTQIA+ Places produced in Phase I and II of this project.

Take photographs of all places included in the List of Identified LGBTQIA+ Places that are still standing. Make the photographs publicly available online as a part of the digitally maintained list, digital mapping or archiving project, a Story Map, or a related project.

11. 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.



8 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.

A history of the pathologization of and discrimination against LGBTQIA+ people in the United States and their subsequent fight for civil rights; covering the period from the 1950s through the early 21st century.

Hartman, Keith. *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle Over Homosexuality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

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.

This history of Dix Hospital does not include information about treatment that may have been administered to people for non-heterosexual desire or activity or for gender non-conforming behavior. There is an extensive bibliography, however, that can direct future researchers to documents that may reveal this information.

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

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.

Compilation of eighteen histories of people who lived in the United States between 1876 and 1936 as men, despite being assigned female at birth, including the story of George and Mary Green, Wake County residents and farmers for decades.

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

Documents a community-based public history project researching a "multigenerational southern LGBTQ community" in Roanoke, Virginia. The book includes helpful insight to interpreting history and informed some of the recommendations made in this report.

Ward, Bobby J. *Chlorophyll in His Veins: J.C. Raulston Horticultural Ambassador*. Raleigh: BJW Books, 2009.

Biography of Raulston, which includes his coming out and his establishment of the Lavandula Labiatae Society.

Reports and Scholarly Works

Cline, Brandie. "LGBT Raleigh: A Brief Overview." 2013. Prepared for the City of Raleigh Museum, Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program.

Blaskovich, Courtney. "Non-Regulatory Historic Recognition in Raleigh, NC." 2023. Prepared for the Raleigh Historic Development Commission.

Harris, Jeffrey. "Phase I: Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study Working Files." Prepared for the City of Raleigh and the Raleigh Historic Development Commission.

Little, M. Ruth. "Depot Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2002. files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA0724.pdf.

Pezzoni, J. Daniel. "Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002. files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA0724.pdf.

Schultz, David Hooper. "The Carolina Gay Association, the Southeastern Gay Conferences, and Gay Liberation in the 1970s South," (2019). Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 1641.

Streck, Jessica. "Historic Raleigh Trolley Pride Ride." 2021. Prepared for the Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program.

Online Articles and Research

Adkins, Judith. "These People are Frightened to Death," Prologue Magazine Vol. 48, No.2 (Summer 2016), viewed at archives.org.

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." City of Charlotte website.

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

Goodnight Raleigh Blog.

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

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

Brief article outlining community organizing and activism on behalf of gay rights at the university in the 1970s.

Hunt, David. "People, Plants and Pride: The Passions of J. C. Raulston," Friends of the JC Raulston Arboretum Newsletter, Vol.24, No.2 (Fall 2021): 7-8.

Article realying Raulston's creation of the Lavandula and Labiatae Society, based in part on the Ward biography of Raulston cited above.

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

National Park Service. Telling All Americans' Stories: LGBTQ Heritage. NPS Website.

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.

Regan, Amanda, and Eric Gonzaba. Mapping the Gay Guides. 2019-ongoing. Mapping the Gay Guides website.

Searchable website with background information and historical images about issues of Bob Damron's Address Books, also known as the Damron Guides or the Gay Guides.

Riley, Kristen. "From female impersonation to drag." Wellcome Collection website.

Spence, James R. "The Law of Crime against Nature," 32 NC L Rev 312 (1954).

History and analysis of the North Carolina law at mid-century, with suggestions for a revised version.

Stein, Marc. "North Carolina's Brutal Tradition of Sexual and Gender Discrimination." History News Network website.

A brief history of laws that enabled sexual and gender discrimination in North Carolina for popular press website.

Waters, Michael. "Hiding in plain sight." *Columbia Journalism Review*. February 9, 2021.

Describes some early and mid-20th century print media with coded material that appealed to the gay community.

Tanks, Cassie, and Hooper Schultz. Queerolina Online Exhibit. 2022. Queerolina Map, "Queerolina: Experiences of space and place through oral history," UNC-CH Library website.

An ArcGIS Story Map prepared in conjunction with the exhibit Queerolina: Experiences of Space and Place through Oral Histories. The exhibit examined the lived experiences of UNC-CH students who identify as LGBTQIA+ from several decades. The project is part of "The Story of Us" initiative.

Interviews and Oral Histories

Baxter, James. Interview with Chris McGinnis, September 21, 2001. Interview number K-0840. Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Communities: Listening for a Change, 1976-2015, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Floyd, Wanda. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 29, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Haywood, Vance. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 10, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Howard, Myrick. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, March 1, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

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.

Pilkington, Willie D. Interviews with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 28, 2023, and Cynthia de Miranda, August 14, 2024. LGBTQIA+ Phase I and II, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Rutherford, Carlton. Interview by Aaron Lovett, 2014. Southern Oral History Program Collection, Series W: LGBTQ Life in the South, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Roberts, Trey. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, February 27, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Shepard, Ellen. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Sperry, Art. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris. February 28, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

Stone, David. Interview with Jeffrey A. Harris, 2023. LGBTQIA+ Phase I, Raleigh Planning and Development.

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. Wake County website.

iMaps (Wake County GIS Interactive Mapping Application). City of Raleigh website.

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.

9 APPENDIX A: LGBTQIA+ 20 Site Evaluations

SITE NAME	(former) Androgyny Center
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



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

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Second office location of an affirming mental health provider for LGBTQIA+ people. Founded in 1977 by Louis Sawyer during 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 Dr. 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.



220 N. Boylan Ave., oblique with N. elevation and façade, camera facing SE.



220 N. Boylan Ave., oblique view of façade and S. elevation with camera facing NE.

Physical 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 with some limited office use. Some houses have been converted to commercial use and others have been replaced by commercial buildings dating to the second half of the 20th century. This is particularly true at the west side of the intersection of N. Boylan Ave. and W. Lane St.

Brief 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 N.C. North Carolina State University 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. 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 the center part-time due to his graduate school studies, other employment, and the New Leaf Bookshop.

Sawyer noted in a 2008 oral history interview that only a few therapists in the late 1970s had expertise providing affirming care to LGBTQIA+ people. In 1978, he told the *News & Observer* that "Traditional agencies are not geared to serve the people we serve. 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."

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 affect [*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 performed regularly at clubs and events in the Triangle throughout this same period.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: This former location of the Androgyny Center retains all seven aspects of historic integrity for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains at its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** Integrity of design is evident in the stylistic architectural features that decorate the house and express the Queen Anne style of the early 20th century, including chamfered porch posts, carved porch brackets, and two-over-two sash windows. The bay window and gabled roofs are design elements that create the asymmetrical massing characteristic of the Queen Anne style.
- ✓ **Setting:** The building retains the suburban residential appearance it has had since construction, including front and side yards with landscaping and hardscaping and a rear yard with outbuildings. The larger setting of the block and the intersection retains the late 20th century appearance of an historic neighborhood that has shifted to combine residential and office use.
- ✓ **Materials:** A great deal of original architectural features rendered in wood remain and are visible at the exterior, including siding; window sash and trim; porch posts and brackets; boxed eaves and eave returns; and gable vents. Original glass likely remains in windows, and original brick foundation piers are also extant.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is evident in the finish and construction of exterior architectural features, including siding; window sash and trim; porch posts and brackets; boxed eaves and eave returns; and gable vents.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building still expresses the historic sense of its period of significance in association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ community, as it retains the appearance of a historic dwelling converted for use as office space.
- ✓ **Association:** The building is one of previous locations of the Androgyny Center and retains the appearance that it had in that period. The retention of those physical features preserves the integrity of association.

RHL Eligibility Assessment: This former location of the Androgyny Center appears eligible for RHL designation due to its excellent integrity and significance within the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Context. The building was an early location for provision of affirming mental health services at a time when such care was uncommon.

Sources:

Dr. Louis Sawyer, interview with Terah Crews. U-0320, U.13. Long Civil Rights Movement: Oral History and the Study of the Modern South, UNC-Chapel Hill.

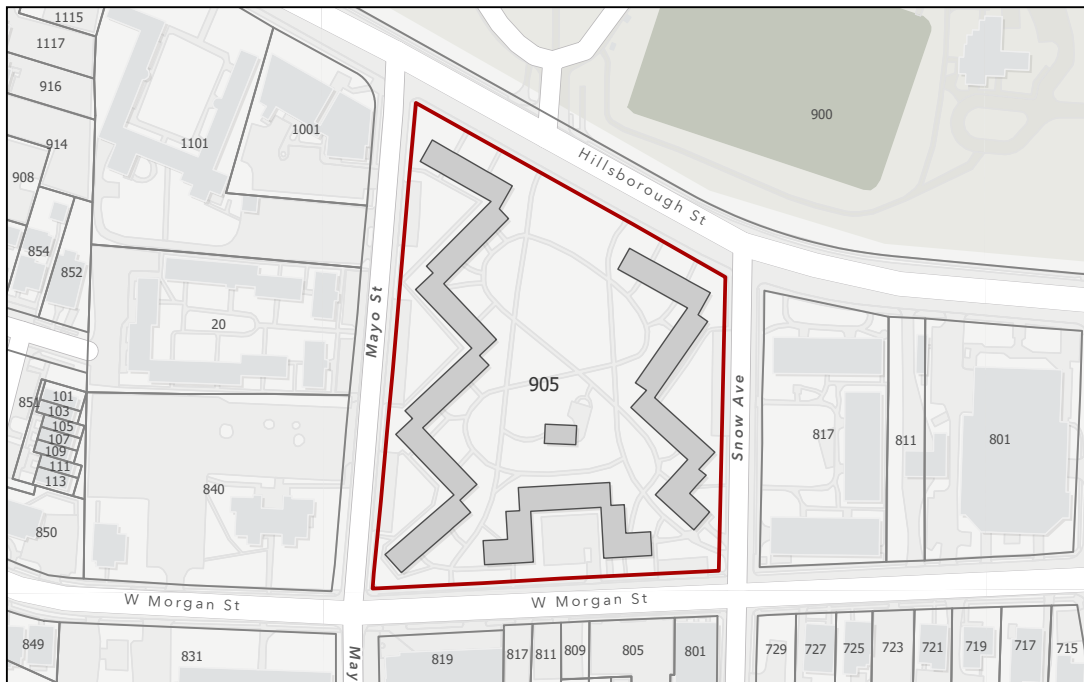
Advertisements in *The Front Page* newspaper, 1983-2005.

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

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

"Center helps solve problems found in 'alternative lifestyle,'" *News & Observer*, July 23, 1978.

SITE NAME	Cameron Court Apartments / "Queens Court"
LOCATION	905 Hillsborough St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1938 (Wake County iMaps)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1980s-1990s
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	October 21, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, Mdm Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Cameron Court Apartments, 905 Hillsborough St.

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: Oral tradition holds that Cameron Court, a large 1938 apartment complex, was popular with members of the LGBTQIA+ community in the 1980s and 1990s. The ability to choose to live in proximity with other LGBTQIA+ people created a physical community at a time in Raleigh when many people still felt the need to be discreet or even secretive about their sexual orientation.

Two other areas in Raleigh have been identified through oral history that were small enclaves for the LGBTQIA+ community. The Vance Apartment building at 105 E. Edenton St. was demolished in the 1980s. Young St., between Wake Forest Rd. and Ann St. in northeast Raleigh, is a roughly block-long area of single-family houses said to have been purchased by and rented out to gay men and drag performers in the late 20th century; the street was nicknamed "Queen Street."



Cameron Court, 905 Hillsborough St., apartment buildings and quadrangle, view to W. near S. end of quad.



Cameron Court, 905 Hillsborough St., apartment buildings at Hillsborough St., view to SW near NE corner of block.



Cameron Court, 905 Hillsborough St., view to NE of pavilion and patio near S. end of quadrangle.

Description: Cameron Court comprises 13 three-story buildings with brick exteriors, metal sash windows, and flat roofs. The buildings feature modest Colonial Revival-style details, including brickwork simulating corner quoins and flat-roofed entry porches with columns. Rectangular and L-plan buildings are arranged along the east, south, and west sides of the city block bounded by Hillsborough, Mayo, W. Morgan, and Snow Streets. Foundation shrubs soften the transition between land and building. The center of the city block is open space landscaped with mature shade trees, lawns, and resident amenities. Brick walkways wind through the quad and some low concrete retaining walls help shape the naturalistic landscape. Concrete benches offer repose in the shade. Toward the south end of the open quadrangle, a pavilion with fireplace and adjacent barbecue patio occupies a small area near the buildings fronting W. Morgan St. The pavilion and patio appear to be a relatively recent addition and do not detract from the overall naturalistic landscaping of the quad. Documentation of the complex dating to 1989 shows the appearance largely unchanged from that period. The complex appears to retain many, if not most, elements from initial construction.

Brief historical sketch: Cameron Court occupies the former location of the antebellum Duncan Cameron House. Early residents of the apartment complex included middle-class professionals and families. Some stayed for decades. Traffic past the buildings increased dramatically in 1975 when the City diverted east-bound lanes from Hillsborough St. to E. Morgan St. Long-time residents complained about the noise and pollution caused by traffic on W. Morgan St. in an article in the local paper, perhaps precipitating an increase in apartment vacancies in that period.

Community input on the LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Study in the early 2020s reported that the apartment complex was popular with LGBTQIA+ people in the 1980s and 1990s. A "missed connections" classified ad in *The Front Page*, a newspaper for the LGBTQIA+ community, mentioned the Cameron Court Apartments in 1988. Later that year, for a few months, an advertisement for 1- and 2-bedroom apartments at the complex ran in *The Front Page's* classified ads. The listing reads as though there had been frequent inquiries: "We finally have openings for 1- and 2-bedroom units. Hardwood floors, central AC. Laundry. Beautiful downtown location. \$595 and \$695." A respondent in the City of Raleigh survey about LGBTQIA+ places noted that the 1988 Pride parade marchers passed Cameron Court "which in the 80s and 90s had been famous for a heavy LGBT presence in residents, who sometimes jokingly referred to it as 'the gay ghetto.'" On the Goodnight Raleigh blog, some commenters noted they were assumed to be or asked if they were gay because of their residence at Cameron Court.

Before Cameron Court, the Vance Apartments were popular with LGBTQIA+ Raleigh residents. Another survey respondent mentioned that the Art Deco-style Vance Apartments housed a concentration of "gay and gay-friendly" occupants in the 1970s "and was host to many after club parties." The commenter described "double French doors into the bedrooms, and a majestic stair in the lobby, complete with a rickety old cage elevator" and noted that "Rent was \$175 when I lived there in '79." According to the commenter, the Vance, at 105 E. Edenton St., was demolished in the late 1980s, perhaps paving the way for renters to reconvene at Cameron Court.

Another survey respondent noted that a block of small houses on Young St. between Wake Forest Road and Ann St. in northeast Raleigh were owned by and rented to gay men. The area was anecdotally known to be associated with drag performers. Such enclaves were few and insufficient relative to the number of LGBTQIA+ people looking for housing in an area where they could fully express themselves. In a 1996 letter to the editor of the *News & Observer*, Jim Duley, the editor of *The Front Page*, wrote "Raleigh is a great place to live, even as a gay man or lesbian. However, I do think twice before holding hands with a date, and when looking for a romantic restaurant I usually end up in Chapel Hill." Duley went on to advocate for development of a "gay neighborhood" complete with housing in Raleigh and presented it as a net positive for the city. "If Raleigh truly wants to revive downtown, it will create incentives for developers to build housing near Legends. The demand for downtown housing is already growing among gays and lesbians."

Historical integrity evaluation: Cameron Court retains all seven aspects of integrity for its association with LGBTQIA+ Raleigh history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The complex remains at its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** Integrity of design is evident in the stylistic architectural features that decorate the complex and express the Colonial Revival style and the garden apartment residential concept. The stylistic features include faux corner quoins and

columned porch entries. The buildings, the quadrangle formed by their arrangement on the city block, and the mature trees and winding brick and concrete paths are all important components of the overall garden apartment design and have remained unchanged since construction.

- ✓ **Setting:** The buildings, the quadrangle formed by their arrangement on the city block, and the mature trees and winding brick and concrete paths are all important components of the overall setting and have remained unchanged since construction.
- ✓ **Materials:** The building exteriors and hardscaping retain original materials, including steel casement windows, brick, and wood porches, including molding and columns, and concrete-lined brick paths and low concrete walls.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is evident in the finish and construction of exterior architectural features, including brick exteriors with faux corner quoins; porch columns, roofs, and molding; and brick paths and landscaping walls.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The buildings remain an apartment complex and therefore retain their integrity of feeling and association as a residential quarter between downtown and early twentieth-century suburbs.
- ✓ **Association:** The complex is the actual location of a concentration of queer apartment residents in the 1980s and 1990s.

Note that the question of whether any physical expression of the complex's LGBTQIA+ association in the period has not been determined. It seems likely that there was no physical expression at the exterior, however, as many LGBTQIA+ people were still rather discreet about their sexual orientation in this period.

RHL Eligibility Assessment: The integrity of the complex is excellent, both from its original period of construction and from its period of significance associated with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ community. Not enough is known about LGBTQIA+ people intentionally choosing to reside as neighbors at Cameron Court—and potentially other parts of Raleigh—to make an eligibility assessment. Research questions could include the percentage of tenants who identified as queer in the period; how and why Cameron Court (and possibly other areas) became popular with the community; the effect the demographic shift had on the overall Cameron Court community in the period; and any possible physical changes, whether permanent or temporary, that the residents may have made to express their identity. Oral history interviews are likely the best source for compiling the history and information about this and other enclaves of LGBTQIA+ residents for comparison. From the information known to date, however, it does appear very likely to be a good candidate for Raleigh Historic Landmark eligibility if research bears out that Cameron Court stood out among other enclaves that existed in the period.

Sources:

"Cameron Court Now Completed," *News & Observer*, November 13, 1938.

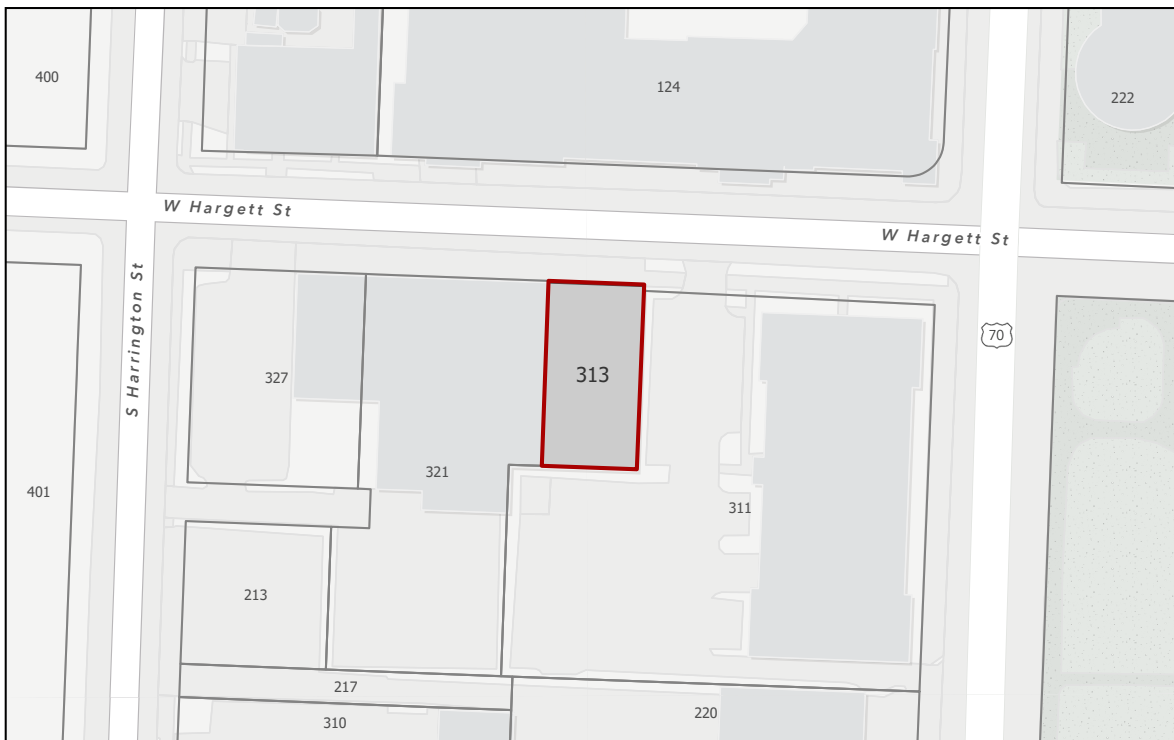
"Road project brings traffic noises closer to home," *News & Observer*, July 7, 1975.

"Civic leader Mamie Wyatt dies in Raleigh at age 93," *News & Observer*, March 1, 1982.

"Raleigh's gay potential," *News & Observer*, February 1, 1996.

"Cameron Court Apartments," and "Grosvenor Gardens," Goodnight Raleigh Blog.

SITE NAME	(former) Capital Corral (previously Queen Bee)
LOCATION	313 W. Hargett St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1940 (Wake Co. iMaps), ca. 1977, ca. 2014, ca. 2023
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1976-2011
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	October 21, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, Mdm Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Capital Corral, 313 W. Hargett St.

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: This building housed the Capital Corral and Glitter Gulch, a bar and dance club owned by and for gay men for over three decades. The establishment was a fixture in the LGBTQIA+ bar scene in Raleigh, as was The Mousetrap at 1622 Glenwood Ave. (also evaluated under this project). In 1976, this building became the last (and only surviving) location of the Queen Bee, a popular gay bar in the in that period.



(former) Capital Corral, 313 W. Hargett St., façade, view to SW.



*(former) Capital Corral, 313 W. Hargett St.
E. elevation and façade, view to SW.*

Physical Description: The building is a single-story commercial structure with low parapet and flat roof. A wide center entry bay has a roll-up security gate and is flanked by broad window openings with overhead-lifting, glazed garage-door-type windows. Scuppers and downspouts are at either end of the façade to handle rainwater draining from the roof. The building originally had two retail storefronts in the center bay flanked by storefront windows. The brick sills and lintels at each bay are intact and indicate the three original bays. Original fenestration was likely plate-glass windows in wood or metal frames at the first and third bays and two entrances at the center bay. Most windows along the other elevations are infilled with brick, but the two closest to the façade on the east elevation are metal sash with opaque glass.

The photo above shows the appearance of Capital Corral, also known as CC, in 1981. The oblique view shows the front end of the east elevation and the façade, looking southwest along W. Hargett St. The storefront window openings hold plate glass under transoms, all in extruded aluminum frames that post-date the original construction. A recessed entry is at the center bay; details cannot be discerned in the photo. A sign reading "CC" hangs from a metal pole projecting from the façade at the east edge of the entry bay. The front two windows at the east elevation appear to be covered with painted plywood. A 2013 photograph at Wake County iMaps shows different plate-glass windows in extruded aluminum frames. At the east half of the center bay, an extruded-aluminum storefront wall projects from the façade a few feet out into the sidewalk. A slightly recessed entry is in the west half. The exact date of this alteration has not been determined, but these photos obviously indicate that it was between 1981 and 2013.

Brief Historical Sketch: Bars tolerant of and friendly to LGBT people concentrated around Nash Square as early as the 1960s, including the Queen Bee in the Park Central Hotel near the southeast corner of the park. That bar relocated to 313 W. Hargett St. around 1976. Art Sperry, who owned the advertising firm Sperry & Associates at 324 S. Harrington St., purchased the Queen Bee from Bea Thrift in 1978. He closed the bar, remodeled the space in a Western theme, and reopened as the Capital Corral. Sperry was gay, and his new bar catered to gay men, although sometimes other queer people hung out there. Sperry opened a disco called the Glitter Gulch in the storefront next door, but whether it was in the second storefront in 313 or in the adjacent building (demolished) has not been determined. The Capital Corral closed in 2011; at some point in its history, it went by the name CC Now. A subsequent gay bar, 313, operated in the space through 2013.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The building retains six of seven aspects of integrity, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains in the same location.
- ✓ **Design:** The building retains some of the original design elements from its period of construction, namely the original massing, brick exterior, the storefront window and entry openings, and the parapet roof. Fenestration at the building's facade may have been altered during the bar's long tenure there, but the replacement of fixed window

and entry systems with overhead-lifting garage doors and security grate altered the design of the building. The bricked-up window openings along the side elevations may date to the building's use as a gay bar; additional research might provide confirmation or correction on that point.

- ✓ **Setting:** Many of the buildings on the 300 block of W. Hargett St. have been built after the Capital Corral opened. However, while the buildings have changed, the block remains an urban location with a mix of uses and property types. This includes buildings, surface parking, and a nearby city park, all dating from a long development period.
- ✓ **Materials:** While the windows and doors have been removed from the façade, the building retains scuppers and downspouts, exterior brick, decorative brickwork above the storefront bays, the brick lintels and sills at window and lintels at door openings, and the openings themselves at the facade and side elevations.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** The brick exterior exhibits workmanship typical of its period of construction.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building retains the appearance of an early 20th century commercial retail/warehouse building converted for hospitality use, preserving some integrity of feeling.
- ✓ **Association:** The building is the structure that housed two significant gay bars in the decades of the gay liberation movement.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: This building, the former location of the Capital Corral and Glitter Gulch—and the Queen Bee before that—is significant for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history as an important place for socializing for gay men and other members of the LGBTQIA+ community in the period of significance. The loss of integrity of design is unfortunate but not disqualifying. As the building appeared in 1981, storefront windows either had plywood over the glass or shades at the interior. This privacy aspect was common for gay bars and club in the period, and the replacement of the windows and entries with overhead lifting glazed garage doors and security grate is a notable alteration. However, overall integrity is retained due to the preponderance of other original material and retention of integrity of the other aspects. That the building retains the appearance of an adaptively reused early-20th-century retail shop building, and its location near other important LGBTQIA+ sites such as Nash Square, make important contributions to preserving integrity of feeling and association. The building therefore retains sufficient historic integrity to qualify for RHL designation.

Sources:

M. Ruth Little. Depot Historic District NRHP Nomination, 2002.

Jddoylearchives. "JD's Book 1981 My Gay American Road Trip." Instagram post, November 20, 2023.

SITE NAME	Community United Church of Christ (UCC)
LOCATION	814 Dixie Trail
BUILT/ALTERED	1956 (church website)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1977-1990s
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	October 31, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Community United Church of Christ, 814 Dixie Trail.

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: The Community UCC has been an early and significant ally to the LGBTQIA+ community in Raleigh. From 1977-1995, the church hosted the St. John’s Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), a Protestant denomination established for the LGBT community in Raleigh in 1976. Community UCC was also instrumental in establishing the Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE) in 1988. Later, the Community UCC provided meeting space for the Triangle Sports Alliance, an organization to advocate for equal protection of gay and lesbian people within the sporting community, in the 1990s. The congregation has formally adopted a resolution on inviting congregants of “every gender, sexual orientation, gender identity and expression.”

Other churches have been significant allies for the LGBTQIA+ community in the 20th century, including Pullen Memorial Baptist Church and the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh, both evaluated in this project. Community UCC played a unique role by providing space for St. John's MCC to meet for worship until St. John's was able to acquire their own worship space in 1995. Other churches were welcoming to St. John's but wanted members to join their congregations rather than providing space for St. John's to hold their own services.



Community UCC sanctuary (L) and Vaughan Fellowship Hall (R), 814 Dixie Trl., looking SE from Wade Ave.

Physical Description: The Community UCC complex consists of a 1956 sanctuary with education wing, designed by F. Carter Williams; the late 20th century Vaughan Fellowship Hall; a classroom building; and Pilgrim House, a dwelling on the neighboring parcel that the church acquired and now uses for offices and meeting space.

The sanctuary building is a Modernist-style, front-gabled structure with brick exterior. The façade features a projecting center section with blind brick walls that form a backdrop for a large cross. The shallow side walls of the projection hold windows. The building also has metal casement and awning windows along the side and rear elevations. A one-story side-gabled wing extends to the south from the back of a side elevation. The wing, also brick-clad, houses activity rooms, a kitchen, a library, and Sunday school classrooms. An addition was made to the south end of the wing, likely between 1988 and 1999. The Vaughan Fellowship Hall, built before 1981, is a gabled, brick-clad, single-story building placed west of the south

end of the education wing so that it forms a small quadrangle with the sanctuary. A small hyphen connects the buildings. Pilgrim House, built as a dwelling in 1948, is a one-and-a-half-story, frame, side-gabled, building with replacement windows, replacement door, replacement siding, interior brick chimney, asphalt-shingle roof, and full basement.

The complex is shaded with mature pine and deciduous trees, although significantly fewer than in the 1980s. The complex is set back from Dixie Trl. behind a lawn. The landscaping makes the church complex blend well with the residential structures along Dixie Trl. A firepit and amphitheater are at the southeast corner of the parcel, and a linear meditation garden is at the north elevation of the sanctuary building and turns to the south behind the sanctuary.

Brief historical sketch: The Community UCC has been a strong ally of the LGBTQIA+ community since at least 1977, when the congregation invited St. John's MCC to hold their worship services here. Rev. Willie White and his partner Robert Pace had started a bible study for gay men in their apartment in 1976 and affiliated with the national MCC denomination later that year. St. John's met at UCC for 17 years, before purchasing a church building (not extant) on Glenwood Avenue in the Glenwood-Brooklyn Historic District. (St. John's later moved to 622 Maywood Avenue and currently meets at 4 N. Blount St. in the Blount St. Community Center.)

Community UCC also provided meeting space in their Vaughn Wing for the Triangle Sports Alliance in the 1990s, according to information supplied during the public input phases of the LGBTQIA+ Context project.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The Community UCC retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history from 1977 through the 1990s, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The complex remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The sanctuary and wing retain original massing, materials, and architectural features—including the interplay of blind brick walls at the façade with windows "hidden" on side elevations—that exhibit its Modernist style. The additions to the south end of the wing and the Vaughan Fellowship Hall do not overwhelm or detract from the original sanctuary and education wing.
- ✓ **Setting:** The complex remains in a wooded, naturalistic setting adjacent to residential blocks.
- ✓ **Materials:** Original materials, including brick walls and metal sash windows, remain.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** The workmanship exhibited in the masonry walls and overall construction remains intact.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The complex retains the feeling of a mid-20th century church facility set into an established residential neighborhood.

- ✓ **Association:** The complex is the facility that was used by St. John's MCC (either the sanctuary itself or the Vaughan Fellowship Hall), which is the connection to Raleigh LGBTQIA+ history that is significant.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The Community UCC complex retains integrity from the period of significance for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history as an allied congregation, assisting both St. John's MCC (1977-1995) and the Triangle Sports Alliance (1990s) with meeting space. The complex appears to be a good candidate for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh.

Additionally, the Community UCC complex was determined in 2018 to retain both integrity and significance "as one of the best examples in Raleigh of a small midcentury modern religious building." The building won second prize in a national design competition sponsored by the Church Guild of America and the National Council of Churches. The design was published in the May 1956 issue of *Southern Architect*, the NC AIA magazine.

Sources:

Community UCC Survey File, State Survey Site No. WA7996, File Room, State Historic Preservation Office, Raleigh.

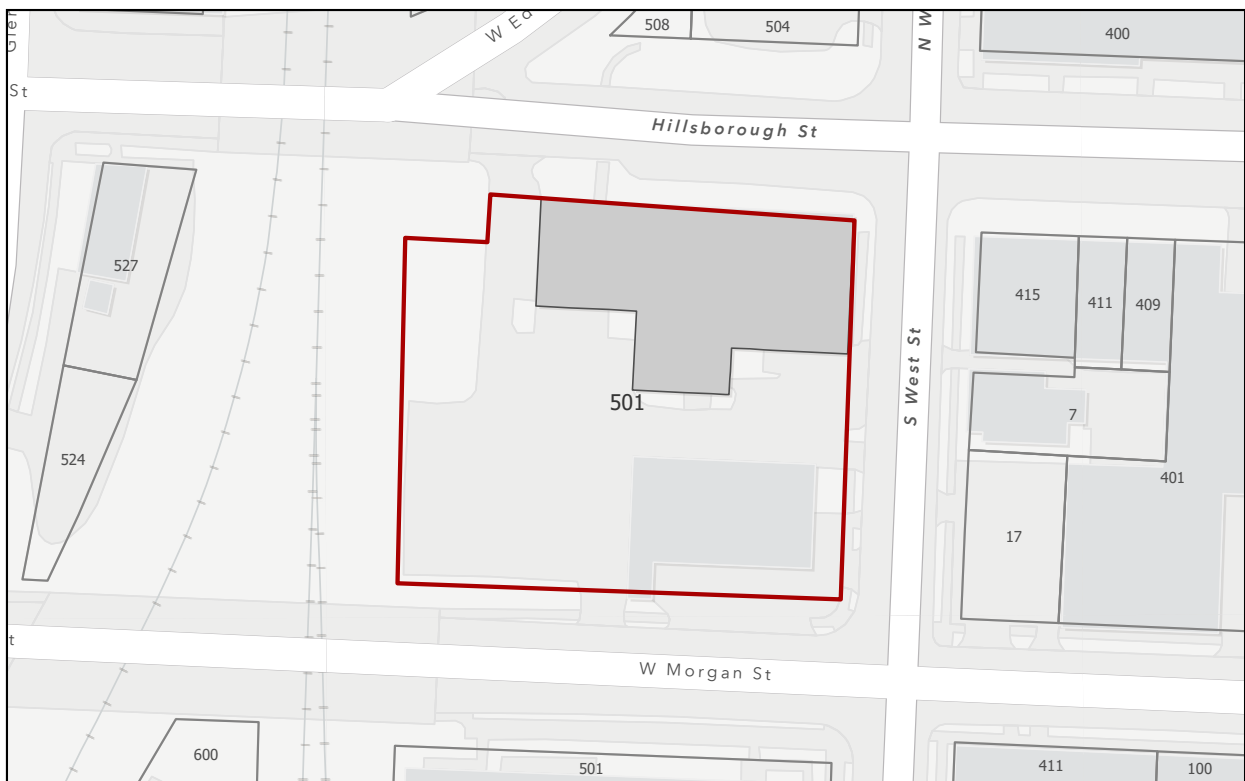
Educational Building, *Southern Architect*, May 1956, 15.

"Sports Alliance Gains Interest," *Q-Notes*, December 1, 1990.

"Announcements: Triangle Sports Alliance," *The Front Page*, April 23, 1991.

"Triangle Sports Alliance," Classified ads, *The Front Page*, April 24, 1992.

SITE NAME	(former) FLEX Nightclub
LOCATION	2 S. West St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1954
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1995-2002 (and as early as 1985 as The Fallout Shelter)
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	October 31, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Former location of FLEX nightclub, 2. S. West St.

LGBTQIA+ Historical Significance: FLEX is a long-running and much-loved Raleigh LGBTQIA+ club that opened in this space in 1995. In this location, FLEX hosted themed dance nights and drag performances.

While several gay bars and nightclubs have operated in Raleigh, FLEX and Legends nightclubs are the two most commonly cited by survey respondents as significant social spaces associated with the LGBTQIA+ community, in part due to the longevity of both bars. (Legends has also been evaluated as part of this project.) Along with other gay-owned and -operated businesses in the area, FLEX contributed to the revitalization and redevelopment of the area that became known as both the "Gayborhood" and the "Warehouse District." FLEX now operates on W. Hargett St.



(former) FLEX nightclub location, 2 S. West St., looking NW toward Hillsborough St.



(former) FLEX nightclub location, 2 S. West St., looking SE toward West St.

Physical Description: FLEX Nightclub was housed in the basement of this 1954 commercial building that fronts Hillsborough St. at its southwest corner with S. West St. The single-story-on-basement, Colonial Revival-style commercial building features three commercial storefronts with differing treatments, Flemish-bond brickwork at the façade and east side elevation, and concrete coping across the top of the parapet hiding the flat or low-pitched roof. Two storefronts at the façade retain identical original wood architraves. A third has a similar but pedimented architrave at the entry. Storefront windows are also slightly varied, with the storefront at the corner featuring a notable bowed, multi-lite window over paneled skirtwall. The entrance to FLEX was at a side elevation on S. West St., through a single-leaf metal door under a pent roof constructed of plywood. The pent roof was appended to the building apparently to hold can lights that illuminate the entrance. The brick below the pent roof to the south edge of the building is painted silver. Images of the building exterior from the period of significance have not been located.

Brief Historical Sketch: FLEX opened in 1995 in the basement space previously occupied by the Fallout Shelter. The Fallout Shelter opened in 1985 as a venue for live music and dance nights. Soon after, local DJ Steve Halberstadt's Industrial Nights became popular with a broadly diverse crowd. "There could be preps, or people dressed in their best goth outfits," Halberstadt recalled in 2022. "Punks, LGBTQIA+, old people and young. Everyone felt safe there." When Halberstadt stopped running the Industrial Nights in 1995, the nearby gay nightclub Legends continued the themed dance-music nights.

FLEX nightclub opened in the space after The Fallout Shelter closed and operated here until about 2022. A respondent on the City of Raleigh survey soliciting information on LGBTQIA+ places in Raleigh stated that FLEX was a spot for "the full spectrum, including drag queens, go-go boys, and leather daddies."

Like Legends Nightclub, which had already been in business for a couple of years about two blocks to the south, FLEX hosted themed dance nights and drag performances. In 2002, drag performers associated with "Trailer Park Nights" at FLEX released an independent production called "Camp: The Movie," a send-up of the conflict between Legends and the city, particularly then-Mayor Tom Fetzner, over drag performances.

FLEX relocated in 2022, due to the pending demolition of this building. However, it was still standing in October 2024 during the survey associated with the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Historic Context. FLEX is now located at 615 W. Hargett St. after temporary housing at Legends at 330 W. Hargett St.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The building that initially housed FLEX nightclub retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The building still features its original Colonial Revival-style detailing at the front, the Flemish-bond brickwork at the façade and side elevation, and entrance to the basement bar area at the side elevation.

- ✓ **Setting:** The back entrance to the nightclub space on a secondary elevation of the building retains the setting of a basement music and dance club.
- ✓ **Materials:** Original materials remain, including the Flemish-bond brick exterior, wood sash windows and storefront, and wood architrave with Colonial Revival-style detailing.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Original workmanship is evident both in the Flemish-bond brickwork as well as the wood architraves and window sash at the front of the building.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The windowless back entrance to FLEX retains the feeling of an after-business-hours enterprise in the building.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building where FLEX nightclub originated, following a decade of the space being used for music and dancing and operated as a welcoming space for all types, and the location where FLEX attained its status as an iconic and much-loved gay dance club in Raleigh.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: This location of FLEX was an important social space in the period when LGBTQ bars and nightclubs no longer needed to operate secretly but still remained important places for creating and finding community for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh. Drag performers from FLEX made an independent movie that included a storyline satirizing a conflict between bars offering drag performances and Raleigh Mayor Tom Fetzner. This location retains integrity and appears eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark.

However, since the building is slated for demolition, alternative forms of recognition should be considered. Legends is also slated to move from its original location due to pending redevelopment. FLEX and Legends are both connected to the history of drag performance in Raleigh. The history of drag performance and culture in Raleigh should be the subject of research with the goal of identifying ways to recognize the important spaces, people, and communities that comprise that history. If the City of Raleigh establishes a Legacy Business Program, FLEX would be an excellent candidate.

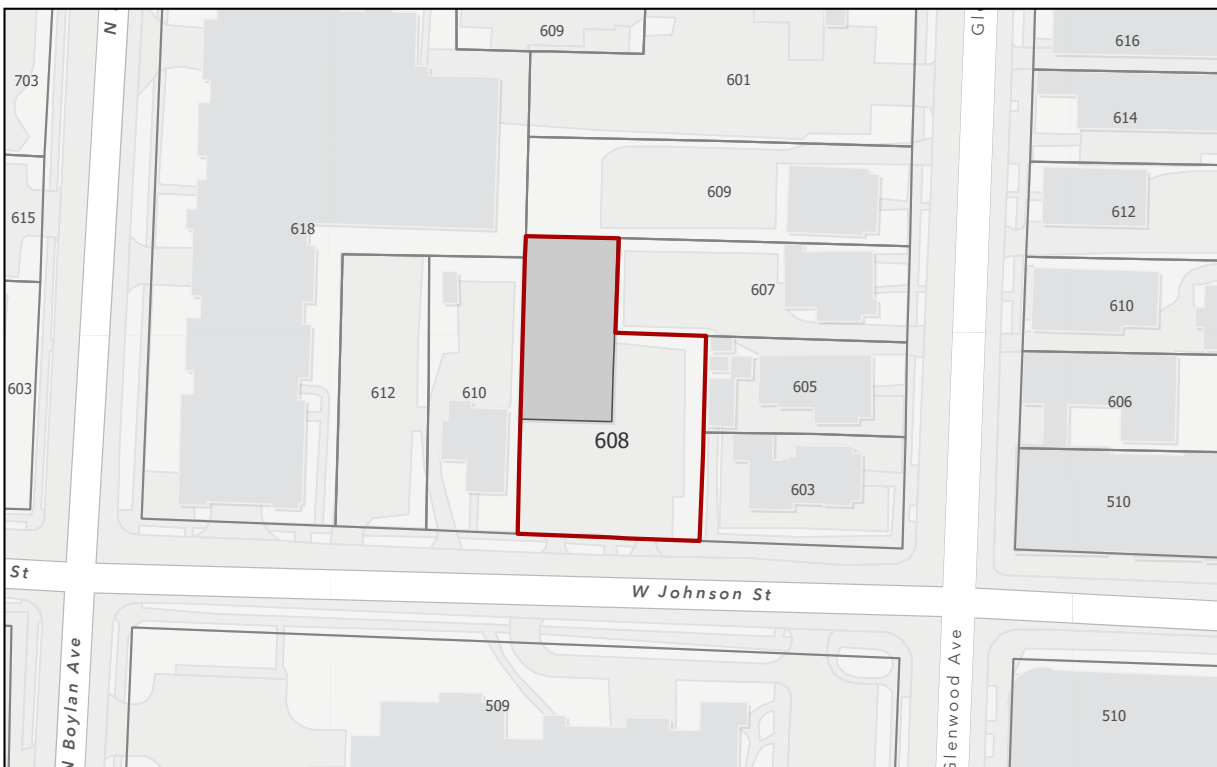
Sources:

"Remembering Raleigh: Hundreds bid farewell to site of iconic music scene," WRAL News website.

"Raleigh bar fights to save drag," *The Front Page*, December 22, 1995.

"Legends sues Raleigh over drag," *The Front Page*, May 24, 1996.

SITE NAME	(former) Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County
LOCATION	608 W. Johnson St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1956 (Wake County iMaps)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1991-ca. 2007 (unconfirmed)
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 2, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, Mdm Historical Consultants, Durham



Former location of Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County, 608 W. Johnson St., view NW.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: The small office building at 608 W. Johnson St. is the Glenwood South Executive Office Suites. The building reportedly housed the Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County. The dates that the helpline located in this building have not been verified.



Location of Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County, 608 W. Johnson St., oblique view of façade and E. elevation, looking NW.



Location of Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County, 608 W. Johnson St., view into lobby and corridor, looking N.

Physical Description: The modestly sized office building is a simple, single-story, flat-roofed structure with painted brick exterior. The façade is dominated by a wide bay holding storefront-style fenestration consisting of extruded aluminum full-height windows and two single-leaf glazed doors in extruded aluminum frames. A small lobby behind the glass has terrazzo flooring and a Wrightian stone wall. At either side of the stone wall are carpeted corridors lined with office suites. The office suite that housed the helpline has not been identified. The building is set back behind an asphalt-paved parking lot. The building placement interrupts the traditional setback along the block.

Brief Historical Sketch: Mark Zumbach, a Cary native working in Durham, and four friends decided to start a helpline in Raleigh in December 1990. After finding space and volunteers to staff it nightly between 7 and 10 p.m., the helpline was operating by October 1991. At the time, according to Zumbach as reported in a *News & Observer* story, "Gay people have a hard time coming out in Raleigh" due to its conservative, career-oriented attitudes and state government setting. "When it comes to organizing things [for or from within the LGBT community], Raleigh has traditionally deferred to Durham," Zumbach noted.

Zumbach anticipated having problems finding a landlord to rent to the effort, but in the end, he had no trouble. Still, he did not reveal the location to the newspaper for a story that ran in December 1991. The helpline, and others in North Carolina, got prank calls. Consequently, there was fear that the knowledge of the office location could draw harassment or vandalism.

As the helpline got started, volunteers could tell callers about the LGBT-focused bookstore White Rabbit Books & Things and Legends Nightclub (both evaluated in this report). Most people were looking for advice on finding community, getting information, and figuring out how to come out to family and friends. There were fewer calls about AIDS than Zumbach expected. By 1993, Zumbach reported that the helpline "take[s] a lot of calls from people who have been fired or discriminated against in places of employment, and right now there's no recourse for those people."

After *News & Observer* story ran in late 1991, the paper published "hateful letters" that prompted Zumbach to write to the editorial board himself.

The Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County incorporated in 1993 as a nonprofit. By 1998, the helpline was run by Triangle Community Works. In 2000, in a newspaper notice seeking volunteers, the organization described itself as "a telephone resource in Wake County that promotes the physical and mental health of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people by providing support and information...The helpline provides nonjudgemental peer counseling services, education, information, resource referrals and documentation of hate crimes." The notice did not list an address.

Tax record photos at Wake County iMaps show that the building exterior was originally unpainted red brick. The pent roof may be original, but the half-round fabric awnings were added sometime before 2011.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: As noted above, the dates the helpline was located here have not been verified. The helpline was in operation from 1991 through at least 2007.

In the 1990s and possibly through about 2011, the building was unpainted and lacked the fabric awnings. The original appearance of the building has not been determined, so other changes to the building are possible but unknown. Such changes could include replacement of the original storefront window system at the façade, replacement of windows at other elevations, and installation of the pent roof.

Still, Glenwood South Executive Office Suites is likely to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below. The building's architecture is simple and appears minimally altered. Notable features relative to the residency of the helpline in this building include its physical location not far from colleges and North Carolina State University; the possibility for anonymity due to the multiple office layout of the building; and the building's essentially nondescript appearance. Architectural flourish is limited to the mid-20th century lobby, which remains.

- » **Location:** The building remains in its original location.
- » **Design:** The design appears to be little changed from its original construction, maintaining its original massing, layout, and modestly rendered Midcentury Modern-style lobby area.
- » **Setting:** The setting appears basically unchanged from the 1990s, consisting of the building at the back of the parcel fronted by an asphalt parking lot.
- » **Materials:** The materials of the building appear largely unchanged and include brick, glass, terrazzo, and stone.
- » **Workmanship:** Some original workmanship remains in the terrazzo flooring and stone wall of the lobby. The paint added to the brick exterior diminishes some evidence of masonry workmanship by obscuring the difference between brick and mortar.
- » **Feeling:** The property remains a nondescript office building in a location convenient to other LGBTQ-focused locations from the late 20th century.
- » **Association:** This is said to be the building that housed the helpline, at least for some part of its history. As noted above, any other locations have not been identified and the years this building housed the helpline have not been determined.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County was an incredibly important resource for LGBT and questioning people in the 1990s and later, a period when being openly gay in Raleigh was possible but still very challenging. People contemplating coming out needed community, guidance, resources, and many types of support. While city employees were protected by a nondiscrimination ordinance relating to sexual orientation, there was no federal or state-level protection or protection for people employed elsewhere.

The AIDS crisis was a significant challenge to the community. The helpline was essential in providing assistance in all these areas in the period before internet search was possible or accessible.

If it is determined that is the only location of the helpline, this building does appear to be eligible as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history. If there were multiple locations, which ever location has the best balance of strong association with the helpline and historic integrity from the period of significance should be designated.

Sources:

"Helpline gives gays in Raleigh a willing ear, guidance," *News & Observer*, December 14, 1991.

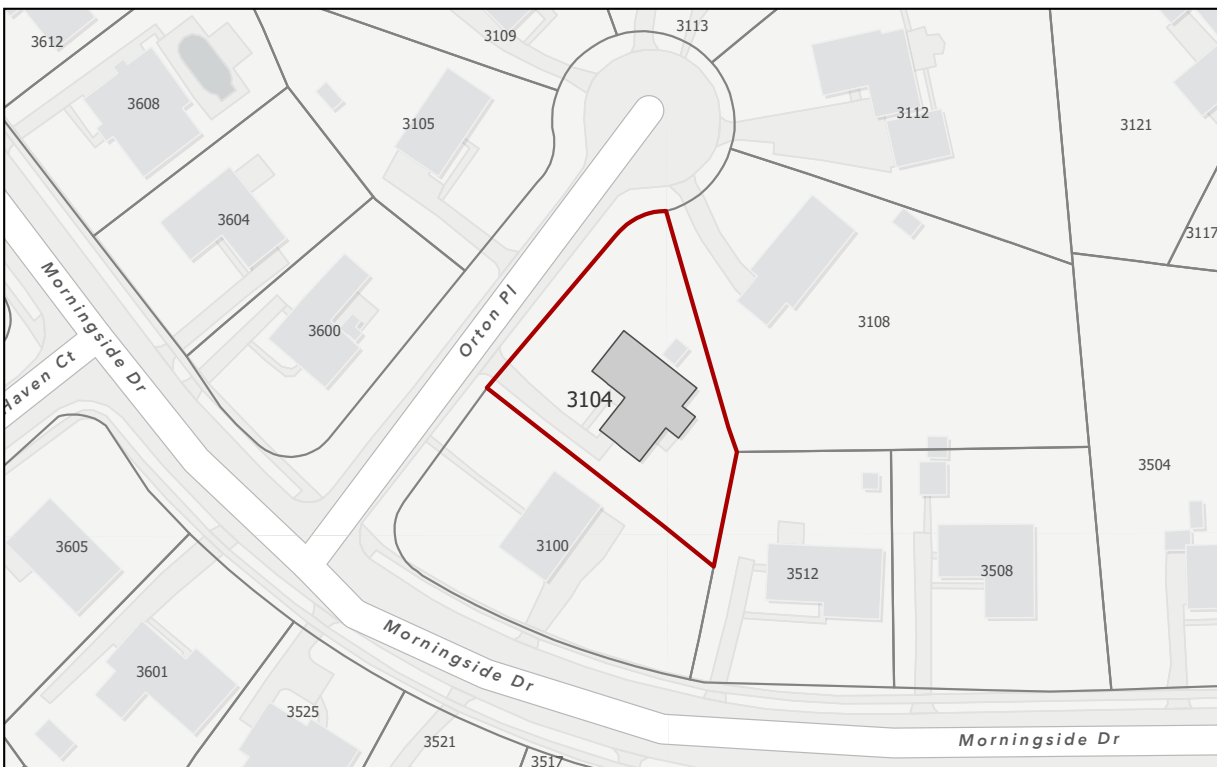
"Gays confront hatred," *News & Observer*, February 1, 1992.

"City weighs bias law," *News & Observer*, January 3, 1993.

"Incorporations," *News & Observer*, August 31, 1993.

"Candid camera, candid lives," *News & Observer*, June 12, 1998.

SITE NAME	(former) Hustead House
LOCATION	3104 Orton Place
BUILT/ALTERED	1974, ca. 1990, ca. 2015, ca. 2021
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1990s
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 5, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of (former) Hustead House, 3104 Orton Pl.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Hustead House was the location of a residential program related to community care during the AIDS crisis. The dwelling was a group home for people with AIDS who needed a place to live and assistance with care. The residence was also the state’s first “family care home,” a licensure that enabled residents to get financial assistance.



(former) Hustead House, 3104 Orton Pl.

Physical Description: The house is a single-story L-plan house with gabled roofs. The house has a two-bay front-gabled projecting wing at the left end of the façade with two 6/1 replacement windows. Across the eave wall to the right that composes the rest of the façade is a single-leaf front door and paired 6/1 replacement windows. An exterior brick chimney is at the gabled end at the southwest side elevation. The front porch was originally deeply recessed at the eave wall paralleling the street just where it met the projecting wing. Between 2015 and 2021, a new exterior wall was built to reclaim the porch space as interior space. A shed roof pops up from the regular roof slope to shelter the new space, and a wood deck replaces the original steps to the porch. A new front walk of broad, rectangular pavers leads from the driveway to the deck and from the street up to the house. The walk leading from the street has a series of steps to lead up the hill from the street to the house. The brick and plywood exterior has been painted.

Older photographs in the tax file at Wake County iMaps show the dwelling in 1995 and 2001. In both images, the original 2/2 horizontal sash associated with the mid-20th century are evident. The projecting section is clad in unpainted brick with plywood siding in the gable end. The same siding material is evident at the inset entry porch under the eave wall at the crook in the ell of the façade and in the side-gabled section of the house to the right of the entry. A ramp extends from the end of the concrete driveway across the front walk and up to the porch, providing an accessible path to the front door.

Brief Historical Sketch: Husted House 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. The Wake County AIDS Service Agency operated the house, which was named for activist and AIDS educator Scott Husted (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. Other neighbors were very supportive, volunteering their time to mow the lawn and help out with the household.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The dwelling retains three aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The dwelling remains in its original location.
- ✗ **Design:** While the massing remains the same, the windows have been replaced, and the recessed front porch has been altered to provide interior space. The two changes altered some of the character-defining features of a relatively plain mid-20th century suburban house. Additionally, the accessibility ramp has been removed. That feature reflected its significant use.
- ✓ **Setting:** The suburban residential setting remains intact.
- ✗ **Materials:** Exterior brick remains intact but has been painted. Original wood windows have been replaced with a different configuration. On such a simple building, the loss of original architectural fenestration features (windows and doors) constitutes a substantial loss.
- ✗ **Workmanship:** The loss of original windows and doors, and the paint over the originally unpainted brick, has reduced and obscured integrity of workmanship.
- ✗ **Feeling:** The building no longer has the appearance of a mid-20th century dwelling or a dwelling that accommodated the needs of people with significant health problems.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that served as the Husted House in the 1990s.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: Husted House was an important property in the story of the AIDS crisis and community response in Raleigh. However, the house does not appear to retain sufficient integrity to reflect its significance within Raleigh’s LGBTQIA+ history. It does not appear to be a good candidate for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark. Its significance would be better observed with inclusion of the story in a digital mapping program or museum exhibit about the community response to the AIDS crisis.

Sources:

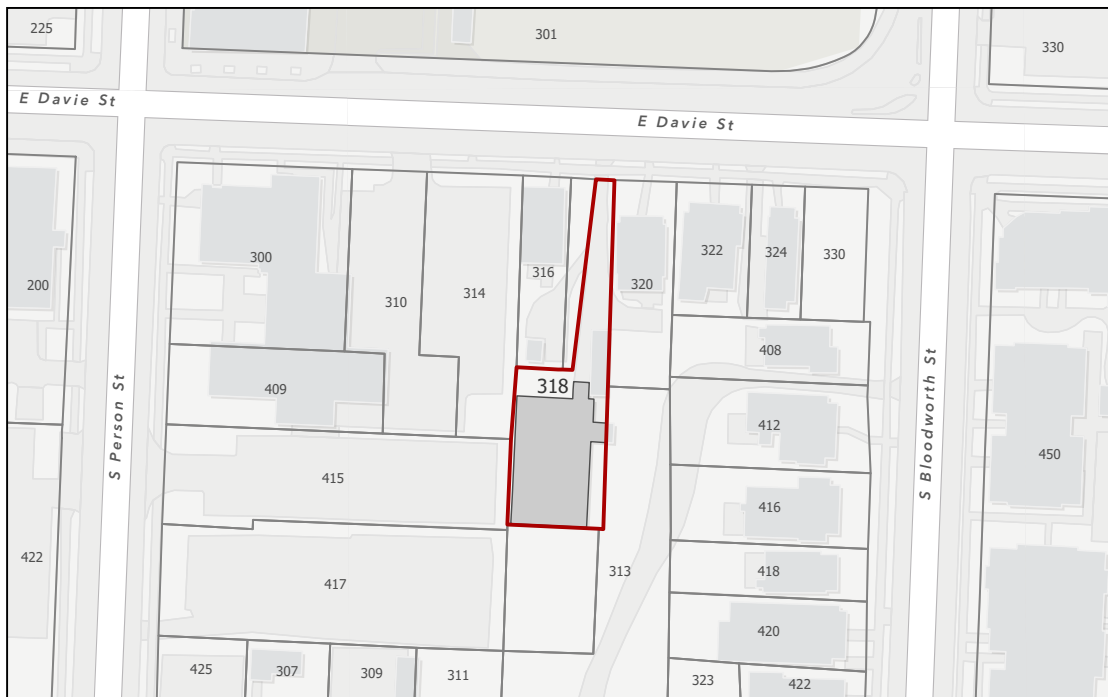
"1 year later, neighbors both kind, cold to AIDS house," *News & Observer*, August 18, 1991.

"Suit against AIDS project dismissed," *News & Observer*, July 10, 1990.

"AIDS patient group home clears hurdle," *News & Observer*, August 5, 1990.

"Activist Hustead held laughter, bravery dear," *News & Observer*, March 18, 1990.

SITE NAME	(former) J.C. Raulston House
LOCATION	318 E. Davie St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1910, ca. 1988, ca. 2013
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1988-1996
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 10, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of (former) J. C. Raulston House, 318 E. Davie St.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: J.C. Raulston was a horticulture professor at North Carolina State University and founder of the university's arboretum (later named for him). Raulston also created community for Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities as early as his arrival in Raleigh in 1975. His home, a converted warehouse, was a meeting place for gay and lesbian horticulturists, botanists, gardeners, and nursery owners, including students, professionals, and amateurs.

Additional research needs to be completed to confirm that 318 E. Davie St. is the best property associated with Raulston for landmark designation. That property was identified by community respondents to the city questionnaire in connection with this project.

However, deeds show that Raulston owned other houses in Raleigh before he purchased the Davie St. warehouse, including 612 Gardner St. and 2627 Van Dyke Ave. in the Forest Hills Extension plat of West Raleigh and at 3324 White Oak Rd. Additionally, it is possible that the Arboretum itself or some section of that property is a better representation of Raulston's connection to the LGBTQIA+ community than any of the houses he owned or occupied.



(former) J. C. Raulston House, 318 E. Davie St.

Physical Description: The house is in a single-story converted brick warehouse built after 1914. A stepped parapet characterizes the façade and hides a shallow gabled roof. A pyramidal penthouse or lightwell, added around 1988, is visible above the parapet. Set into a rectangular bay at the east end of the façade is the dwelling's main entrance, a single-leaf, fully glazed door flanked by broad sidelights. A rooftop deck, visible from the back of the parking lots accessed from S. Person St., appears to have been added after 2012. A gravel drive leads from E. Davie St. to the front door. A hedge along the property line shields the warehouse from the view of the rear yard of the house northwest of the warehouse; it appears to be on the parcel associated with the frame dwelling and not with the warehouse.

Brief Historical Sketch: 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. 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. Raulston's home, a renovated warehouse at 318 E. Davie St. in what is now the East Raleigh-South Park Historic District and the Prince Hall Historic District, was large enough to host gatherings and guests. "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.

Raulston purchased this former feed warehouse in 1987 and is believed to have converted it into a residence. The single-story, brick building had been erected after 1914 behind the late 19th/early 20th century houses fronting E. Davie St. Raulston left the residence to the Alliance of AIDS Services in his will; the organization owned it from 2003-2004.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: Much of the warehouse is difficult to see from the street right-of-way, as it is set back deep into the parcel and partially obscured by vegetation. It does appear unchanged from earlier photos in the Wake County iMaps property information system. The dwelling appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity at its exterior in connection with its association with J. C. Raulston and his contributions to Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The dwelling remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The original massing remains the same, including the parapet at the façade that obscures the shallow gabled roof on this single-story building. Features added when the building was converted to a residence, including a pyramidal-roof penthouse and a full-glazed door and sidelights to serve as a main entrance in the east end of the façade, also remain.
- ✓ **Materials:** Exterior brick remains intact, and the materials of the pyramidal penthouse/lightwell appear to be original.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** The brickwork shows the original workmanship at the exterior.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building retains the appearance of an early 20th century warehouse converted to residential use.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building Raulston lived in from 1988 until his death in 1996.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: Raulston created both community and safe space for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh, particularly those interested in horticulture and gardening. He is a significant person in Raleigh's history for his work in the field of horticulture; his establishment of the arboretum at N.C. State University; and for his work creating community for queer gardeners and horticulturists.

This building retains historic integrity in connection with all areas of Raulston's significance to Raleigh history. If future research shows that it is the building most closely associated with and expressive of the life and work of Raulston, then it does appear to be eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark.

Sources:

"Who was J. C. Raulston?" JC Raulston Arboretum website.

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

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

David Hunt, "People, Plants and Pride: The Passions of J. C. Raulston," N.C. State News website.

SITE NAME	Legends Nightclub
LOCATION	330 W. Hargett St., 119 S. Harrington St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1958, ca. 1991, ca. 2012 (for 119 S. Harrington St. building)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1991-present
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	September 28, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Legends Nightclub., 330 W. Hargett St.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Legends Nightclub is a long-running and much-loved Raleigh LGBTQIA+ club. Legends and another nightclub, FLEX, are the two most commonly cited by survey respondents as significant social spaces associated with the LGBTQIA+ community, in part due to the longevity of both bars. (The original location of FLEX has also been evaluated as part of this project.) Legends Nightclub also has a significant connection to the history of drag performance in Raleigh.



Legends Nightclub, 330 W. Hargett St., view NE toward W elevation and facade.

Physical Description: Legends Nightclub is a small complex of former commercial buildings at the northeast corner of W. Hargett St. and S. Harrington St. A pair of single-story, brick-clad 1958 commercial buildings that share a party wall front W. Hargett St. The two buildings now function as a single structure. They both feature brick cladding laid in five-course English bond with Roman brick. Continuous, full-height windows across the façade of the larger structure on the west wrap around the west elevation. The smaller building, on the east, has a rear wing that extends to the back of the nearly quarter-acre, square parcel. At both sections, façade storefront windows are covered by sheet metal, providing privacy. Doors are fully glazed in extruded aluminum frames, suggesting the same fabrication for the windows behind the sheet metal. Some alterations have been made to the brick above the window, suggesting an alteration to the window openings from original construction. Metal I-beams cantilever out from the façade over the windows. The concrete stoop at the façade entrance is painted in rainbow colors. A painted sign reading "LEGENDS" in white serif lettering on black background is at the west elevation. Before Legends occupied the building, the small parking lot at the west edge of the parcel continued behind the building, forming an L-shaped parking area. Much of this space, however, was enclosed by the business with a privacy fence to provide an outdoor area for the club. A pavilion appears to have been installed around 2016 in the space.

The 1964 concrete-block, L-plan, commercial building on the similarly sized square parcel at 119 S. Harrington St. immediately north is also part of the complex; it was formerly

an automotive tire store. Much of this parcel is a parking area, and the long west-facing elevation of the wing that extends to the north holds three garage bays; the building originally had six. The original storefront faced north to the parking area. That elevation now holds a two-leaf entry of fully glazed doors in extruded aluminum frames and a solid metal door in another opening. The glass on the glazed doors has been painted, and the original shop windows have been infilled with concrete block since 1996. As at the front entry to the building, the sidewalk leading to the entry doors have been painted rainbow colors.

Brief Historical Sketch: Legends opened in 1991 and by the 2010s claimed to be the "leader in LGBT nightlife in the Triangle for over 25 years," according to a bar roundup in the *News & Observer* from 2022. In its history, the club has offered themed dance nights, drag performances, and the annual Miss Legends Pageant, and hosted events for NC Pride weekends. Along with other gay bars and businesses in the area, Legends contributed to the revitalization and redevelopment of the area that became known as both the "Gayborhood" and the "Warehouse District."

In 1996, the City of Raleigh cited Legends for operating as an adult establishment without a license because Legends hosted drag shows. Legends sued the city, pointing out that the drag shows were not adult entertainment as defined by state law. Additionally, Legends noted that, in citing the bar, the city did not apply this standard consistently. The club had drag shows on Sunday and Tuesday nights in that period, which *The Front Page* called "popular" events. In November 1996, Wake County Superior Court Judge Howard Manning ruled that drag shows are not adult entertainment and could proceed at Legends. Strip shows, as Legends had hosted in the past, would be categorized as "adult entertainment." In 2002, drag performers associated with "Trailer Park Nights" at FLEX released an independent movie called "Camp: The Movie," a satirized version of the conflict between Legends and the city, particularly then-Mayor Tom Fetzner who often spoke critically of the drag performances.

Also in 2002, Legends staged Raleigh Ensemble Players' (REP) production of Hedwig and the Angry Inch, a rock musical about a genderqueer singer. The Legends/REP production occurred a year after a film version was released nationally. The *News & Observer* noted that "HEDheads are coming out in force, traveling from near and far for Raleigh Ensemble Players' "Hedwig and the Angry Inch."

In 2020, during the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic, Legends closed completely, reopening in the late summer. In December 2020, the owners sold the property to a local commercial real estate company. Despite plans for total redevelopment of the parcels, at the time of the survey, Legends was still open and operating in this original location.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The Legends Nightclub complex retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The buildings are in their original locations.

- ✓ **Design:** The buildings retain the design elements that reflect their use as adaptively reused, mid-20th century commercial buildings—boxy massing, flat roofs, masonry exteriors, and altered window and door openings. Additionally, the privacy accommodations characteristic of gay clubs in the period—the window coverings and tall fencing to enclose the patio area—remain intact. However rainbow-colored murals on the sidewalk and the west elevation of one building are more characteristic of the 2020s than the 1990s.
- ✓ **Setting:** The complex remains surrounded by a mixture of commercial, office, and institutional buildings, as well as some surface parking lots and a city park at Nash Square. Larger mixed-use buildings and mid-sized apartment and condo buildings have been built since the initial decades of Legends' operation, creating some change in terms of the low-slung buildings' appearance in the streetscape relative to other buildings.
- ✓ **Materials:** The original cladding materials of all the buildings—brick and concrete block—remain exposed. The sheet metal covering the windows at the façade of the W. Hargett St. buildings also remains.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork of the W. Hargett St. building, the concrete-block of the S. Harrington St. building, and the application of the sheet metal to the windows.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The complex retains the appearance of adaptively reused, mid-20th-century commercial buildings to an entertainment function, and the privacy accommodations express a consideration of many gay bars and clubs in the period.
- ✓ **Association:** The complex is the actual location where Legends Nightclub has operated since its opening in 1991.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: This complex houses Legends Nightclub, an important social space in the period when LGBTQ bars and nightclubs no longer needed to operate secretly but still remained important places for creating and finding community for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh. The club was involved in a notable conflict with the Mayor and City Council over the nature of drag performance, effectively resulting in acknowledgement that drag shows are not lewd performances. The complex retains integrity and appears eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with LGBTQIA+ nightlife and drag performance.

However, since the building is slated for redevelopment and Legends is planning to relocate the club, alternative forms of recognition should be considered. Another notable bar documented in this project, FLEX, has already moved from its original location due to pending redevelopment. Legends and FLEX are both connected to the history of drag performance in Raleigh. The history of drag performance and culture in Raleigh should be

the subject of research with the goal of identifying ways to recognize the important spaces, people, and communities that comprise that history. If the City of Raleigh establishes a Legacy Business Program, Legends would be an excellent candidate.

Sources:

"A guide to Triangle nightlife," *News & Observer*, February 4, 2022.

"Hedwig makes a spectacle of herself," *News & Observer*, July 13, 2002.

"Nightlife," *News & Observer*, June 10, 2005.

"N SYNC's Lance Bass set to host NC Pride," *News & Observer*, September 29, 2017.

"What a drag—'La Cage' cancelled," *News & Observer*, July 30, 1996.

"Downtown Raleigh LGBTQ club Legends sells property for \$4.3 million," *News & Observer* website, updated December 2, 2020.

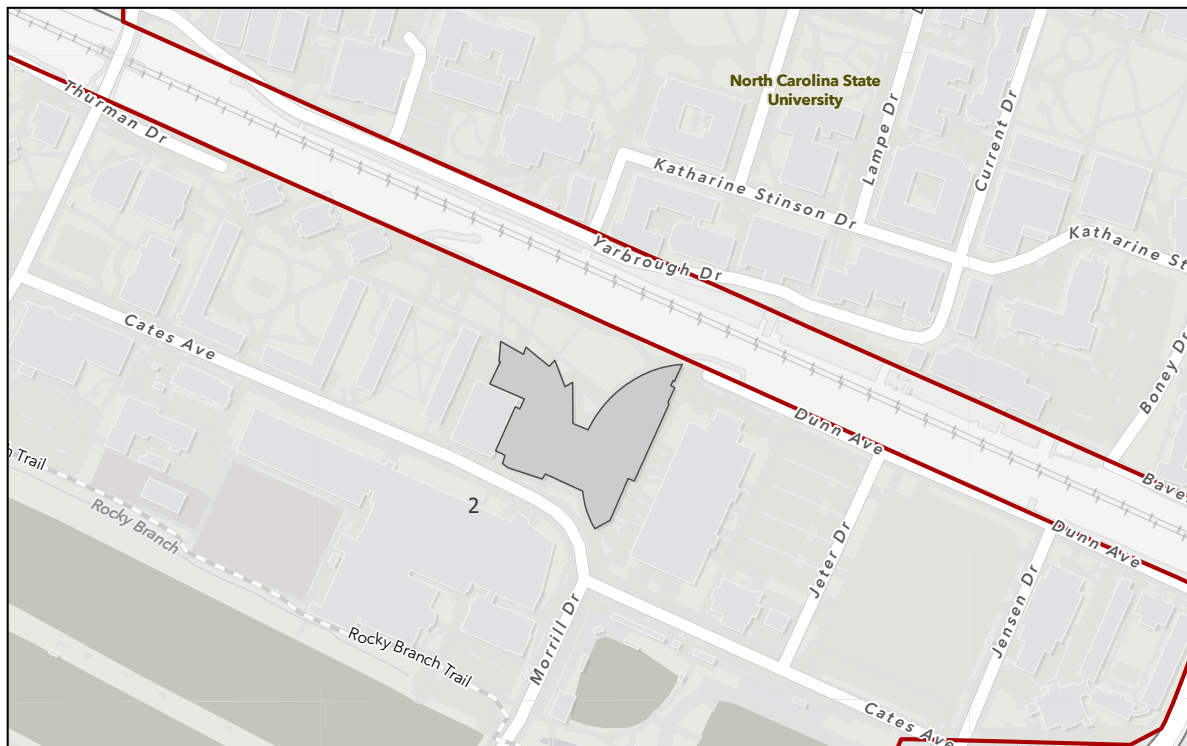
"Legends Sues Raleigh Over Drag," *The Front Page*, May 24, 1996.

"The Show May Go On," *The Front Page*, November 22, 1996.

"Raleigh bar fights to save drag," *The Front Page*, December 22, 1995.

"Legends sues Raleigh over drag," *The Front Page*, May 24, 1996.

SITE NAME	(former) Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance
LOCATION	University Student Center, NCSU; Overbuilt as the Talley Student Union
BUILT/ALTERED	1972, overbuilt in 2015
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1976-1990s
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 5, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of (former) Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance and current LGBTQ Pride Center, 2610 Cates Ave.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Gay student activism at N.C. State University dates back to the 1970s, and several groups have existed since that period to support LGBTQIA+ students and increase awareness of discrimination and bias against queer people. Today's LGBTQ Pride Center traces its roots to these student groups, the first of which appears to have been the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance. The group met in the University Student Center, which was overbuilt in 2015 and is known today at the Talley Student Union. N.C. State University's LGBTQ Pride Center continues the legacy of queer activism and support on campus.



Talley Student Center, North Carolina State University



Undated image of University Student Center, from "Brick Layers: An Atlas of New Perspectives on NC State's Campus History," Bricklayers Atlas, North Carolina State University website.

Physical Description: The Talley Student Center is the result of a major reworking of N.C. State University's 1972 University Student Center. Today's four-story building combines boxy brick-clad walls with glass and steel sections that jut out at angles and with curved

footprints. Some of these projections are two-stories in height, creating complicated massing with various rooflines. A decorative glass-and-steel tower marks the new northeast corner of the building. Entrances are at both the north and south elevations.

The original 1972 building was a four-story, boxy, rectangular structure with a Midcentury Modern-style façade set back behind a lawn area south of the rail line that bisects campus. The east end of the building had a horizontal focus, with exposed concrete floor plates and an inset balcony at the east side elevation at the upper two stories. The west end had a vertical focus with concrete columns set against brick cladding. The interior featured terrazzo flooring and Midcentury Modern-style lounge furniture arranged in light-filled open spaces. The fourth floor held a cafeteria with wood-paneled walls known as the Walnut Room; it had floor-to-ceiling windows with views in two directions. Offices, lounge spaces, and game rooms were originally located in the building. A multi-leveled fountain occupied a portion of the courtyard in front of the building.

Portions of the original walls of the 1972 building remain and are visible at the west elevation of the four-story building, under a deep eave. Close examination reveals a difference in the brick of the original wall. The original concrete columns set flush against the wall also remain. Most interior spaces have been completely remodeled. Some, like Stewart Theater, remain.

Brief Historical Sketch: Several student groups supporting queer students and advocating for their safety and civil rights have formed at N.C. State University since at least the 1970s, possibly earlier. One of the earliest groups supporting LGBTQIA+ people on campus was the campus ministry of St. John's Metropolitan Community Church. St. John's was a Protestant congregation organized in 1976 in Raleigh for gay and lesbian Christians seeking spiritual community. According to the LGBTQ Community Timeline on the NCSU library webpage, White "later credited students and faculty from NC State with helping him establish" St. John's MCC, indicating that the campus ministry likely dates to 1975 or 1976.

An outgrowth of the campus ministry was the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance, chartered as a university organization in December 1978. Rev. Willie White spoke at the group's first meeting on January 12, 1979. Community sources report that the group met in "The Nub," a space just inside and left of the Cates Avenue entrance to today's Talley Student Center.

Several secular groups later existed at NC State in support of LGBTQIA+ students, faculty, and staff. The extent to which they were directly connected to the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance still needs to be researched. The Lesbian & Gay Student Union became an officially registered student organization on October 12, 1988, and was active until 1996. The LGBTQ Community Timeline says it "may have been the first gay and lesbian student group to receive appropriations from student government." In 1996, the Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, and Allies (BGLA) student group formed on campus, possibly in replacement of the Lesbian and Gay Student Union. At the same time, there was also a group called Gay and Lesbian Association (GALA), which was purely a social group. Records in the N.C. State University Division of Student affairs contain an undated constitution for a group called AEGIS, Accepting and Embracing Gender Identity at North Carolina State University.

In the early 2000s, the University Diversity Advisory Committee and its GLBT Diversity Subcommittee began gathering information and input on the creation of a university-run student center for LGBT students, faculty, and staff. The University's GLBT Center officially became part of the Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity in January 2008. Community sources report that it was housed in Room 3131 of the University Student Center. Since the student center was completely rebuilt as the Talley Student Center, the GLBT center has occupied the fifth floor. The group changed its name in January 2023 to the LGBTQ Pride Center. The Pride Center is one of four Campus Community Centers under the umbrella of Academic and Student Affairs. The center's website states that the Pride Center "traces its roots" to the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The Talley Student Center was identified for survey as the location of the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance, a 1970s student group that sought to support and advocate for students, faculty, and staff of NC State University who identified as gay or lesbian. The building retains only two aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance and Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains in its original location.
- ✗ **Design:** The original design of the building has been completely altered by the new additions and remodeling. Few aspects of the original Midcentury Modern design are evident, and none contribute to the overall character of the building.
- ✗ **Setting:** The setting of the building, consisting of a small courtyard in front of the architecturally restrained building, has been completely altered.
- ✗ **Materials:** Most original materials have been removed. Only some brickwork and exterior concrete remains at the west side.
- ✗ **Workmanship:** As most original materials have been removed, there is very little original workmanship evident.
- ✗ **Feeling:** The building is still a student center, but it reflects 21st-century architectural style and features, as opposed to the original architecture, which reflected a late-20th-century sensibility.
- ✗ **Association:** Portions of at least two walls that constituted the building housing the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance meeting space remain, but the building has been overbuilt and dramatically altered.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: A number of groups supporting the LGBTQIA+ student communities on campus have existed at N.C. State University, and little is known about where some of the groups met. The 1972 University Student Center is said to have housed the meeting space of the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance at NCSU. That group, in turn, is said to be the precursor of the current LGBT Pride Center on campus.

However, the building has lost too much integrity to retain eligibility as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with the Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance in the late 20th century period. While the LGBT Pride Center's precursor groups on campus are significant in Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, that significance would likely be better expressed as part of a museum exhibit or ARCHES or mobile app history that could feature images of the original building and possibly original documents related to the various groups and the later Pride Center. Research into the center might also include research into the history of LGBTQIA+ student groups at other local universities.

Sources:

"Talley Student Union," from *Brick Layers: An Atlas of New Perspectives on NC State's Campus History*, Bricklayers Atlas website, N.C. State University.

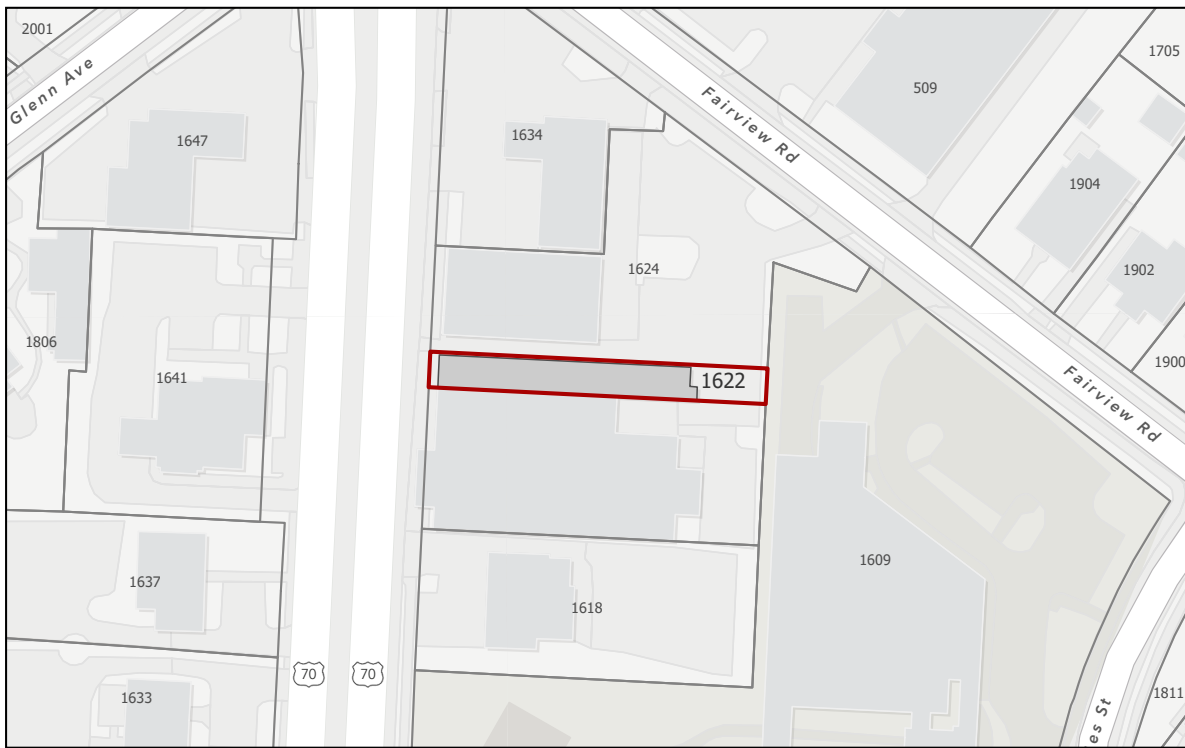
"Gay Alliance forms in Raleigh, 'It's hell all over' says TGA," *The Technician*, January 12, 1972.

"Student Center inspection next Thursday," *The Technician*, January 12, 1972.

"Minority affairs bill approved," *The Technician*, March 12, 1986.

"Bisexuals, Gays, Lesbians & Allies Constitution and Information," [North Carolina State University, Division of Student Affairs, Student Organization Resource Center Records, 1946-2009 \(UA016.059\)](#).

SITE NAME	(former) The Mousetrap / Glenwood Park / 1622
LOCATION	1622 Glenwood Ave.
BUILT/ALTERED	1930, most recent alteration ca. 2022
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	Ca. 1974-ca. 1998
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 2, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



(former) The Mousetrap, 1622 Glenwood Ave.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: The commercial space at 1622 Glenwood Ave was a gay bar from the 1970s through at least 1998. Two gay men established and ran the Mousetrap from 1974 through 1983. Glenwood Park operated from 1983-1993 variously reported as being for gay men or predominantly for lesbians. In 1994, a lesbian bar opened as 1622 and stayed open until at least 1998.

Most gay bars that opened in Raleigh in the 20th century have closed and many of the buildings that housed them have been demolished. Many were concentrated in the downtown business district or in semi-industrial areas. A few different storefronts in the vicinity of the Five Points intersection housed LGBTQIA+ friendly bars in the second half of

the 20th century. The commercial space at 1622 Glenwood is notable among them for having continuously housed LGBT bars for over two decades.



(former) The Mousetrap, 1622 Glenwood Ave., view of façade, looking NE from Glenwood Ave.

Physical Description: The commercial space at 1622 Glenwood Ave. is a single-story structure with a painted brick exterior. The building has parapet with a gabled profile over a single, wide storefront opening. The north half has a replacement extruded aluminum double-leaf entry under transom window, and the south side has a modern multi-light sash window or overhead lifting door over skirtboard.

A 1995 photo on the Wake County iMaps property information page shows the building as it appeared while the bar 1622 operated there. The brick exterior was painted pink, and the wide storefront opening held a central, recessed, single-leaf door. The flanking storefront windows were both covered with plywood and the number "1622" was painted in black numbers on a white background on the plywood at the north window bay. There appears to be a small, cantilevered canopy over the door and a transom window above that.

Brief Historical Sketch: A bar called The Mousetrap opened in this space around 1970. According to later owner Clayton Jackson, that bar "went gay a couple of years later" in 1972. Jackson and his business partner Charles Heavner, both gay men, purchased the business in 1973 and ran it as a gay bar. It remained open for the next decade. In addition to providing a social space for gay and bisexual men from Raleigh—as well as from several towns in Eastern North Carolina—the bar often collaborated with other organizations to benefit the gay community. In 1979, for instance, St. John's MCC and The Mousetrap co-hosted testing clinics for STIs at 102 N. Tarboro Rd.

After The Mousetrap closed in 1982, it reopened in 1983 as Glenwood Park as a private club open six nights a week. Glenwood Park stayed open for a decade, replaced in 1994 by 1622, a lesbian bar. In a 2005 IndyWeek article, Anissa Litwin recalled the bar as "small and kind of a dive, [but] I loved it and I loved being there and included in the community."

Historic Integrity Evaluation: This building at 1622 Glenwood Ave. retains five aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains in its original location.
- ✗ **Design:** The building retains its overall massing and is recognizable as an early 20th-century commercial building adaptively reused as a bar. The storefront system and the gabled parapet are virtually the only notable features of this simple, brick-clad commercial buildings. The gabled parapet remains, but the changes to the façade on such a simple building do compromise the integrity of design somewhat.
- ✓ **Setting:** The setting of the building is consistent with the setting from the 1970s-1990s, consisting of other commercial buildings fronting a main thoroughfare through the city.
- ✓ **Materials:** The building retains its brick exterior, the main material for the structure. The original and later storefront systems have been removed and replaced.
- ✗ **Workmanship:** Coats of paint obscure the masonry workmanship of the brick exterior.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The bar retains the feeling of an early 20th century commercial building adaptively used for a bar use. The integrity of feeling as a gay or lesbian is reduced somewhat with the change in the storefront from covered windows and blank door.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that housed bars for gay men and lesbians in the last three decades of the 20th century in the Five Points neighborhood.

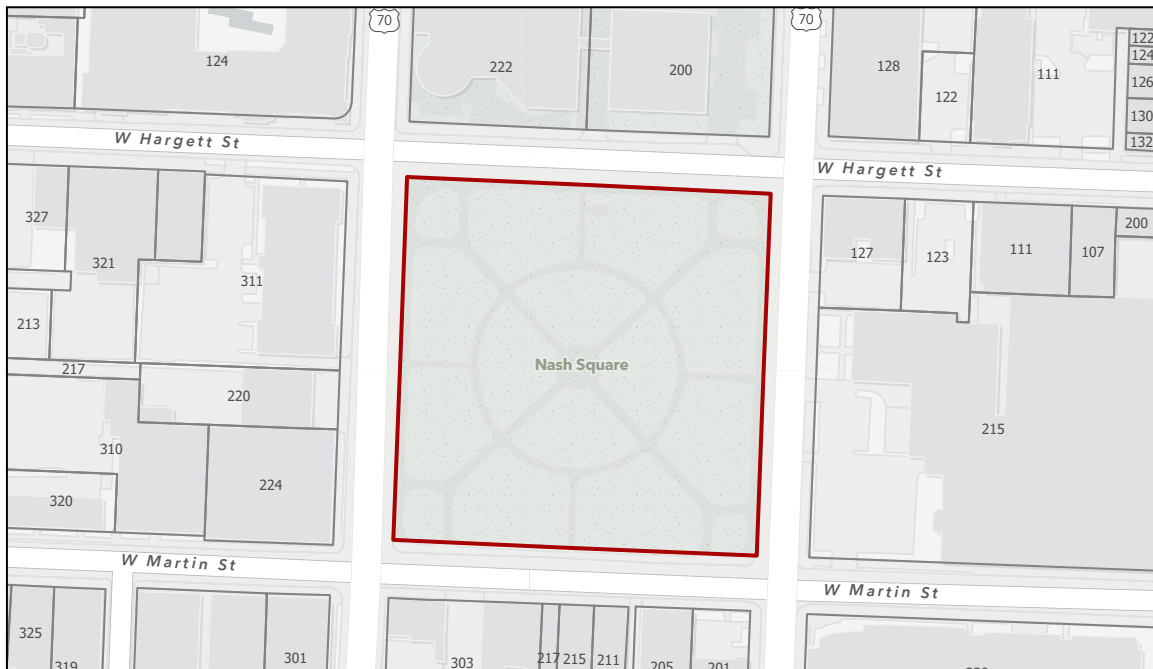
RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The building is significant as the location of a gay or lesbian bar for about nearly three decades at the end of the 20th century. Although this period coincided with the start of the gay liberation movement, many gay men and lesbians in Raleigh in the period remained quiet about their sexuality. Social spaces catering to gay and lesbian customers that could provide community, privacy, and support remained important in this period. Despite a few changes, the building generally retains integrity in connection with its significance under Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ context. Other storefronts in the vicinity also were home to gay-friendly bars in the 1950s and 1960s, but the longevity of the bars for gay men and lesbians in this space makes this location notable and eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history despite some reduction in integrity.

Sources:

Brandie Cline. "LGBT Raleigh: A Brief Overview." 2013. Prepared for the City of Raleigh Museum, Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program.

"The gay life," Indyweek.com, June 22, 2005.

SITE NAME	Nash Square
LOCATION	200 S. McDowell St. [Entire block bounded by E. Hargett, S. McDowell, E. Martin, & S. Dawson Streets.; Completely within Depot Historic District]
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
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



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+ Historic 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 and throughout gay liberation.

Several places have been identified as cruising spots in the middle of the 20th century, including certain stretches of Hillsborough, Fayetteville, and W. Hargett Streets. Cruising also took place in public restrooms in the Sir Walter Hotel (400 Fayetteville St.), the Hotel Carolina (demolished), the Museum of Natural History (Annex to 2 W. Edenton St.), North Hills Mall (demolished), Crabtree Valley Mall (altered), 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.



*View of Nash Square, 200 S. McDowell St.
showing lawn, trees, circular path and lampposts (camera facing S toward W. Martin St.)*

Physical 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, 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 the intersection, surrounded by low curved walls. 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 are 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 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 open space with intentional landscaping. By 1872, the park consisted of a lawn with a 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 departed from the park on 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 midcentury, the blocks surrounding Nash Square were decidedly less residential than they had been. Fewer dwellings and more warehouses and light-industrial buildings surrounded the 19th century Union Station (heavily altered) and the 1940 Raleigh Bus Station (demolished). 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 historic context of Nash Square briefly mentions that members of the LGBTQIA+ community met at the Hotel Carolina (demolished) at the northeast corner of W. Hargett and S. Dawson Streets. There was a tearoom in the basement of that hotel (a public bathroom where men met for sex), 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 20th 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 20th century, who generally kept their sexuality very private. In addition to the Hotel Carolina, the 1893 Park Central Hotel overlooked Nash Square from the southeast corner of W. Martin and S. McDowell Streets. The 1940 Raleigh Bus Station 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 hotel buildings that are no longer standing: 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 Streets. One surviving building from this time period that housed gay bars in the area is 313 W. Hargett St. 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 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 nearby 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.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The property retains all seven aspects of integrity in connection with its LGBTQIA+ significance, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The park remains in its original location with its original boundaries.
- ✓ **Design:** Nash Square retains circulation patterns, shade trees, understory vegetation, planting beds, paved paths, hardscaping, streetlights, and benches that were all part of the park's appearance during the period of significance associated with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history. Additions made to the park include monuments and public art but do not diminish or overwhelm the historic design that dates to two periods in the early 20th century.
- ✓ **Setting:** The park is surrounded by dense urban development, as it was in the period of significance. While many building in the vicinity have been demolished and others built, the downtown setting remains consistent.
- ✓ **Materials:** A good deal of historic material remains, including concrete paths; wrought iron streetlamps; low brick walls defining corner entrances; and concrete-paved

walkways. While much of the vegetation present today may have been planted more recently, the trees, shrubs, and flowers all follow the early 20th century plan and contribute to the intact integrity of materials.

- ✓ **Workmanship:** The built features, including concrete paths and low brick walls, still display the workmanship of their period of construction.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The park remains a natural oasis in the midst of the city, preserving the integrity of feeling that existed in the period of significance.
- ✓ **Association:** Nash Square is the place that gay men used for cruising before and in the early years of gay liberation and therefore retains integrity of association under this area of significance.

RHL Eligibility Assessment: Nash Square appears eligible for RHL designation due to its significance within the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Context and its excellent integrity. The park was a popular cruising spot for decades before and in the early years of gay liberation, due to its proximity to gay and gay-friendly bars, hotels, and the bus and train stations. Several other cruising spots have either not been definitely determined or were in buildings that have been demolished.

Sources:

Depot District National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form, 2002.

Willie Pilkington, email to the LGBTQIA+ Historic Context Project Team, August 22, 2024.

"Nash Square," "Hotel Raleigh," "Bus Station," "Hotel Carolina," "The Bland Hotel," and "Harrelson Hall" pages, Goodnight Raleigh Blog.

C. N. Drie, "Bird's eye view of the City of Raleigh, North Carolina, 1872," viewed online at the Library of Congress website.

Ratio Architects, "A Study of the Historic Context & Physical Evolution of Nash Square," prepared for the Raleigh Historic Development Commission, 2018.

Regan, Amanda, and Eric Gonzaba. Mapping the Gay Guides. 2019-ongoing. Mapping the Gay Guides Website.

"Quiet follows drive on Nash Square evil," *News & Observer*, July 28, 1924.

"Police arrest eight in Nash Square 'raid'," *News & Observer*, September 14, 1944.

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

"New zeal," *News & Observer*, December 6, 1967.

"How barbarous," and "Homosexuality," *News & Observer*, December 9, 1967.

Executive House Lounge advertisement, *News & Observer*, March 28, 1973.

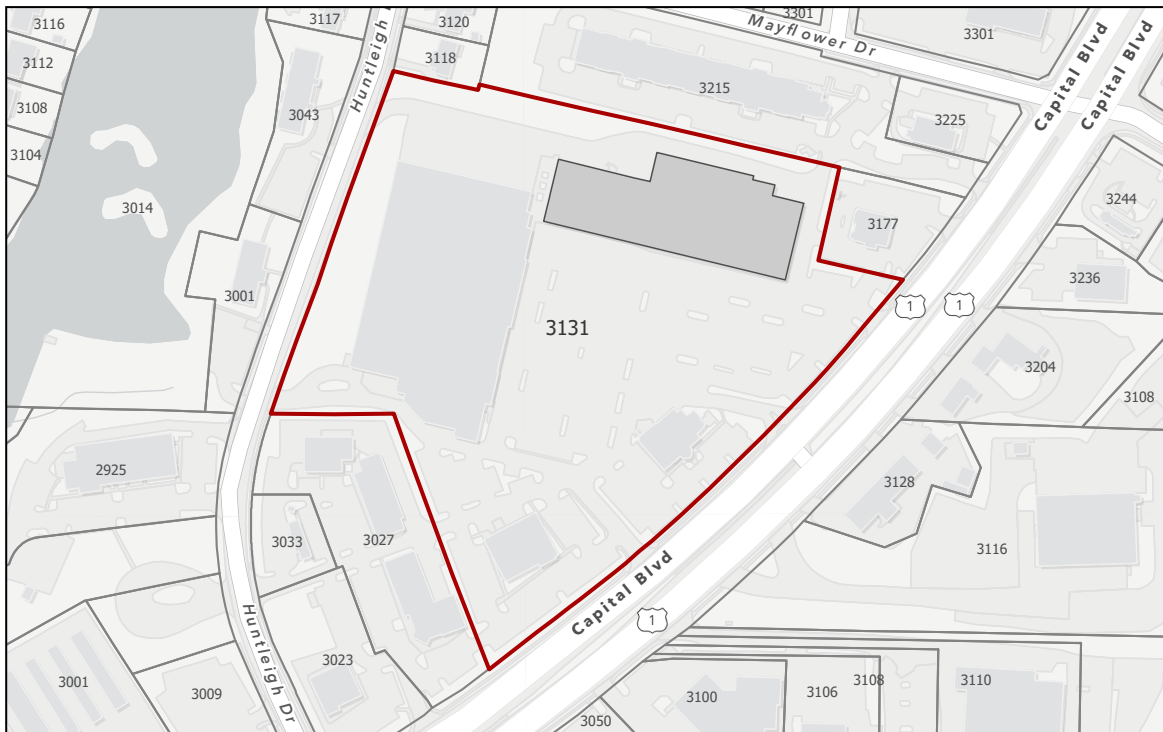
Executive Lounge advertisements, *News & Observer*, April 16, 17, and July 11, 1974.

"Raleigh Hotel Owner Charges 'Visitors,' *The Robesonian*, January 15, 1976.

"Once Proud, Now Pathetic," *News & Observer*, August 8, 1976.

"Raleigh Police Charge Seven With 'Crime Against Nature,'" *The Front Page*, April 1, 1981.

SITE NAME	Power Company location (building not extant)
LOCATION	3151 Capital Blvd. (formerly 3141 North Blvd.)
BUILT/ALTERED	1972, ca. 1999 (mostly demolished and rebuilt)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1984-1985
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 4, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of The Power Company, 3151 Capital Blvd.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: The Power Company was a nightclub listed in Bob Dameron's Address Book in 1984 and 1985. The club was notable within Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history as an early venue that welcomed women and African American patrons.



Ca. 2000 rebuild (walls may remain from original building, but not roof, interior, or facade) at location of the Power Company nightclub, according to address. View N.



Kings Plaza Shopping Center, ca. 1974, Mark Hubbard Photograph Collection, State Archives of NC.

Physical Description: The building at the address associated with Raleigh's iteration of the Power Company nightclub is a section of a blonde-brick clad strip mall. The building has a flat roof behind a stuccoed parapet. Brick columns support a shed-roof covered sidewalk at a few bays, and two bays at the main entrance to the building are below a small, towered section that marks the entry. The building currently houses a Food Lion grocery store and appears to date to 2000 or later. Aerial photos at Wake County iMaps show that the building seen in 1981 and 1988 aerials had been mostly demolished. Only the east and north walls remained standing. The 2002 aerial shows that the current building was complete.

Brief Historical Sketch: Kings Plaza Shopping Center was erected in 1972, and a Winn-Dixie grocery store occupied the space today addressed as 3151 Capital Blvd. from at least 1974 through 1983. In that year, the *News & Observer* reported that the shopping center would be up for auction shortly. The article describes the strip mall as 112,000 square feet with 11 tenants, including the Winn Dixie. Four commercial spaces were vacant at the time, "including the Kings store that anchored the shopping center" and faced east across the large parking lot. The Kings store had been closed for several years.

In the 1984 and 1985 issues of *Bob Damron's Address Book*, the Power Company appeared as a "disco" at "King's Plaza Ctr." The 1984 listing notes that the dance club "should be a winner" and indicated that customers tended to be "Young" and "College Types." In 1985, the notation included that it was a place for dancing and was frequented by "Drags," "Blacks" and "Ladies" (or possibly "Lesbians").

The Power Company club in Raleigh was one of three locations in North Carolina with the name. The clubs were all owned by Jim Kennedy of Winston-Salem, who was not gay. At a friend's suggestion, he turned Mother Fletcher's in that city into the first Power Company in 1978. Building on its success, he opened the Raleigh location in 1984. Kennedy bought the Durham gay bar 42nd Street in 1983 and changed its name to Power Company after closing the Raleigh location 1985.

Kennedy noted in a 1988 feature in *The Front Page* that "an individual who owns a gay club has a special responsibility to the gay community in that your club is one of the few places gay people can come with a lover and not feel socially ostracized. In that respect, it's incumbent on the bar owner to assure that privacy and other special needs are met." At least at the Winston-Salem location, Kennedy also held fundraisers for people in need and provided education about AIDS, particularly in the early days of the crisis. "We used to have a doctor from Bowman Gray Hospital who voluntarily came and spoke to people early in the evening at the club. He would come and speak on AIDS and AIDS prevention. It was an important social consideration for gay and lesbian people."

Little information has been found about the Raleigh club beyond the Damron guides and a few newspaper articles. The Power Company was mentioned in a 1984 *News & Observer* article detailing drug raids and arrests centered on three Raleigh clubs. In addition to "the Power Company on North Boulevard" the article named Culture Club on W. Morgan St. and Bear's Den in Cameron Village. No mention was made of the Power Company being a gay nightclub.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The former Power Company building has been mostly demolished and replaced by another building. The two remaining walls have been incorporated into another building that has no association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history. No integrity evaluation is needed.

- ✘ *Location:* N/A
- ✘ *Design:* N/A
- ✘ *Setting:* N/A
- ✘ *Materials:* N/A
- ✘ *Workmanship:* N/A
- ✘ *Feeling:* N/A
- ✘ *Association:* N/A

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The building recorded as having housed the Power Company has been demolished, so there is no property to evaluate for landmark designation.

Sources:

"Winston club celebrates 10th with AIDS fundraiser," *The Front Page*, September 20, 1988.

"Scores arrested in drug probe of North, West Raleigh clubs," *News & Observer*, February 4, 1984.

"Shopping center to be sold," *News & Observer*, July 30, 1983.

Wake County iMaps aerial photographs for PIN 1725143771.

SITE NAME	Pullen Memorial Baptist Church
LOCATION	1801 Hillsborough St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1935, 1942, 1983, 1989, 2023
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1980s-1990s
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 4, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, 1801 Hillsborough St.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Pullen Memorial Baptist Church is one of a few church congregations in Raleigh that was very supportive—and very publicly so—to the LGBTQIA+ communities in the 1980s and 1990s. The church hosted educational conferences in the 1980s and its pastor officiated at the blessing of a same-sex union in 1993.



Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, 1801 Hillsborough St., view SW.

Physical Description: The sanctuary is brick-clad with stained-glass windows in metal sash with round arches. A Romanesque Revival-style addition to the original 1935 church dominates the southwest corner of Cox Ave. with Hillsborough St. The addition was designed by Raleigh architect F. Carter Williams and built in 1951. Other architectural features include a rose window and clay roof tiles. The older building is at the back and featured double-hung wood sash in round-arched window openings. A square tower stands taller than the building or its additions. The new entrance is at the Cox Ave. elevation, and broad concrete steps lead to a concrete patio in front of the round-arched entryway. A 2008 rear addition includes a metal-clad chapel to the east of the entry, at Cox Ave., and a flat-roofed, brick-clad office and education wing with large window bays in extruded aluminum frames. The building fronts a parking lot to the south, accessed from Cox Ave.

Brief Historical Sketch: The congregation of today's Pullen Memorial Baptist Church dates to 1884 as Fayetteville Street Baptist Church. The congregation renamed the church Pullen Memorial upon the death of John T. Pullen, an influential lay leader. The congregation relocated to the corner of Cox Ave. and Hillsborough St. in 1923 and made substantial additions in 1951 and 2008.

M. Mahan Siler became pastor in 1983. He was involved with the formation of the Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE), a coalition of clergy who supported and advocated for the guarantee of civil rights for gay men and lesbians. RRNGLE also participated in community efforts to support the LGBTQIA+ communities, particularly in crisis situations. In the 1980s and 1990s, Pullen hosted RRNGLE conferences for Raleigh clergy to learn more about the issues of the queer communities.

In 1990, the church presented a year-long education program for its own congregation. In 1992, the congregation endorsed Siler's officiation at the blessing of a same-sex union at the church. The Raleigh Baptist Association and the Southern Baptist Convention both removed Pullen from their memberships for doing so.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: Pullen Memorial Baptist Church retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The church remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** While the church has had a significant addition since the period of significance, it is located at the side and back and does not substantially alter the view of the building from Hillsborough St. The front of the building remains substantially the same as it appeared in the 1980s and 1990s.
- ✓ **Setting:** The church is situated between a commercial corridor on Hillsborough St. to the east, the campus of North Carolina State University to the west, and the Forest Park neighborhood to the north. This setting is generally the same, although a number of buildings on Hillsborough St. to the east have been replaced with larger commercial structures.
- ✓ **Materials:** Original materials are intact, including brick cladding, glass and stained-glass windows, and concrete hardscaping.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork of the exterior cladding and the stained-glass windows.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building remains a church with additional spaces for church-related programming.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that hosted RRNGLE conferences and the same-sex union that resulted in the congregation being removed from membership of local and regional Baptist organizations.

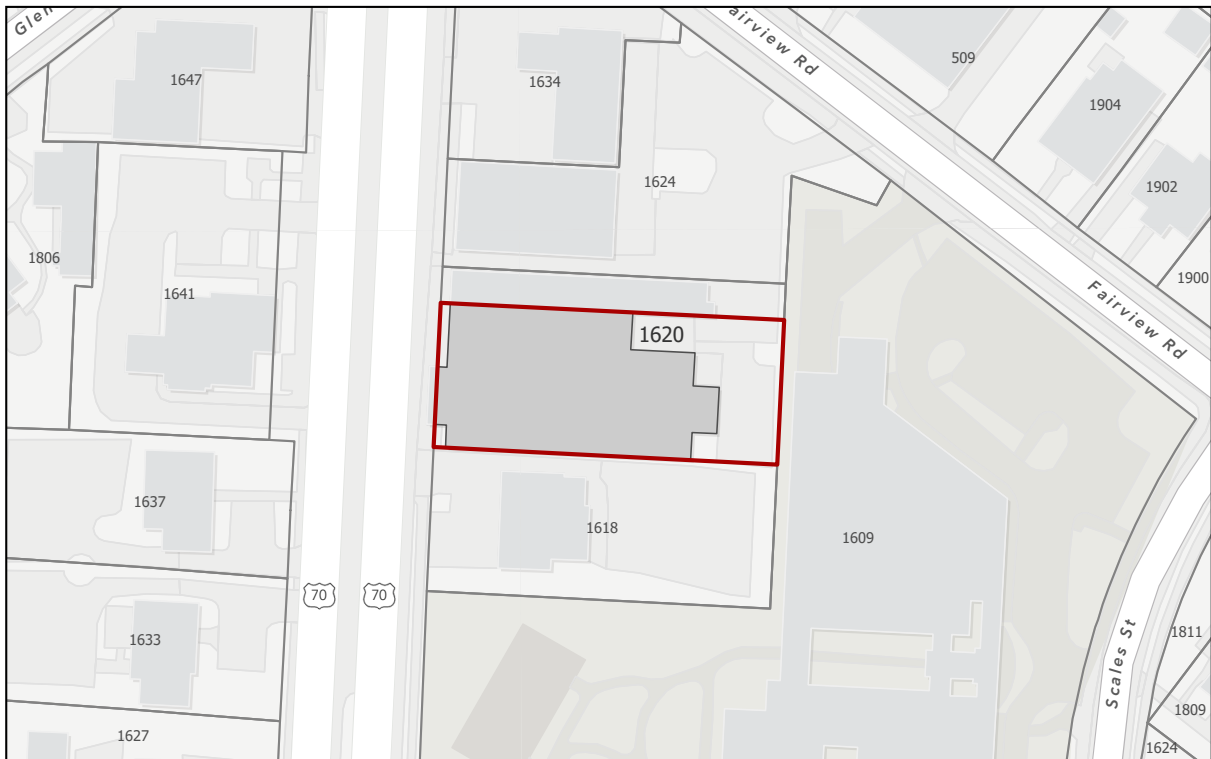
RHL Eligibility Evaluation: Pullen Memorial Baptist Church was an early and vocal ally of LGBTQIA+ communities in the 1980s and 1990s, furthering education of the wider Raleigh community, providing support for LGBT people in need, and blessing a same-sex union in the church in 1992. The latter had major repercussions for the church within Baptist membership organizations.

Sources:

Hartman, Keith. *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle Over Homosexuality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

"Gay union gets Pullen's blessing," *News & Observer*, March 2, 1992.

SITE NAME	Rialto Theater (formerly Colony Theater)
LOCATION	1620 Glenwood Ave.
BUILT/ALTERED	1935, 1942, 1983, 1989, 2023
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	Ca. 1978-present
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	September 28, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Rialto Theater (formerly Colony Theater), 1620 Glenwood Ave.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: The Rialto Theater, formerly the Colony Theater, has been a mainstay movie theater in Raleigh since it opened in 1942. As early as the 1970s, the theater became an art-house cinema that also hosted live music and late-night viewings of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, a film with queer themes and motifs. No other movie theater in Raleigh has the longevity of the Rialto Theater.



*Rialto Theater (formerly Colony Theater), 1620 Glenwood Ave.,
view NE toward W elevation and facade*

Physical Description: The Rialto Theater features a simple façade with some Moderne elements, including curved corners at entrances and glass block at the ticket booth. These were likely an alteration in the transition from grocery store use to theater. The building has a brick exterior, but the façade is faced with square panels that form a parapet that steps down toward the south end of the façade. Movie posters in original poster windows are at each end of the façade, flanking a central entry area under the cantilevered marquee sign. A vertical sign board over the marquee is toward the south end of the façade. Three entrances are under the marquee, but one appears to have been infilled. The wider center entry bay holds a recessed entry with three doors, and the southmost bay holds a glass-walled ticket booth and another entry door. The building has been painted blue, white, and black in a scheme that complements the Moderne architectural lines and echoes the white band created by the marquee sign. The tall sign board is painted in this scheme as well, but the name of the theater is painted in script above the marquee on the façade itself and not on the signboard. The exposed south side elevation is a brick wall laid in five-course common bond, now partially painted with a mural. The elevation also has four window openings. Four are infilled with brick, one retains its original double-hung metal sash. All four have security grates at the opening.

Photographs on the Wake County iMaps property information page show that the building's appearance remained generally unchanged from 1995 through 2022. The façade featured a three-tone gray paint scheme, which then-manager/owner Bill Peebles had chosen after researching popular paint color schemes in the 1940s during the building's restoration.

Brief Historical Sketch: The building was originally a grocery store; it reopened in 1942 as a movie theater under the name the Colony Theater. In 1971, Maggie Dent began managing the Colony, shifting its focus to foreign and art films. Dent had previously owned the Rialto Theater in downtown Durham, where she had begun showing foreign films and classic Hollywood movies. As early as 1978, the Colony began a late-night screening of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. A dedicated fan base formed around the film, initially in New York. Since 1976, midnight showings of *Rocky Horror* at the Waverly Theater in New York had attracted a cult audience of mostly gay people who began dressing as the characters and "shadowcasting," or acting out scenes along with the movie.

In 1983, the theater closed for renovation and reopened as The Rialto in tribute to the demolished Durham version. The Rialto on Glenwood would specialize in first-run foreign films and independent movies, showing classic movies at matinees and late-night weekend shows. Bill Peebles began managing the theater 1989 and became part-owner. Under Peebles, the Rialto was host to art films, film festivals, rock concerts, and continued the long-running late-night showing of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. He also worked with the NC Museum of Art to develop the outdoor summer film series in 1989.

Peebles is credited with restoring the theater. However, it is not clear if Peebles did a second restoration in 1989 or if he directed the 1983 effort. He did research paint colors from the 1940s in selecting the shades-of-gray paint scheme that the building had from the restoration through 2022.

Bill Peebles retired in 2022, noting that he wanted to sell the management rights to someone who can keep it open to the community and continue the programming that he had pursued, including independent and classic films, live music, and other performances. Hayes Permar purchased the management rights and is continuing to show movies, host live music and have late shows of *Rocky Horror*.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The Rialto Theater retains all seven aspects of historic integrity from its conversion to a movie theater, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The theater remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The design of the façade, the most notable design element of the building, is unchanged from at least 1983 with the exception of the paint scheme. The façade was painted from at least 1983 onward, and the recent change in the paint scheme does not materially affect the design of the building.

- ✓ **Setting:** The setting of the Rialto has been consistent for several decades, consisting of a commercial strip along a main city thoroughfare and adjacent to residential and institutional properties.
- ✓ **Materials:** Materials are intact, including brick, stucco, glass, metal, and plastic at the façade, the marquee sign, and the exterior cladding.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork of the exterior cladding, the scored stucco panels at the façade, and the curved stucco corners at the entrances.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building remains a movie theater, preserving the integrity of feeling as a place of entertainment.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that has served for eight decades as movie theater. Since the 1970s, the theater has been an art house cinema that also hosted live music events and late-night showings of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The theater has been a “beloved” institution in Raleigh’s movie-going history (as noted in a *News & Observer* headline from 2022) and is the oldest movie theater in Raleigh. It appears to be eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark as a significant and long-running movie theater that retains historic and architectural integrity. More research is needed to ascertain its significance within the LGBTQIA+ community.

Sources:

- “Maggie Dent at the Colony—Mix Old Gold and Oscars,” *News & Observer*, June 6, 1971.
- “Colony Theater reopens as Rialto,” *Technician*, April 11, 1983.
- “Movie theater magic,” *News & Observer*, May 28, 2003.
- “Moonstruck,” *News & Observer*, August 27, 1993.
- “Raleigh’s beloved Rialto Theater to close temporarily,” *News & Observer*, August 19, 2022.
- “Colony Theater opens with new name, changes,” *News & Observer*, March 8, 1983.
- “‘A mix of feelings’: After 32 years, the Rialto is being sold,” *Spectrumlocalnews.com*, August 2, 2022.
- “Colony, Five Points,” *News & Observer*, May 6, 1977.
- “Toga party has rowdy revival,” *News & Observer*, October 2, 1978.
- “Coming attraction?” *News & Observer*, December 4, 1996.

SITE NAME	Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel (Kitty Hawk Tavern, Admiral's Galley)
LOCATION	400 Fayetteville St. (at SW corner with W. Davie St.)
BUILT/ALTERED	1922-1924, 1938-1939, ca. 1960s, ca. 1970s, ca. 2020
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	Ca. 1940-ca.1979
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 5, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MDM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, 400 Fayetteville St.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: Two bars important in gay culture in Raleigh were housed in the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel: the Kitty Hawk Tavern of the 1940s-1960s and the Admiral's Galley of the 1970s. The Kitty Hawk was not a gay bar, but rather a bar where gay and bisexual men met among the crowd. The Admiral's Galley was a secret bar in the basement of the hotel frequented by gay men in the 1970s.



*Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, 400 Fayetteville St.,
façade and W. Davie St. elevation, view to SW.*



*Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, 400 Fayetteville St.,
W. Davie St. elevation below canopy, view to NE.*



*Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, 400 Fayetteville St.,
Alley between Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel (r) and
neighboring building, view W.*



*Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel, 400 Fayetteville St.,
Alley between Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel (at right) and
neighboring building, view W. looking down the stairs.*

Physical Description: Classical Revival-style, ten-story hotel building with red brick exterior. Notable architectural features include egg-and-dart cornice at second story over round-arched windows in glazed terra cotta; 1/1 wood sash elsewhere; terra cotta belt course at upper stories and bracketed terra cotta cornice capping elevations. An identical addition was made to the back of the building in 1938-1939, expanding the hotel to fill the depth of the block back to S. Salisbury St. Individual storefronts installed ca. 2020 at the ground floor façade and east end of the north side elevation (Fayetteville St. and Davie St., respectively). Canopies at the façade and north elevation survive over altered (Fayetteville St.) or enclosed (W. Davie St.) entries. A narrow alley is at the south end of the façade, with concrete steps leading down to a basement-level door. A locked steel gate restricts access today.

Brief Historical Sketch: The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel was completed in 1924. Limited office space around the state capitol building, and the fact that many lawmakers took rooms there while the General Assembly was in session, made the hotel an unofficial headquarters for state government. Legislators, political lobbyists, and newspaper reporters frequented spaces in the hotel. Additionally, traveling salesmen and businessmen were steady customers. The hotel was also a premier location for conventions in the second quarter of the 20th century.

The Kitty Hawk Tavern was in operation as early as 1942 and possibly as late as 1967. Its exact location in the building has not been determined. The entrance to the bar was from W. Davie St. Prior to the Kitty Hawk, in 1930, there was a bar in the Sir Walter known as the Sir Walter Tavern; its address was 11 W. Davie St., separate from the side entrance to the hotel at 9 W. Davie St. This is likely the same space as the Kitty Hawk Tavern, and it probably was sheltered by the same extant canopy that sheltered a hotel entrance from that street.

An interior photo from about 1940 shows the Kitty Hawk décor. It featured a bar paneled with knotty pine and had a brass footrail. The rest of the space had knotty-pine wainscot under papered walls and knotty-pine-covered beams at the ceiling. Four-top wood tables with wood chairs lined the wall opposite the bar; a third wall featured leather-covered booths. The floor was wide-plank wood. The Kitty Hawk was converted into meeting space known as the Red Room in the late 1960s. 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 the bar and feature in short articles in the *News & Observer* about fights originating there. A 1961 article describes a group of Fort Bragg soldiers who were flipping a coin to see who would pay; the coin landed in a glass of beer and created a disagreement. The soldiers took it outside, and one threw a glass that injured a bystander. An advertisement for a tavern manager specified "Retired service man preferred," perhaps as a result of such behavior. A gossipy 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.

Within the gay community, the bar was known as a place where white gay men met each other at least as early the mid 1950s. Due to the political, business, and military background of so many guests at the hotel and the early- to mid-20th century time period, visitors to the bar would have been predominantly male. Clayton Jackson, who later owned a gay bar in Five Points (The Mousetrap, also evaluated in this project), describes meeting men at the Kitty Hawk and sometimes renting a room in the hotel.

Details from a few newspaper stories allude to this pattern of meeting in a bar and renting a hotel room, although 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 of that description had been in the Kitty Hawk Tavern, described in the paper as "a beer parlor located just off the lobby." In 1959, a man in town from Charlotte met another man in the Kitty Hawk Tavern and took him back to his room at a different hotel. The Charlotte man reported that the two men had a couple of drinks before he went to bed. When he woke up, his car and his belongings from the room were gone. Both stories leave out significant details that are likely telling.

The Admiral's Galley occupied space in the otherwise unfinished basement of the Sir Walter Raleigh 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 other unfinished areas in the basement. The defunct bar space existed in the basement of the building as late as 2020, with décor that appeared to date to the 1970s, including booths, a small dance floor, and a bar. 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.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel is already a Raleigh Historic Landmark, designated in 1980 for its association with state government activity. Even before that designation, the building was listed individually in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1978 with statewide significance in connection with its place in the political history of North Carolina. The building is additionally a Contributing Property in the Fayetteville Street Historic District, listed in the NRHP in 2007 for its local significance in the areas of architecture and commerce. The building retained historic integrity for all these designations at the time of each individual listing. The 2020 remodel was a Certified Historic Preservation Tax Credit project, and therefore completed rehabilitation work that would not adversely affect the historic integrity of the building.

Overall, then, the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with the political history of North Carolina and with local architecture and commerce. The specific space that housed the Kitty Hawk Tavern does not remain; the Admiral's Galley space was not accessed during the survey and was observed, apparently quite intact but in disrepair, in 2020. It may no longer remain, as redevelopment plans have been in place for the commercial spaces within the building.

However, the building's association with LGBTQIA+ history is not limited to those spaces. Gay men visited the bars but also rented hotel rooms and visited a tea-room in the

basement bathroom. The building has been remodeled throughout multiple times, so under any area of significance, the precise look of the interior spaces does not remain from the period of significance. Therefore, the following integrity evaluation is made for the building exterior only.

The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel retains all seven aspects of integrity for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The hotel remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The design of the façade and the W. Davie St. elevation is intact above the first floor. The first-floor entrances and storefronts have been changed multiple times, beginning before the mid-20th century and continuing through 2020. The current iteration at Fayetteville St. and the east end of W. Davie St. date to the 2020 certified tax rehab project and is very compatible with historic images of the ground floor and current conditions. The area at the first floor under the entry canopy at W. Davie Street west to the rear elevation was not changed in 2020 and reflects alterations likely made in the 1970s. Still, the integrity of design for the building as a whole is very much intact.
- ✓ **Setting:** The setting of the hotel has always been the central business district of Raleigh. It remains so, and the setting remains composed of institutional and commercial buildings of many different decades from the 20th century, with some buildings from the 21st century now present.
- ✓ **Materials:** Brick and terra cotta, two of the main materials that express the architectural style of the building, remain intact. Some original windows remain, but the 1/1 wood sash have been replaced in kind. Material of the original storefronts, likely wood or metal, is gone, replaced with extruded aluminum storefronts. Overall, the integrity of materials is intact.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork of the exterior cladding and the terra cotta decorative detailing and remains intact.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building is no longer a hotel, but as an apartment building it essentially retains very much the same feeling as a hotel. The storefronts have been renovated and, when occupied, will further enhance the integrity of feeling as a busy downtown residential space with commercial amenities.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that housed the Kitty Hawk Tavern, the Admiral's Galley, and other spaces frequented by gay and bisexual men from at least the 1940s through the late 1960s.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel is already a Raleigh Historic Landmark, but its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history was not included in the original designation report. The building does appear eligible for landmark listing for its association with LGBTQIA+ history. This evaluation could serve as a supplemental history to document the building's significance to Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history.

Sources:

Catherine Bishir and Jim Sumner, "Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1978. NC State Historic Preservation Office website.

"Raleigh Ushers in 1943 in Rather a Quiet Mood," *News & Observer*, January 1, 1943.

"Byways of the News" *News & Observer*, 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.

"Under the Dome," *News & Observer*, January 25, 1968.

"Kitty Hawk Tavern: The 'Tea Room,' 1950s, Clayton Jackson," in "Queerolina: Experiences of space and place through oral history," Queerolina Map, "Queerolina: Experiences of space and place through oral history," UNC-CH Library website.

"Man is attacked in hotel room," *News & Observer*, January 23, 1962.

"Charlotte Man Claims Robbery," *News & Observer*, February 14, 1959.

"Soldier Charged after incident," *News & Observer*, August 6, 1961.

"Tavern Manager," *News & Observer*, April 23, 1964.

"Byways of the News," *News & Observer*, May 31, 1956.

Willie D. Pilkington, telephone interview with the author, August 14, 2024.

SITE NAME	(former) Triangle Gay Alliance
LOCATION	412 Kinsey St.
BUILT/ALTERED	1915 (Wake Co. iMaps)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1971-1974
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 4, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of (former) Triangle Gay Alliance, 412 Kinsey St.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: This bungalow in the Boylan Heights neighborhood was the location of the Triangle Gay Alliance (TGA), a short-lived but early and influential communal organization. TGA sought to advance the civil rights of gay people in the first years of the gay liberation movement. The establishment of TGA was one of the first public acts of gay liberation in Raleigh.



(former) Triangle Gay Alliance, 412 Kinsey St., view NW to S. side elevation and façade.

Physical Description: One-and-a-half-story, side-gabled, Craftsman-style bungalow with full-width inset front porch and broad shed dormer. The house retains weatherboard siding and wood windows with 4/1 double-hung sash. Original wood porch details also remain, including square columns set in pairs with wood lattice detail and a matchstick porch rail. Overhanging eaves have exposed rafter tails at eave walls. The dwelling is on a brick foundation. A brick retaining wall is at the front of the front yard. A gabled shed is in the rear yard.

Brief Historical Sketch: Bob Bland (1946-2011) set up TGA in 1971 and was offered this house if the group would assume the mortgage. 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 local news outlets. 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." *The Technician* at N.C. State University quoted a TGA member as saying that life as a gay person is "hell all over" the country. TGA's membership quickly grew to include transgender people, lesbians, gay men, drag queens, people leaving heterosexual marriages, as well as both Black and white members. Such inclusiveness did not always characterize groups and businesses established for LGBTQIA+ people in Raleigh in the 1970s.

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 promote understanding. Bland sent out a candidate questionnaire in the spring of the presidential election year of 1972. Many candidates ignored it. 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.

TGA 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, and members came from as far away as Greensboro for Sunday afternoon meetings. Jimi Dee, a Black Raleighite who performed as a drag queen and 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 (2 E. South St., extant, altered). Sears calls it the "state's first major public gay event." Despite this apparent energy and successful efforts, TGA was somewhat short-lived, active only into 1974.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The former location of the Triangle Gay Alliance retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The house remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The Craftsman design of the bungalow remains intact, retaining the following elements indicative of the style: sheltered front porch, dormer window, 4/1 sash, overhanging eaves, exposed rafter tails, wood siding, wood porch details.
- ✓ **Setting:** The setting of the house is remarkably consistent since the 1970s; both the house itself and the surrounding dwellings on the block are intact and little-changed from the period.
- ✓ **Materials:** Materials are intact, including brick, wood, and glass.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork the foundation, the wood porch posts and rail, the windows, and the overall construction of the dwelling.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The house continues its original use as a dwelling in an early 20th century residential neighborhood near downtown, maintaining the feeling it would have had in the 1970s.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that housed the Triangle Gay Alliance during its existence.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The TGA house was the location of a very significant and consequential gay-rights organization in the earliest years of the gay liberation movement in Raleigh. The building retains integrity from its period of association with LGBTQIA+ history and appears to be eligible for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark.

Sources:

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

"Homosexual Alliance is Formed in Triangle," *News & Observer*, December 30, 1971.

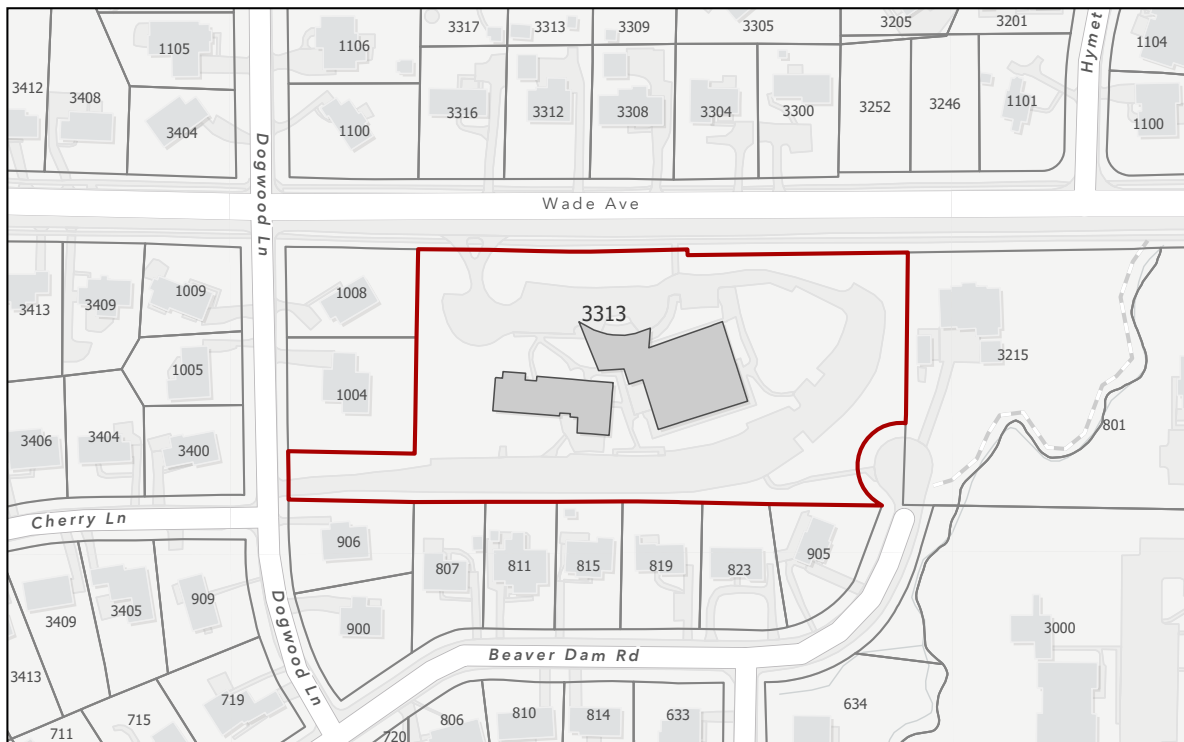
"Most candidates ignore gay group," *Charlotte Observer*, April 14, 1972.

"N.C. Homosexuals and the law," *Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1972.

"A North Carolina Gay Liberation Pioneer," *The Front Page*, June 7, 1983.

"Gay Alliance forms in Raleigh, 'It's hell all over' says TGA," *The Technician*, January 12, 1972.

SITE NAME	Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh
LOCATION	3313 Wade Ave.
BUILT/ALTERED	1980, 1991, 2004 (Wake County iMaps)
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1970s-present
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 10, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh, 3133 Wade Ave.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: The Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh (UUF) was a welcoming and supportive congregation for LGBT members from the 1970s onwards. UUF provided meeting space for groups, notably Gay Club of Raleigh and Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). The church provided meeting space for the state's first support group for AIDS patients. UUF also owned the bungalow at 119 Hawthorne St. where the Women's Culture Collective and St. Johns Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) met (also evaluated under this project).



Fellowship Hall, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh, 3313 Wade Ave., view S.



Peace Hall, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh, 3313 Wade Ave., view NW.

Physical Description: The Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh campus on Wade Ave. comprises two buildings, the brick-clad 2004 Fellowship Hall and the frame 1980 Peace Building. The Fellowship Hall actually appears to have been built in two stages. A single-story, flat-roofed brick building had been erected in 1991. A 2004 expansion added stories to the existing building and a wing with a dramatically sloped roof form at a new northeast corner of the building. Supported by curved, laminated wood beams, the expansive space shelters a sanctuary with a 450-person capacity. To the west stands the two-story, frame-on-basement, side-gabled Peace Building, which is sided in plywood and houses classrooms and a small chapel. The buildings are roughly centered on the parcel, which remains wooded. An asphalt drive loops around the buildings to the east, accessing parking on both the north and south sides of the parcel. A small, paved courtyard is between the two buildings.

Brief Historical Sketch: The UUF organized in Raleigh in 1949, meeting in rented spaces for a time. At some point, UUF acquired the house at 119 Hawthorne Rd. It served as the Fellowship Hall at least in the 1960s, but Sunday services were held roughly across Hillsborough St. at the YMCA (not extant). UUF acquired the property on Wade Avenue in 1967. Plans for a new building were underway in 1968, but the oldest building at the Wade Avenue location appears to date to 1980, according to property records.

UUF hosted lectures for and on behalf of LGBT people in Raleigh from the 1970s onwards. It allowed groups including the Women's Culture Collective, St. John's MCC, PFLAG, and Gay Club of Raleigh to meet in UUF facilities, including at 119 Hawthorne St. and at the Wade Ave. campus. PFLAG was founded in 1973 and met sometimes at UUF. Gay Club of Raleigh met twice a month at UUF's Wade Ave. campus through the 1990s, offering social activities, lectures, recreation sports, and opportunities for political advocacy. The club also planned visibility and Pride events in Raleigh as early as the 1980s, including picnics at Dorothea Dix Recreational Area, William B. Umstead State Park, and Pullen Park in the 1980s. Clearly, the support and provision of meeting space was crucial to LGBTQ people in forming community in Raleigh in the early decades of gay liberation.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The UUF campus has changed over its decades of occupying the campus at Wade Ave. Activities in the 1970s are likely to have taken place at 119 Hawthorne St., the Hillsborough St. YMCA, or other locations. From 1980 on, the Peace Building provided space for meetings of Gay Club of Raleigh and PFLAG. That building is evaluated below, but additional research may reveal other locations or chronology of buildings at the campus.

The Peace Building at UUF on Wade Avenue appears to retain all seven aspects of integrity.

- ✓ **Location:** The Peace Building remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The building appears to retain its original appearance, featuring plywood siding with vertical grooves, wood-sash windows of fixed and awning types, shed roofs, projections and recesses along elevations to create complicated massing, and sections of blind walls contrasted with walls pierced by tall windows.

- ✓ **Setting:** The wooded setting at the edge of a residential neighborhood and south of a main city roadway has been consistent since UUF began using the parcel.
- ✓ **Materials:** Materials are intact, including plywood, wood, glass, and asphalt shingles.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the form and materials of the building, which appear to be original.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building remains in use for pastoral and other activities, preserving the feeling of a religious-based and community-focused facility.
- ✓ **Association:** This appears to be the building that served for as a meeting place for LGBT groups, including Gay Club of Raleigh, which provided a wide range of activities for LGBTQIA+ people for decades in Raleigh.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The Peace Building appears to be the facility most closely associated with the long-running, popular, and influential Gay Club of Raleigh in the last quarter of the 20th century. It was also used for meetings of PFLAG and lectures relating to gay topics in the same period. For these reasons, the building appears to be significant in the history of Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities. It does retain integrity in that context. It is possible for both 119 Hawthorne and the Wade Avenue campus to be eligible for RHL designation for association with different groups.

Sources:

"Church Briefs," *News & Observer*, October 5, 1968.

Wake County iMaps property record for 3133 Wade Avenue.

The congregation has owned this property since 1967 (only listed owner on tax page, so likely consolidated older smaller parcels). The church has a long history of providing meeting space for LGBTQ support organizations. They hosted a Women's Coffeehouse at 119 Hawthorne St in the late 1970s (see separate entry). They hosted Gay Club twice-monthly meetings (late 1970s to 1990). It's likely those meetings occurred in what is now called Peace Hall, the older wood-sided building on the UUF campus on Wade Ave. The Gay Club was founded by Willie Pilkington, John Voorhees, and others, with additional organizing activities occurring at their private residences (see related entries). It hosted Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) meetings in the 1970s (PFLAG Triangle was founded in 1973). PFLAG doesn't appear to meet here anymore, but they now have a Parents of Transgender Offspring monthly group and hold K-12 sexuality education classes (OWL). Hosted the statewide National Organization for Women (NOW) conference in 2023.

SITE NAME	(former) Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse location
LOCATION	119 Hawthorne Rd.
BUILT/ALTERED	1917
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	Ca. 1978-1984
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	November 4, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of (former) Women's Collective Coffeehouse,

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: This bungalow in the Forest Park neighborhood was the location of meetings of the Women's Collective Coffeehouse, an early lesbian-focused organization in the first years of the gay liberation movement. Few places associated with lesbians have been identified in Raleigh. In the period, the house was owned by the Unitarian Universal Fellowship of Raleigh, which made the space available to the collective. The UUF campus on Wade Ave. was also evaluated under this project for association with other LGBTQIA+ focused groups.



(former) Women's Collective Coffeehouse meeting place., view SW to façade and N. elevation.

Physical Description: This one-and-a-half-story, Craftsman-style bungalow has wood-shake siding, brick porch piers, a full-width inset porch, side-gabled roof with bracketed eaves, and a gabled dormer in the front roof slope. Original 12/1 wood windows remain, as does the original partially glazed door over two vertical panels, flanked with sidelight windows. The house stands on a continuous brick foundation. There is also a brick retaining wall at the front yard.

Brief Historical Sketch: A group of lesbians who were not allowed to join a local feminist women's group because of their sexual preference instead formed a group they called the Women's Culture Collective. They met here, in a bungalow owned by the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They called their social gatherings "coffeehouses." The collective posted short notices in the *News & Observer* announcing coffeehouses and events in the Forest Park bungalow and later on Wade Avenue, often finishing with "All women welcome." Events included music concerts, picnics, potluck suppers, lectures, and socializing. 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 than a programmed meeting, as had apparently been the case. By that point, "a dwindling group of devoted women" had been doing much of the volunteer work of keeping the group going, and the reorganization was meant to ease the workload on the volunteers. A member involved with the group noted decades later in

an interview with Brandie Cline that the Coffeehouse ironically did not allow transgender women to join, and that the regular membership was not particularly racially diverse. The Raleigh Women's Coffeehouse was active at least about 1978 through 1984.

The UUF also allowed St. John's MCC to meet here and may have opened the house to meetings of other LGBTQIA+-allied groups. The congregation is associated with Raleigh's PFLAG chapter and with Gay Club of Raleigh. Gay Club reportedly met at the UUF campus at 3313 Wade Avenue, where the oldest building is recorded as having been built in 1980.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The bungalow at 119 Hawthorne Ave. retains all seven aspects of historic integrity in connection with its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The bungalow remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The Craftsman architectural character and the overall massing of the house remain, preserving integrity of design.
- ✓ **Setting:** The setting of the house at the edge of a residential neighborhood that abuts a commercial corridor remains intact from the period of the 1980s; the parking lot to the south was already in place, and the residential character of the street to the north is basically unchanged as well.
- ✓ **Materials:** Materials are intact, including brick, shake siding, wood, and glass.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** Workmanship is expressed in the brickwork and wood Craftsman details, including brackets, shakes, windows, and door.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The bungalow was originally a dwelling and retained that appearance when the collective met here. It is once again a dwelling, and the integrity of feeling is therefore intact.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that served as a meeting place for the Women's Culture Collective in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

RHL Eligibility Evaluation: The bungalow is associated with a lesbian-focused feminist organization in the early years of gay liberation. Few other places associated with lesbian history in Raleigh have been identified, and this bungalow is impressively intact and associated with an organization active early in the gay liberation movement. It appears to be an excellent candidate for designation as a Raleigh Historic Landmark for its association with LGBTQIA+ history in Raleigh.

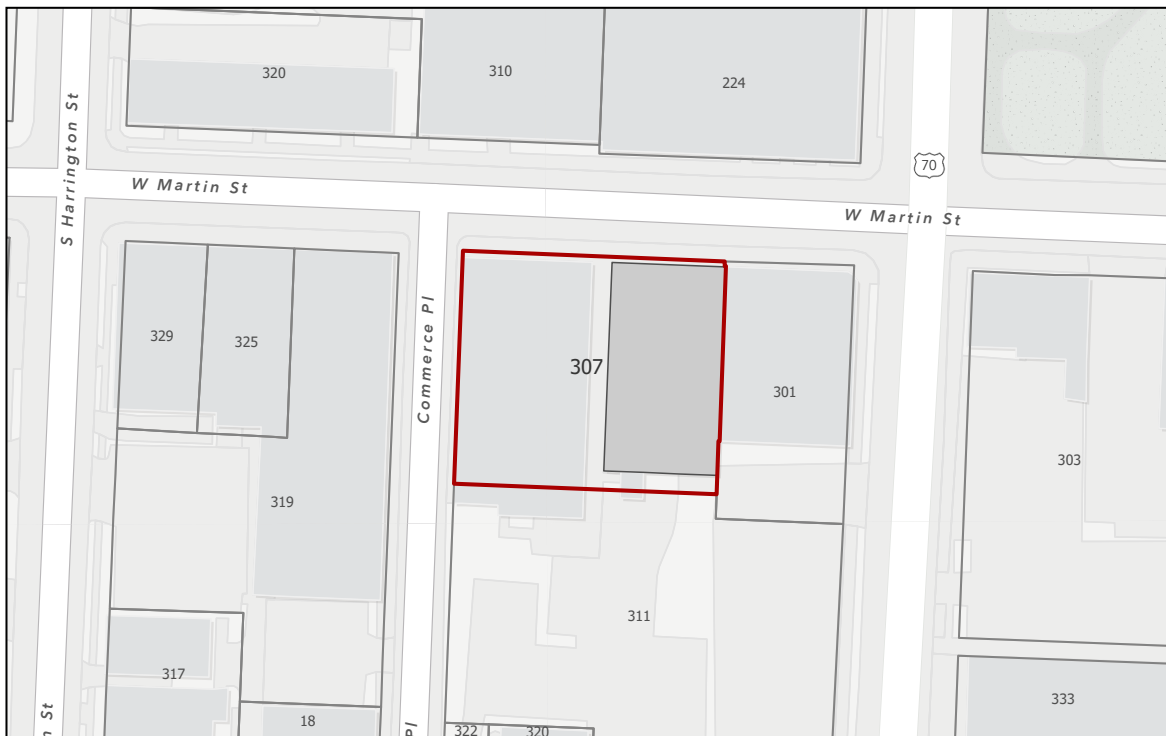
Other LGBTQIA+ groups were hosted by UUF for meetings, including St. John's MCC, Gay Club, and PFLAG. St. John's is known to have met in this bungalow, but the building more closely associated with St. John's is Community United Church of Christ at 814 Dixie Trl., also evaluated in this report. Gay Club and PFLAG are more closely associated with the Wade Avenue campus of UUF. It is possible for both 119 Hawthorne and the Wade Avenue campus to be eligible for RHL designation for association with different groups.

Sources:

"Women's Coffeehouse Reorganizes," *Lambda*, March 1, 1984; "Around the city," *News & Observer*, June 3, 1983. "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.

Brandie Cline. "LGBT Raleigh: A Brief Overview." City of Raleigh Museum, Raleigh Historic Resources and Museum Program, 2013.

SITE NAME	(former) White Rabbit Books & Things / The Front Page Production Office
LOCATION	309 W. Martin St.
BUILT/ALTERED	Ca. 1926
LGBTQIA+ ASSOCIATED YEARS	1991-2010
EVALUATION DATE & EVALUATOR	October 21, 2024 Cynthia de Miranda, MdM Historical Consultants, Durham



Location of 309 W. Martin St., former location of White Rabbit Books & Things and The Front Page.

LGBTQIA+ Historic Significance: White Rabbit Books and Things opened in 1991, and *The Front Page* newspaper operated out of the back of the building. When the internet was young and before the rise of social media, these two businesses provided information to and aided networking and community-building for the LGBTQIA+ community in Raleigh and throughout the wider region. Their presence also contributed both to the characterization of the surrounding blocks as a “gayborhood” in this period and the revitalization and redevelopment of the formerly industrial part of downtown.

Only one other bookstore (excepting adult bookstores) created for the LGBTQIA+ community has been identified in Raleigh’s history: the New Leaf Bookstore at 223 N.

Bloodworth St., established in 1977. New Leaf was pioneering but short-lived and did not have the same impact on the city as White Rabbit. Similarly, while *The Front Page* was not the only print newspaper that covered LGBT news and topics, it had the largest reach. The *Technician* and Raleigh's city papers only occasionally covered "gay" topics, and newsletters/online newspapers, like the Raleigh GLBT Report, did not appear to have the same reach as the Raleigh-based, regionally read *The Front Page*. *The Front Page* operated out of a few locations, but this was its home longer than any other.



307-309 W. Martin St., White Rabbit Books and Things occupied the storefront on the right; The Front Page newspaper production office was in the back of the space. View to SW.



309 W. Martin St., former location of White Rabbit Books and Things and The Front Page newspaper production office. View to SE.

Physical Description: The property is a 2-story, 2-storefront brick commercial building. Each storefront has three bays, and each center bay holds double-leaf, fully glazed doors under plain glass transoms. Three of the four storefront bays hold plate-glass windows under simple transoms. The storefront at 307, the east half of the building, was originally a garage opening. It has been altered to hold a fully glazed personnel door framed with a second transom (to make up the height of the original garage opening) and a sidelight. A portion of the garage door, or something fixed that replicates the form, remains in the east half of the storefront bay. At the second floor of each storefront, a band of 1/1 sash replacement windows are under transoms. A continuous cast-stone sill runs across the bands of windows. The building has running-bond brick walls with soldier course lintels at both stories. It adjoins the restaurant building to its east. A narrow alley extends south from W. Martin St. immediately west of the building. Due to a change in grade heading southward, only the second story of the building is visible at the rear elevation.

Brief Historical Sketch: This area was in transition from a late-nineteenth-century residential area into an early 20th century commercial and industrial area when the building was erected around 1926. Occupants in the two storefronts by 1963 included a plumbing parts supplier and an auto parts wholesaler, indicating that the building housed industrial concerns throughout much of the century. A used bookstore, the Paper Plant, occupied the space at 309 in subsequent years, vacating around 1990 just before the occupancy by White Rabbit and *The Front Page*.

The bookstore quickly became a foundational component of the lesbian and gay community of Raleigh and the wider region. Throughout the 1990s, many people with same-sex attraction still hid their orientation in at least some areas of their lives. Additionally, for much of the store and newspaper's history the internet and social media were in their infancies. Both operations were invaluable for people questioning their orientation or looking for information and community. The blocks around the store housed other LGBT-focused or -friendly businesses, and the concentration prompted the playful characterization of the area as a "gayborhood." The period of significance associated with the LGBTQIA+ association is 1991-2010, the dates the two businesses occupied the first-floor space at the 309 side of the building.

Historic Integrity Evaluation: The property retains all seven aspects of integrity for its association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ history, as indicated by the check marks and explanations below.

- ✓ **Location:** The building remains in its original location.
- ✓ **Design:** The building retains a number of elements that express its commercial function, including large storefront windows at the first floor and double-hung sash windows for office space at the second story. The building also retains features that express its early 20th century period of construction, including wood-framed window systems, full-light wood doors, double-hung wood windows, and multilight transoms.
- ✓ **Setting:** The building remains in its original urban setting, surrounded by commercial and transportation-related buildings, such as shops, restaurants, warehouses, a train station, railroad tracks, and proximity to highways.
- ✓ **Materials:** The building retains original brick exterior, wood storefront windows and transoms, and full-light wood entry doors.
- ✓ **Workmanship:** The original brick exterior and wood storefront systems reflect workmanship from the period of construction.
- ✓ **Feeling:** The building is still a commercial space in an urban setting, as was the case during its period of significance.
- ✓ **Association:** This is the building that housed both White Rabbit Books and Things and *The Front Page* newspaper production office, two enterprises that provided information and connection for Raleigh's (and the wider region's) LGBTQIA+ community in a period before the internet made both simpler and more accessible.

RHL Eligibility Assessment: The building appears eligible for RHL designation due to its excellent integrity and significance within the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ Context. The building housed two important businesses that helped the Raleigh LGBTQIA+ community create connection and disseminate and gather information relevant to queer life in the city and the region.

Sources:

M. Ruth Little. "Depot Historic District NRHP Nomination Form." 2002.

Hill Directory Company. *Hill's Raleigh City Directory 1963*. Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1963.

"Run, Rabbit, run," *News & Observer*, April 8, 1997.

10 APPENDIX B: List of LGBTQIA+ Identified Places*

*There are some places in this list where a clear association with Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities has not been verified by City staff or the project consultant. The goal is that the list becomes a living document, and places may be added or deleted in the future depending on additional research. In order to more easily keep the list updated, sortable by address/date/etc., and available for public access, an online version of the table will be developed with expanded information categories. To view the current version of the list once it's created, please visit Raleigh Open Data [search term: LGBTQIA+ places] or contact the City of Raleigh Preservation Planning staff.

(continued on next page)

Place Name	Description	Info
1622		S C L H
1990s Glenwood Ave. Bar/Club	LGBTQIA+ dance bar in the former Mousetrap space operating from the mid 1990s to early 2000s.	
300 Block of W Hargett St		D L H
1970s W. Hargett St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	Concentrated block of LGBTQ+ businesses over an extended time, including Legends, Capital Corral, the Front Page, The Borough, Libations 317, Our Place, etc. The Black LGBTQIA+ community often socialized in the street in this area due to restrictive entry at some establishments. Previous blockface now largely replaced with new buildings and parking areas.	
440 Nightclub		S O L
2020s Hillsborough St. Bar/Club	LatinX dance club on 3rd floor of the Electric Company Building. A series of LGBTQIA+ related clubs and moviehouses have occupied this space.	
A Safer Place Youth Network (ASPYN)		O
1970s Unknown Healthcare	LGBTQIA+ youth program and one of many organizations that joined forces to form Triangle Community Works! (TCW) in the 1990s.	
AA Gay/Lesbian (Live and Let Live)		D O M
1990s Hillsborough St. Organization	N/A	
AA Gay/Lesbian (The Light Group)		S O M
1980s Barrett Dr. Organization	The Light Group of AA is a long-running open meeting catered to the LGBTQIA+ population. It has been hosted at various locations, including St. John's MCC (814 Dixie Trl), and now meets at Pullen Memorial Baptist Church (1801 Hillsborough St).	
Abracadabra Café & Theatre		S C L
1980s Atlantic Ave. Allied Business	N/A	
Admiral's Galley / Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel		S C L H
1970s Fayetteville St. Bar/Club	Popular unmarked basement bar with dancing located in the Sir Walter Hotel.	
Adult Entertainment Center		C L
1980s Davis Cir. Bar/Club	N/A	
AIDS Community Residence Association (ACRA)		S O L
1990s Barbara Dr. Organization	Home of Alan Scott and Jerry Early. Their involvement and the property's association with the group is unclear.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club		C L
1980s Unknown Political-Related Site	A group of gay people involved in local Democratic Party politics created an ad-hoc version of this San Francisco-based organization to advocate for LGBTQIA+ civil rights in the late 1970s/early 1980s.	
Alliance of AIDS Services		S O L
2020s Poplarwood Ct. Healthcare	N/A	
AMF Capital Lanes		D C L
1990s Capital Blvd. Allied Business	Gay & Lesbian Bowlers organization met here.	
Anchor Financial Group		S O M
1990s Westchase Blvd. Professional Services	Real Estate.	
Anchorage, The		S C L H
1950s Fairview Rd. Bar/Club	N/A	
Andrea Moriarty, Ammons Pittman Realtors		S O M
1990s Paverstone Dr. Professional Services	Real Estate.	
Androgyny Center, The (1)		S O M
1970s N. Boylan Ave. Healthcare	Counseling with Dr. Louis Sawyer, Ph.D., a transgender psychologist working with transgender, relationship issues, and addiction.	
Androgyny Center, The (2)		D O M
1990s Creedmoor Rd. Healthcare	Counseling with Dr. Louis Sawyer, Ph.D., a transgender psychologist working with transgender, relationship issues, and addiction.	
Aphrodite's Adult Entertainment Center		S C L
1990s Glenwood Ave. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	Site of 24-hr Erotica shop from 1990-2000.	
Archdale Building Grounds		S O L
1980s N. Salisbury St. Political-Related Site	N/A	
Armistead Maupin Childhood Home		S C L H
1950s Groveland Ave. Private Residence	Childhood home of Armistead Maupin, an American writer notable for the Tales of the City novel series.	
Art Space		S O L H
1980s E. Davie St. Allied Business	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Artist's Corner, The		S C L H
1980s E. Hargett St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Bachelor's Library / Batchelors Books / Bachelor Video		S C L
1980s S. Wilmington St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	Location for aeries of adult bookstores from 1979-mid 1990s, now the Triangle Adult Super Center.	
Bishops House, Saint Mary's School		S O L
1990s Hillsborough St. Organization	Hosted the Triangle Gourmet Gala to benefit the Lesbian and Gay Health Project on October 6, 1991.	
Black and White Men Together (BWMT)		
1980s Unknown Organization	Local chapter of a national organization for men's services, holding in-person monthly meetings in the early 1990s. Physical meeting locations are unknown as this info was shared via calling a phone info line. No known Raleigh or NC-based chapters exist currently.	
Black Dog Café		S C L H
1990s E. Martin St. Allied Business	In Damron Guides from 1997-98, with Wed-Sat lunch and dinner + Sunday brunch.	
Blackbird Books and Coffee		S O L H
2020s Blake St. Allied Business	N/A	
Blue Lady Lounge		D C L
1970s N. Harrington St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Borough, The / Hadley's / The District / Libations 317		S C L
2000s W. Morgan St. Bar/Club	Following redevelopment of the 300 block of W. Hargett St., a series of LGBTQIA+ friendly bars and restaurants have occupied this corner storefront of the Hue apartments.	
Boyer Hall, St. Augustine's College		S O L H
1980s Oakwood Ave. Political-Related Site	N/A	
Brewery, The		D C L
1990s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Hosted a Triangle AIDS Awareness Benefit on November 5-6, 1994.	
Broughton High School		S O L H
1980s St. Marys St. Political-Related Site	N/A	

Place Name	Description	Info
Brown-Wynne Funeral Home and Crematory		S O L
1980s St. Marys St. Allied Business	Notable for willingness to host AIDs victims' funerals during the height of the crisis when many establishments would not.	
CAM Museum		S O L H
2010s W. Martin St. Recreation	Formed in 2011 after the City Gallery of Contemporary Art partnered with the NCSU School of Design to open this current exhibition space.	
Camera's Eye		S C M
1970s Capital Blvd. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	Listed in the 1979 Damron Guide as having books and a cruisy arcade before moving to 1433 S. Wilmington St. the next year.	
Camera's Eye / Snapshot Video News		S C L
1980s S. Wilmington St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	Erotica shop located in the property's south brick building from 1980-1995. Became Snapshot Videos News in 1990.	
Cameron Court Apartments / "Queens Court"		S O L
1980s Hillsborough St. Private Residence	Apartments known at one time for its high concentration of LGBTQIA+ residents.	
Candy Pahl		S C L H
1990s W. Hargett St. Professional Services	Legal.	
Cantina 18		S O L
2010s Daniels St. Allied Business	Owner and ally Jason Smith grew up going to Pullen Memorial Baptist Church. His father is Steve Smith of McMillian & Smith Law.	
Capital Corral / Glitter Gulch		S C L
1970s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	Operating from 1976-2011, the CC was a long-running and very popular place for gay white men of all ages and their guests to disco dance and socialize. CC was also known for its racial and sexual discriminatory entry policies.	
Capital Leathermen		S C L
1990s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	Meeting space in the video room of Capital Corral and Glitter Gluch.	
Capitol Blvd News		S O L
1990s Capital Blvd. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	Erotica shop still in business as Adult Super Center - Capital Boulevard News.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Cardinal Room / Andrew Johnson Hotel		D C L H
1960s W. Martin St. Bar/Club	Located adjacent to the Andrew Johnson Hotel, the Cardinal Room was an early example of a tavern where men and women met more openly. The ABC Board revoked their beer permit in 1966 after undercover agents investigated reports of "immoral conduct."	
Carolina Aging Alliance (formerly SAGE)		S O L H
2020s N. Blount St. Organization	Support organization for aging members of the LGBTQIA+ community.	
Carolina Counseling Associates		S C L
1980s Barrett Dr. Healthcare	N/A	
Casa Carbone Ristorante		S O L
1980s Glenwood Ave. Restaurant	N/A	
Catherine Hedberg		S C L
1990s Cameron St. Healthcare	Counseling.	
Charlie Goodnight's		D O M
1980s W. Morgan St. Bar/Club	Students first opened this saloon in 1975 in the same year as nearby Irregardless restaurant. The comedy club was later added in 1983. A Sunday-night upstairs bar called Niko's appeared in 1980s issues of the Damron Guide.	
Chateaux II / Castle News & Video		S C L
1980s Capital Blvd. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
Chris Weedy and Jimmy Creech House		S O L H
1990s S. Boylan Ave. Private Residence	Some meetings of the Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group were held here.	
Chris Yetter, York Properties, Inc.		D O M
1990s Oberlin Rd. Professional Services	Real Estate; Chris Yetter and his partner were also part of the large early LGBTQIA+ resident presence in the Oakwood neighborhood.	
Church of the Good Shepherd / Shepherd's Table Soup Kitchen		S O L H
1990s Hillsborough St. Religious Institution	N/A	

Place Name	Description	Info
City Council Chambers, Raleigh Municipal Building		S O L
1980s W. Hargett St. Political-Related Site	Site of the pivotal January 05, 1988 City Council vote to expand the City's nondiscrimination ordinance on the basis of sexual orientation.	
City Gallery of Contemporary Art		S C L H
1980s S. Blount St. Allied Business	Founded in 1983 as the predecessor to the current CAM organization and gallery space.	
City of Oaks School of the Arts (COSA)		D C L
1990s S. West St. Recreation	Owned and operated by Ellen Shepard from 1996-2000.	
Cloud and Fire Coffee House		S C L
1990s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Located in the Hillsborough St Bowling Alley.	
Colony Tanning Center		S C L
1990s Six Forks Rd. Professional Services	Tanning.	
Community Counseling Center with A. Wayne Cannon		S C L
1990s S. Wilmington St. Healthcare	N/A	
Community United Church of Christ		S O M
1970s Dixie Trl. Religious Institution	Allied congregation that provided the first long-term meeting space for St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) from 1977-1995. Community UCC also provided meeting space in their Vaughn Wing for the Triangle Sports Alliance in the 1990s and is connected with the establishment of the Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE).	
Cornerstone Builders		
1990s Unknown Allied Business	N/A	
Crabtree Valley Mall Men's Restrooms		S O L
1980s Glenwood Ave. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	Described as being a risky area to cruise due to common police presence.	
Crickets		S C L
1980s Capital Blvd. Allied Business	Bookstore.	
Cup A Joe		S O L H
1990s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	N/A	

Place Name	Description	Info
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (1)		S C M
1980s Raven Rock Dr.	N/A	
Healthcare		
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (2)		S C M
1980s Six Forks Rd.	N/A	
Healthcare		
David M. Perry, M.Div. Counseling (3)		S C L
1990s Paverstone Dr.	N/A	
Healthcare		
David Sedaris Childhood Home		S C L
1960s North Hills Dr.	N/A	
Private Residence		
Dean D. Blakeley, MD, Tarboro Road Family Medicine		D O M
1990s N. Tarboro St.	N/A	
Healthcare		
Deep South the Bar		S C L H
2000s S. Dawson St.	N/A	
Bar/Club		
Detour		S C L
1980s Capital Blvd.	A two-building gay bar with rear disco dance club identified in the Damron Guides as having the presence of "Some Ladies."	
Bar/Club		
Dorothea Dix Hospital (formerly Dix Hill)		S C L H
1950s Lake Wheeler Rd.	Early state mental health hospital that closed permanently in 2012. Although no LGBTQIA+ conversion treatments have been specifically documented at Dix Hospital through research to date, treatments to "cure" LGBTQIA+ patients were common at these types of facilities in the mid-20th century.	
Healthcare		
Dr. Annie Louise Wilkerson, MD and Francis Aida Epps House		S O L
1950s Awls Haven Dr.	Dr. Wilkerson was a prominent and groundbreaking medical professional in Raleigh. Assumed but not confirmed to be a member of the LGBTQIA+ community, her former home is now a City-owned nature preserve and park.	
Private Residence		
Edelstein & Payne Attorneys (1)		S O M
1980s W. Peace St.	Legal - Worker's Compensation.	
Professional Services		
Edelstein & Payne Attorneys (2)		S O L H
2020s E. Jones St.	Legal - Worker's Compensation.	
Professional Services		

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Edenton Street United Methodist Church		S O L
1990s W. Edenton St. Religious Institution	Participated in World AIDS Day events through the Triangle AIDS Interfaith Network on December 1, 1994.	
Eliza Battle Pittman Auditorium, Saint Mary's School		S O L H
1980s Hillsborough St. Recreation	N/A	
Enchantments		C L
1980s Holly Springs Rd. Allied Business	N/A	
Enloe Magnet High School		S O L
1990s Clarendon Cres. Political-Related Site	Setting for the LGBTQIA+ activism events of the Enloe Six and Ian Palmquist.	
Episcopal Church of the Nativity		S O L
1990s Ray Rd. Religious Institution	Meeting site for the Triangle Gay Men's Chorus.	
Equality North Carolina		S O M H
1980s E. Hargett St. Organization	N/A	
Est Est Est Restaurant		S C L H
1980s W. Hargett St. Restaurant	N/A	
Executive Lounge / Hotel Carolina		D C L
1970s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	Bar in the Hotel Carolina with notably diverse LGBTQIA+ clientele described in Damron Guides as "Blacks frequent, Raunchy Types-Hustlers, Drags, and other 'Downtown Types.'	
Ex-Log Cabin, The		D C L
1940s Fayetteville St. Bar/Club	Fayetteville Street beer retail location located 2 or 3 doors down from the Sir Walter Hotel. An N&O article reported that police padlocked the doors at one point due to multiple instances of drunken and disorderly conduct and patrons of bad character.	
Fairmont United Methodist Church		S O L H
1980s Clark Ave. Religious Institution	Rev. Jimmy Creech began the Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE) while serving here from 1987-1990.	
Fallout Shelter		S O M
1990s S. West St. Bar/Club	Queer-friendly Fallout Shelter opened in 1985 hosting punk rock shows and dance nights.	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Families and Friends of People with AIDS/ARC Support Group		S C L H
1980s Wake Forest Rd. Organization	N/A	
Family Services of Wake County		S O M
1980s Wake Forest Rd. Healthcare	N/A	
Fayetteville Street corridor		C L H
1940s Fayetteville St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	Popular LGBTQIA+ gathering area from the 1940s-1960s, likely on the west side of the 300 block in the vicinity of the Sir Walter Hotel and Ex-Log Cabin.	
Fiction Kitchen		S O M H
2010s S. Dawson St. Allied Business	Popular, queer-owned vegan/vegetarian restaurant.	
Fifteen		S C L
2010s W. Morgan St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Fjelsted & Womble Galleries		S C L H
1990s S. Blount St. Allied Business	N/A	
Flamingos Restaurant		S C L
1990s Glenwood Ave. Allied Business	N/A	
Fleming Center Inc., The		S O M
1980s Hayworth Dr. Healthcare	Counseling; Medical Services.	
Flex Nightclub (1)		S O M
1990s S. West St. Bar/Club	FLEX opened in 1995 with full spectrum clientele, including "drag queens, go-go boys, and leather daddies." FLEX also held drag shows and formed a community that responded to City pushback on drag performances at Legends with the independent film, "Camp: The Movie."	
Flex Nightclub (2)		S O L
2020s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Galleria		S C L
1980s Daniels St. Allied Business	A gift shop called Galleria existed in Cameron Village at 441 Daniels St from 1978-1990.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Gallery C S O M		
1990s Daniels St. Allied Business	Now located on Blount Street, this art gallery's former Carmeron Village location exhibited photos of Watson Brown, a gay retired City of Raleigh Senior Planner who has received The Order of the Long Leaf Pine for his photography documenting old buildings in eastern NC.	
Garden Accents D C L H		
1980s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	N/A	
Gary W. Fischer, Hair Waves Studio S C L		
1990s Charles B Root Wynd	Located in the 2nd level of the Independence Village of Olde Raleigh senior living facility.	
Gators D C L		
1990s Hillsborough St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Gay and Lesbian Helpline of Wake County S C L		
1980s W. Johnson St. Healthcare	Phone hotline that was available for LGBTQIA+ individuals in crisis to call for assistance, and advertised in the Front Page newspaper. Later became one of the organizations that came together to form Triangle Community Works! (TCW). Identified from a Yelp search result, it is unknown if this was the first, only, or one of a number of locations for the hotline.	
Gay Club S O L		
1980s Wade Ave. Organization	Founded by Willie Pilkington, John Voorhees, and others, this gay social club held twice-monthly meetings from the late 1970s-early 1990s in Peace Hall at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh (UUFR). The group also organized discussions and drives centered on political activism and hosted excursions around Raleigh including annual Pride PicNics at nearby parks, with additional organizing activities occurring at their private residences.	
Gay Persons Gathering Events S C L		
1980s Morningside Dr. Organization	N/A	

Place Name	Description	Info
Glenwood		S C L H
1980s Glenwood Ave. Bar/Club	Bar opened in the former Mousetrap space in 1984. This may be a precursor bar or the same establishment as Glenwood Park, first listed in available Damron Guides at this location the following year.	
Glenwood Park		S C L H
1980s Glenwood Ave. Bar/Club	Popular bar in the mid- to late-1980s and notable for its higher concentration of female patrons, as highlighted in available Damron Guides.	
Glenwood South Galleries / Glenwood South Antiques and Fine Art		S C L
1980s Glenwood Ave. Allied Business	Antiques dealership of W. Samuel Tarlton from 1985-2009 following the dissolution of his first partnership with spouse James Craig (Craig and Tarlton, Inc).	
Grass Roots Press		D C L
1980s W. Peace St. Allied Business	N/A	
Green Monkey, The (1)		S O M
2010s Hillsborough St. Bar/Club	First brick-and-mortar location opened in 2013 of the LGBTQIA+ gift shop and bar created by partners Rusty Sutton & Drew Temple, with business plan support from Sadlack's Heroes/Berkeley Cafe music manager Rose Schwetz.	
Green Monkey, The (2)		S O L H
2020s S. Wilmington St. Bar/Club	Second location of the LGBTQIA+ gift shop and bar announced its closure for March 15, 2025.	
Greg Warren Designs		S O M
1990s W. Jones St. Allied Business	Florist.	
Hair by Nature's Way		S C L
1980s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	N/A	
Halifax Park / Halifax Community Center		S O L
1990s Halifax St. Recreation	First location of the Raleigh chapter of Stonewall Sports in 2013, a national LGBTQ and allied philanthropic sports league. Raleigh's league was founded in part by Raleigh's first openly LGBTQIA+ city councilmember elected citywide, Jonathan Lambert-Melton.	
Harrelson Hall, NCSU		D C L H
1970s Watauga Club Dr. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	1960s-80s hookup spot for gay male students and non-students, with the central core restrooms serving as "T-Rooms."	

D/S = Building demolished / standing

O/C = Business open/ closed

L/M = Same Location / moved

H = Historic designation

1930s ●●●●● 2020s

Place Name	Description	Info
Hart's Bookstore (1)		D C M H
1970s E. Martin St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
Hart's Bookstore / Our Place (2)		D C L
1980s W. Hargett St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
High Tide Salon		S O L H
2020s W. Martin St. Allied Business	N/A	
Hillsborough Street corridor		S O L H
1970s Hillsborough St. Neighborhood	The Hillsborough Street commercial corridor between NCSU's campus and Glenwood Avenue, bolstered by students and a number of active surrounding residential neighborhoods, has been home to a number of LGBTQIA+-friendly establishments for decades.	
Hippo Wine Bar, The		S O L H
2020s E. Martin St. Allied Business	N/A	
Holiday Inn (300 block of Hillsborough St.)		S O L
1970s Hillsborough St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	The strip of Hillsborough Street in front of the Holiday Inn became a popular cruising spot in the 1980s after RPD's sting operation in Nash Square, but was still a risky area for solicitation arrests.	
Holshouser Building, NC State Fairgrounds		S O L
1990s Hillsborough St. Recreation	A portion of The Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt was displayed here on June 13-15, 1992	
Hustead House		S C L
1980s Orton Pl. Healthcare	Named for Scott D. Hustead, a health educator with the NC AIDS Control Program and the Lesbian and Gay Health Project, this home served as place where people with AIDS (PWAs) could stay and was protested heavily by neighbors and some religious groups.	

Place Name	Description	Info
IHOP		S C M
1980s Hillsborough St. Restaurant	A popular mixed clientele hangout, including NC State students, boarding house renters, and other nearby neighborhood residents, this restaurant was listed in the Damron Guides and referenced in the writings of David Sedaris, who lived across the street in his early career. IHOP briefly relocated to the new Stanhope student apartment development from 2015-2020 before closing permanently.	
Innovations		S C L
1990s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Leather-Related	
International Books		C L
1980s W. Rosemary St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
Irregardless Café		S O L
1970s W. Morgan St. Restaurant	N/A	
It's A Grind		S C L
2000s Falls of Neuse Rd. Allied Business	Anne Abernathy, now deceased, founded the Yahoo Group known as the Silver Roses which met in the back of this coffee shop at Quail Corners Shopping Center every Sunday afternoon.	
J.C. Raulston House / Lavandula & Labiatae Society		S C L H
1980s E. Davie St. Private Residence	Raulston was a NC State professor, horticultural innovator, and a proponent of gay acceptance and inclusion. He formed the Lavandula Society and hosted the first gatherings in his home, along with the Labiatae Society for lesbian gardeners, to create an LGBTQIA+ supportive network in the field.	
Jaycee Park, Sand Volleyball Courts		S O L
1990s Wade Ave. Recreation	First established in the 1980s with advocacy work from Oakwood resident Rusty Lurwick (for whom the courts are now named), the Jaycee Park sand volleyball courts have hosted informal LGBTQIA+ pick-up games and socializing opportunities for decades, including Gay Club activities and now Stonewall Sports.	
JC Raulston Arboretum		S O L
1980s Beryl Rd. Recreation	Founded first as the on-campus NCSU Arboretum by J.C. Raulston, a horticulturalist and gay acceptance ambassador.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Jennifer Rakowski, Tristart Homes and Realty		S C L
1990s W. Millbrook Rd. Professional Services	Real Estate.	
John C. Pittman, MD		S C M
1990s N. Boylan Ave. Healthcare	Medical.	
John Hardy House / Out in Black Magazine		S C L
1990s Unknown Private Residence	Founded in the summer of 1996 by John Hardy, an NCSU graduate and Raleigh-based writer, the magazine became bi-monthly publication with at least 20 issues through 1998. Co-publisher Jerry Harris soon joined, along with contributors Rodney P. Hunter and Tolanda McKinney.	
John Voorhees House / Gay Gatherings site		D C L H
1970s Mayview Rd. Private Residence	Site of over 30 Gay Gathering meetups around 1979, the precursor to the Gay Club.	
K&W Cafeteria, Room 1 / Raleigh Business and Professional Network (RBPN)		D C M H
1980s Woodburn Rd. Restaurant	First meeting site of the Gay Business & Professional Association (now Harmony) in the former Cameron Village	
Kings and Queens Bowling League		S O L
2010s Commercial Ave. Organization	Claims to be the region's oldest LGBTQ bowling league, founded in 2016 and hosted at Bowlero Raleigh (formerly Pleasant Valley AMF Lanes).	
Kitty Hawk Tavern, The / Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel		S C L H
1940s Fayetteville St. Bar/Club	Street-level mixed crowd bar inside the Sir Walter Raleigh Hotel accessed from the Davie Street entrance. The bar existing from at least 1942-1967, with known LGBTQIA+ associated years from at least the 1950s.	
Le Chateau		D C L
1980s Chavis Way Bar/Club	N/A	
Legends Nightclub		S O M
1990s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	The oldest continually-operating gay club in Raleigh, which first opened here in June 1991 in the closest thing to a "gayboyhood" that Raleigh has. Since then, Legends has expanded into a nightclub complex with various rooms tailored to different vibes, including a small theater space for drag shows.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Legends Nightclub		S O M
1990s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	The oldest continually-operating gay club in Raleigh, which first opened here in June 1991 in the closest thing to a "gayboyhood" that Raleigh has. Since then, Legends has expanded into a nightclub complex with various rooms tailored to different vibes, including a small theater space for drag shows.	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (1)		S O M H
2010s W. Cabarrus St. Organization	First location of the center, which was founded in 2010 as one of the stated goals of Triangle Community Works! (TCW), a group of allied organizations working to provide assistance and connection for LGBTQIA+ individuals in crisis.	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (2)		S O M
2010s Hillsborough St. Organization	N/A	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (3)		S O M H
2010s S. Harrington St. Organization	N/A	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (4)		S O M H
2020s E. Hargett St. Organization	N/A	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (5)		S O M
2020s Poplarwood Ct. Organization	N/A	
LGBT Center of Raleigh (6)		S O L
2020s E. Cabarrus St. Organization	N/A	
LGBTQ Pride Center (formerly the NC State GLBT Center)		S O L
1980s Watauga Club Dr. Organization	NC State has benefited from a variety of LGBTQIA+ student groups on campus since at least the 1970s, possibly earlier. Documented organizations include the LGBTQ Pride Center (current); GLBT Center (Fall 2007-2018); Bisexuals, Gays, Lesbians and Allies - or BGLA (mid-1990s); Gay and Lesbian Christian Alliance (began 1978) advised by Rev. Willie White, which later became a member of the Cooperative Campus Ministries housed in "The Nub" (door just inside and to the left of Talley Student center entrance off Cates Ave).	

Place Name	Description	Info
Longview Estate (The Poe House) S O L		
1990s Poe Dr. Organization	Site of 1994 14th Crape Myrtle Festival.	
Mary and George Green Farm C L		
1870s Swift Creek Township Private Residence	Home of a likely early recorded Raleigh LGBTQIA+ couple from 1870-1902. According to newspaper accounts, George was discovered to have female anatomy during the autopsy performed at the time of his death.	
Mary Renault Society O L		
1980s Various Locations Organization	Founded as a book club for gay men in Chapel Hill, this organization still meets for monthly presentations on various topics in the private homes of its members throughout the Triangle.	
Mary Watson Nooe House S C L H		
1980s Perry St. Private Residence	Home of Raleigh City Councilmember (District B, 1987-1991) during her time of service, who introduced the motion to update the City's nondiscrimination policy to add sexual orientation.	
May-Mak Plant Farm, Inc. O M		
1980s Unknown Allied Business	N/A	
McMillan & Smith Law Office S O L H		
1990s W. Martin St. Allied Business	Bob McMillan and Steve Smith were law partners and members of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, offering services utilized by LGBTQIA+ community.	
Mel Tomlinson Childhood Home D C L		
1960s E. Lenoir St. Private Residence	Nationally acclaimed ballet dancer who grew up in Chavis Heights, a public housing project designed by William Henley Deitrick.	
Meredith College (i.e. Spectrum, Spooners, The Canoodlers) S O M		
2000s Hillsborough St. Organization	Spectrum, a gay/lesbian/bisexual/straight/transgender alliance group on campus was founded in 2000. Ongoing research by Meredith professor Daniel Fountain into previous LGBTQIA+ student groups include: Spooners, The Canoodlers, and annual "Crushing" events.	
Methodist Center S C L		
1990s Glenwood Ave. Religious Institution	Meeting site for the NC Gay and Lesbian Political Action Agenda.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Moore Square		S O L H
1990s S. Blount St. Political-Related Site	Site of NC Pride March.	
Mousetrap, The		S C L H
1970s Glenwood Ave. Bar/Club	Very popular bar operated by Clayton Jackson and Charles Heavner from 1974-1982 in the Five Points neighborhood next to then Colony Theater (now Rialto) before transitioning to a string of other LGBTQIA+ bars in the 1980-90s.	
Nash Square Park		S O L H
1940s S. McDowell St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	LGBTQIA+ years associated are 1940s through 1980s.	
National Organization for Women, NC		S O M H
1980s N. Person St. Organization	This group does not appear to have a physical location anymore, but continues to hold annual statewide conferences frequently based in Raleigh.	
National Organization for Women, Raleigh		S O M
1980s Ridgewood Dr. Organization	This group does not appear to have a physical location anymore, but met monthly as recently as 2016 in the back breakroom at 2912 Highwoods Blvd.	
NC State Museum of Natural History		S O L
1960s N. Salisbury St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	The current pedestrian mall east of the Agriculture Building, which housed the NC State Museum of Natural History in its north annex at the time, was used as a cruising spot as early as 1967.	
NCSU Green Room		C L
1970s Watauga Club Dr. Organization	Location of "Reflections" programs on campus.	
NCSU Stewart Theatre		S O L
1990s Watauga Club Dr. Recreation	Location of performance by the Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company inside then Talley Student Center.	
NCSU Talley Student Center		S O L
1990s Watauga Club Dr. Organization	Displayed portion of the AIDS quilt on December 1, 1994	
NCSU Talley Student Center Annex Cinema (Witherspoon Cinema)		S O L
1990s Watauga Club Dr. Recreation	N/A	
NCSU Thompson Theatre		S O L
1990s Watauga Club Dr. Recreation	Home of the University Theatre since 1964, putting on some LGBTQIA+ friendly plays.	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Neptunes Lounge		S O L H
2010s W. Martin St. Recreation	N/A	
New Leaf Bookstore		S C L H
1970s N. Bloodworth St. Allied Business	Started by psychologists Janet Walkiewicz and Lou Sawyer, specializing in titles relating to women's rights and alternative lifestyles.	
Nice Price Books and Records (1)		S O M H
1970s N. Bloodworth St. Allied Business	N/A	
Nice Price Books and Records (2)		S O L H
1970s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	N/A	
Night Rider, The / Wicked Witch, The		S O L
2020s W. South St. Bar/Club	Sister bars of Ruby Deluxe.	
Niko's		D C L
1980s W. Morgan St. Bar/Club	Disco bar located inside Charlie Goodnights that operated as a gay bar on Sunday nights only in the early 1980s.	
North Carolina Legislative Building		S O L
1990s W. Jones St. Political-Related Site	Site of many LGBTQIA+ rights protests and related NCGA legislation, such as the passing of HB2 in 2016.	
North Carolina Religious Coalition for Marriage Equality (NCRC4ME)		S O L
1980s Hillsborough St. Organization	Interfaith same-sex marriage advocacy group formed in 2004 and headquartered at Pullen Memorial Baptist Church under Jack McKinney.	
North Hills Mall, Men's Restrooms		O L
1980s Lassiter at North Hills Ave.	N/A	
North State Clinical Associates		D C L
1980s Glenwood Ave. Healthcare	Women's therapy.	
Oakwood Historic District		S O L H
1970s N. East St. Neighborhood	The historic neighborhood's 1970s revitalization and formation of the Society for the Preservation of Historic Oakwood (SPHO) was spurred by the white gay male community moving	
Oakwood Inn		S C L H
1980s N. Bloodworth St. Allied Business	Closed in 2015.	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Off the Mall Haircutters		S C L H
1980s E. Martin St. Allied Business	N/A	
Office of John Boddie		S C L H
1970s W. Morgan St. Professional Services	Legal - Bankruptcy.	
Office Tavern, The / Lilly's Pizza		S O L H
1960s Glenwood Ave. Restaurant	The "OT" was an early Glenwood bar serving both gay and straight mixed clientele, not specifically advertised as an LGBTQIA+ space.	
Old Village Florist		C L
1980s Old Wake Forest Rd.	N/A	
Ollie Reagan, Jr. House		S C L
1980s Grimstead Ln. Private Residence	Home of the first president of the Triangle Business and Professional Guild (now Harmony), the greater Raleigh area's LGBTQIA+ Chamber of Commerce.	
Open Mind		D C L
1980s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Retail.	
Our Lady of Lourdes Church / Raleigh Dignity		S O L
1980s Anderson Dr. Religious Institution	N/A	
Our Lady of Lourdes Church Parish Center		S O L
1980s Anderson Dr. Religious Institution	N/A	
Paper Plant		S C L H
1980s W. Martin St. Allied Business	Popular used bookstore among Raleigh artists. The same retail space was later leased to White Rabbit Books & Things.	
Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), Triangle Area		S O L
1990s Peartree Ln. Organization	Meeting documented at this location on May 20, 1993.	
Park Studio Theatre / Theatre Raleigh / Theatre in the Park		S O L
1980s Ashe Ave. Recreation	N/A	
Party Addicts		S O L
2020s Paula St. Bar/Club	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Pat Sears House / NC Human Rights Fund site		S C L H
1970s Mordecai Dr. Private Residence	Through meetings hosted at his house, Pat Sears helped form the NC Human Rights Fund, the first public incorporated 501-C-3 gay organization in NC which provided affordable legal defense for gay & lesbian people.	
Pegasus Plus		S O L
1980s Davis Cir. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
Pink Triangle Tours		S C L H
1990s W. Martin St. Professional Services	LGBTQIA+ travel agency operating inside the former White Rabbit Books space.	
Plan One, Inc.		D C L H
1980s S. Salisbury St. Professional Services	Insurance.	
Players Retreat		S O L
1960s Oberlin Rd. Allied Business	Originally a gathering place popular with the local theater community. Oral histories note that this long-running restaurant was the sort of place where closeted gay men would go for a beer after work "with the guys." Anecdotally, gay people who were cruising sat at the bar while the remaining restaurant was general population.	
Poole's Diner		S O L
2000s S. McDowell St. Allied Business	Flagship restaurant of accomplished lesbian chef Ashley Christensen, opened in December 2007.	
Power Company		S C L
1980s Capital Blvd. Bar/Club	An inclusive nightclub in the King's Plaza Shopping Center from 1983-84, with the Damron Guide noting "Some Ladies, Blacks, and 'Drags'" among the crowd. Other longer-lasting branches appear to have existed in Durham and Winston-Salem.	
Pride PicNic sites		C M H
1980s Various Locations Recreation	Mid-1980s annual social event series hosted by the Gay Club at various locations, including the Dorothea Dix employee retreat property off Tryon Rd, Umstead Park, and Pullen Park. The 1986 refusal by the Raleigh Parks Director to allow the event to take place at Pullen Park was the catalyst event for the expansion of the City's non-discrimination ordinance to include sexual orientation in 1987.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church		S O L
1980s Hillsborough St. Religious Institution	Long-affirming congregation that held funerals for AIDS victims rejected by their home churches in 1980s. Sacrificed membership in the NC Baptist Convention in 1990s by performing same-sex unions. Left American Baptist Churches due to their procrastination in codifying affirmation of the LGBTQIA+ community, of which the current head clergy Nancy Petty is a member.	
Purr Cup Cafe		S O L
2020s Prospect Ave. Allied Business	N/A	
Quail Ridge Books		S O M
1990s Wade Ave. Allied Business	This Raleigh institution was one of the first non-LGBTQIA+ bookstores to have a dedicated LGBT section at its location in the Ridgewood Shopping Center. The store has also hosted live readings with LGBTQia+ authors such as David Sedaris, a Raleigh native. The shop relocated to its current North Hills location in 2015.	
Queen Bee, The (2)		S C L
1970s W. Hargett St. Bar/Club	Moved from the Park Central Hotel to this location in 1977 and closed the next year before reopening as the Capital Corral.	
Queen Bee, The / Park Central Hotel (1)		D C M
1960s W. Martin St. Bar/Club	This mixed clientele bar was located inside the Park Central Hotel from 1972-76 in the Park Central Hotel. It moved to 313 W. Hargett St. in 1977, before the Captial Corral opened in the same building the next year.	
Radisson Plaza Hotel / Raleigh Plaza Hotel		S C L
1980s Fayetteville St. Political-Related Site	N/A	
Rainbow Travel / Ron "Rolo" Fleming, Judie's Professional Travel		S C L
1990s Blue Ridge Rd. Professional Services	Travel agency specializing in trip planning for the LGBTQIA+ community.	
Raleigh Books		C L
1980s Fayetteville St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	N/A	
Raleigh Civic Center		D O M
1980s Fayetteville St. Political-Related Site	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Raleigh Ensemble Players		S C M
1980s S. Blount St. Recreation	Founded in 1983 but now closed, this was the first Raleigh theatre company to regularly produce work focused on LGBTQIA+ community life and culture. Originally located in the Artspace building before moving to Hillsborough Street in the 2000s.	
Raleigh Flea Market		S O L H
1980s Hillsborough St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising Spot	Founded in 1971 by the Stewart family at the Historic State Fairgrounds, the Flea Market became a weekend cruising site in the late 1980s.	
Raleigh Friends Meeting House (1)		S O M H
1970s Woodburn Rd. Religious Institution	The Francis Renfrow Doak Women's Center met here by 1976.	
Raleigh Friends Meeting House (2)		S O L
1990s Tower St. Religious Institution	N/A	
Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group (1)		S C M
1980s N. Boylan Ave. Organization	Weekly meeting location for first of its kind support group in NC at the home of Chris Weedy begun in 1987.	
Raleigh HIV/AIDS Support Group (2)		D C M H
1980s Park Dr. Organization	Meeting location for support group led by Chris Weedy and Rev. Jimmy Creech from 1990-1992.	
Raleigh Little Theatre		S O L H
1990s Pogue St. Recreation	Known to stage LGBTQ-centered plays and movie screenings, such as an HIV/AIDS event on December 24, 1993.	
Raleigh Memorial Auditorium*		S O L
1970s E. South St. Political-Related Site	Triangle Gay Alliance (TGA) sponsored a drag event at Memorial Auditorium in mid-1972.	
Raleigh Religious Network for Gay and Lesbian Equality (RRNGLE)		O L
1980s Unknown Religious Institution	Founded by Rev. Jimmy Creech from 1988-98 in partnership with affirming religious groups as a theological discussion group to promote LGBTQIA+ acceptance among all congregations. RRNGLE joined other groups to form Triangle Community Works! (TCW).	
Randal D. Brown, CPA		S O M
1990s N. Bloodworth St. Professional Services	Accounting.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Rathskellar, The		S C L
1980s Hillsborough St. Restaurant	Very hospitable and gay-friendly restaurant from the 1970's on, with many gay regulars, managers, and even some cross-dressing kitchen and waitstaff.	
Raymond's Flowers and Gifts		S C L
1980s Falls of Neuse Rd. Allied Business	N/A	
Reader's Corner, The		S O L H
1980s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Used Bookstore.	
Red Rooster, The		S C L H
1970s Fairview Rd. Bar/Club	Described as an older person's sort of secret gay bar. A trend among gay bars was to name them after birds.	
Rev. Willie White and Robert Pace House		S C L
1970s W. Morgan St. Private Residence	Formed bible study here that would become St. John's MCC congregation. Also heavily involved in NCSU LGBTQIA+ student organizations.	
Reynolds Coliseum		S O L
1980s Watauga Club Dr. Political-Related Site	Site of a 1979 Gay and Lesbian rally.	
Rialto Theater		S O L H
1970s Glenwood Ave. Recreation	Previously the Colony Theater, the Rialto opened in 1989 and was owned by Bill Peebles/Ambassador Entertainment until the COVID-19 pandemic to showcase independent films. The theater is also hosts Raleigh's regular Rocky Horror Picture Show shadow cast.	
Richard Jenrette Childhood Home		S C L
1930s Fairview Rd. Private Residence	A gay man, Dick Jenrette was a well-known east coast historic preservation patron and founder of the Classical American Homes Preservation Trust, including Ayr Mount in Hillsborough. He grew up at this address and graduated from Broughton High School.	
Robert's Florist		S C M
1980s W. Peace St. Allied Business	N/A	
Ruby Deluxe		S O L
2010s S. Salisbury St. Bar/Club	Opened in 2015 by Timothy Lemuel, this bar and music venue is known broadly as a "queer bar" for all LGBTQIA+ individuals and allies.	

D/S = Building demolished / standing

O/C = Business open/ closed

L/M = Same Location / moved

H = Historic designation

1930s ●●●●● 2020s

Place Name	Description	Info
Sensations (+ Two Snaps Up)		S C L
1980s Yonkers Rd. Bar/Club	Gay dance club that opened on St. Patrick's Day 1984 and closed just over one year later. Later became a hip hop club, which abruptly closed and changed to Two Snaps Up, intentionally catering to gay crowd in 1990s as a business decision.	
Smith & Kearns Restaurant		D C L
1980s S. Dawson St. Restaurant	N/A	
So & So Books		S O L
2010s N. Person St. Allied Business	N/A	
Solutions for Better Health		S C L
1990s Bland Rd. Healthcare	N/A	
Sperry & Associates (+ Alliance of AIDS Services / AIDS Service Agency of Wake County)		S O M H
1980s S. Harrington St. Organization	Art Sperry, owner of Capital Corral, owned this building which housed his advertising firm and leased space to other GLBT organizations, including: Front Page newspaper (1980s); AIDS Services Agency of Wake County (early 1990s); LGBT Center of Raleigh (late 2010s); Alliance of AIDS Services (as recently as July 2018).	
Sportsworld of Raleigh		S C L
1980s-1990s Hodges St. Roller Skating Rink	Gay Club of Raleigh sponsored roller skating events at this location.	
Spy		S C L H
2010s W. Davie St. Bar/Club	N/A	
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (1)		S O M
1970s Dixie Trl. Religious Institution	The first church in the Triangle to be aimed specifically for the LGBTQIA+ community. Established in 1976 as small group bible study facilitated by Rev. Willie White and his partner Robert Pace before affiliating with the MCC later that year.	
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (2)		D O M H
1990s Glenwood Ave. Religious Institution	First property purchased by St. John's MCC in 1993.	
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (3)		S O M
2010s Maywood Ave. Religious Institution	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (4) S O L H		
2020s N. Blount St. Religious Institution	N/A	
St. Raphael's Parish S O L		
1990s Falls of Neuse Rd. Religious Institution	Location for a seminar on Homophobia in Religion and Society held May 27, 1993.	
Stage Four S C L H		
1980s E. Hargett St. Bar/Club	Listed in the Damron Guides from 1982-83 as having "Some Ladies" clientele. This building later became home to the LGBT Center of Raleigh.	
State Capitol Grounds S O L H		
1980s E. Edenton St. Political-Related Site	N/A	
Stephanie L. Brooke, MS		
1990s Noble Rd. Healthcare	Counseling.	
Stonewalls Tavern S O L		
2020s Hillsborough St. Bar/Club	Now closed, this LGBTQIA+ friendly bar opened in 2023 in the former location of the Green Monkey.	
Storage Auto Service C L		
1980s Old Wake Forest Rd.	N/A	
Studio I and II Drafthouse Theatres S C M		
1990s Hillsborough St. Recreation	Opened on Feb 20, 1987 as two small screening rooms after relocating from the old Studio I Theater spot about 1 block west. Owned in its later years by Ambassador Entertainment, which also owned the Rialto, Colony Theater, and eventually Mission Valley movie theater. This theater closed in 2000.	
Studio One Theatre S C L H		
1980s Hillsborough St. Recreation	Previously the Varsity Theatre, this adult movie theater was located across from NC State's main campus. Site of the 1980s Miss Gay Raleigh Pageant, featuring drag queens Ginny Tonic (Miss Gay Raleigh 1979), Hot Chocolate (Miss Gay America 1980), Lolita, Erica Van Court, and Martina Lee. The theater closed in 1984 and eventually relocated.	
Swinger's Bookstore D C L		
1980s W. Martin St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	A bookstore described as having both straight and gay mixed clientele.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Teddy Bear Lounge / Andrew Johnson Hotel Bar (formerly Bland Hotel) D C L H		
1960s W. Martin St. Bar/Club	The bar operated inside the hotel in the 1960-70s, serving a mixed clientele including traveling salesmen. By the early 1970s, an erotica shop also operated somewhere on premises and the building was viewed as a seedy and unsafe location by the general public.	
Temple Beth Or		
1970s Creedmoor Rd. Religious Institution	N/A	
Third Place Coffee House S O L H		
1980s Glenwood Ave. Restaurant	LGBTQIA+ teen hangout spot in the late 1990s-early 2000s, providing a nonalcoholic and open environment for the underage community, having several younger LGBTQIA+ staff at the time, and offering a variety of free print media in the early days of the Internet, such as The Triangle, Front Page, and Raleigh Hatchet.	
Trailways Bus Station / Traveler's Junction Café D O M		
1970s S. McDowell St. Adult Bookstore/Cruising	The bus station café served as a cruising meet-up spot for gay men.	
Triangle Area Gay Scientists C M H		
1980s Various Locations Organization	Held meetings at various private home addresses.	
Triangle Black Pride / Shades of Pride S O M		
2010s Sedgewick Dr. Organization	Early location of an organization that appears to have been absorbed into operations of the LGBTQ Center of Durham.	
Triangle Business and Professional Network (now Harmony) / Balentine's Cafeteria D C L		
1980s Oberlin Rd. Organization	North Carolina's first LGBTQIA+ Chamber of Commerce, which held regular organizational meetings at Balentine's Cafeteria.	
Triangle Community Works! (TCW) S O L H		
1990s Dixie Trl. Organization	This organization was formed to reduce replicative efforts and improve coordination and communication amongst allied groups, including the Gay & Lesbian Helpline of Wake County, ASPYN, RRNGLE, and others.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Triangle Gay Alliance		S C L H
1970s Kinsey St. Organization	Gay liberation group headquarters and communal boarding house led by Bob Bland after his return to NC from NYC and modeled on his experiences with similar efforts like the 17th Street Collective. The group had a notably diverse membership for the time, including gay men, lesbians, African Americans, and drag queen Jimmi Dee.	
Triangle Psychological Center		S C L
1980s St. Marys St., Ste. 251	Counseling.	
Triangle Sports Alliance		S O M
1990s Dixie Trl. Recreation	Meetings held in the Vaughn Wing of the Community United Church of Christ (UCC).	
Tucker House		S O L H
1980s N. Person St. Allied Business	N/A	
UNC Rex Hospital		S O L
1980s Lake Boone Trl. Healthcare	N/A	
Under One Roof		S C L
1980s Haworth Dr. Professional Services	Social support component of Johnston County & Wake County Human Services HIV/STD clinic.	
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh		S O L
1970s Wade Ave. Religious Institution	The church has a long history of providing meeting space for LGBTQIA+ support organizations, including: Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse at 119 Hawthorne St, Gay Club, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), and a current Parents of Transgender Offspring monthly group and hold K-12 sexuality education classes (OWL). The facility also hosted the statewide National Organization for Women (NOW) conference in 2023.	
US District Court		S O L
1990s New Bern Ave. Political-Related Site	Submitted in relation to legal case decisions impacting Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities.	
VAE Raleigh		S O M H
1980s Fayetteville St. Allied Business	Originally opened in 1980 at the former White Rabbit Books location (309 W Martin St) and has sponsored LGBTQIA+-forward events and exhibits like queer homecoming.	

Place Name	Description	Info
Vance Apartments, The		D C L H
1970s E. Edenton St. Private Residence	From the mid-70's, the Vance Apartments enjoyed a large gay and gay-friendly occupancy and was host to many after-club parties.	
VD Center		D C L
1980s N. Tarboro Rd. Healthcare	Sponsored by St. John's Metropolitan Community Church (MCC).	
Velvet Cloak Inn		D C L H
1980s Hillsborough St. Allied Business	Meeting site of the Triangle Business and Professional Guild.	
Vertigo Diner		S O L
1990s S. McDowell St. Allied Business	Retro lunch and weekend diner listed in the Damron Guides from 1998-2003.	
W. Samuel "Sam" Tarlton and James Craig House		S C L H
1990s Polk St. Private Residence	Home of James Craig and W. Samuel Tarlton, accomplished antiques dealers in partnership from 1969-1985 as Craig and Tarlton, Inc. They sold to major museums such as MESDA, the Met, and the White House.	
Wake County Health Department		S O L H
1980s E. Whitaker Mill Rd.	Now called the Wake County Human Services Community Center.	
Wake County Health Department Auditorium		S O L
1990s Sunnybrook Rd. Healthcare	N/A	
Wake County Superior Court		S O L
1990s S. Salisbury St. Political-Related Site	Submitted in relation to legal case decisions impacting Raleigh's LGBTQIA+ communities.	
Walt Whitman Republican Club		
1980s Unknown Political-Related Site	N/A	
Warehouse District		S O L H
1970s W. Hargett St. Neighborhood	Raleigh's version of a commercial "gayborhood" with several clubs, support organizations, and LGBTQIA+-owned or allied businesses located in the area.	
West at North Condominiums		S C L
2010s N. Harrington St. Private Residence	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
White Rabbit Books & Things (1) / Front Page Newspaper		S C L H
1980s W. Martin St. Allied Business	Long-running LGBTQIA+ bookstore owned by John Neal in the Warehouse District from 1991-2010. The Front Page LGBTQIA+ newspaper was printed out of the back before moving to a digital format in the 1990s and eventually merging with Charlotte-based Q-Notes in 2006.	
White Rabbit Books & Things (2)		D C M
1980s W. Hargett St. Allied Business	N/A	
William B. Umstead State Park		S O L
1980s Glenwood Ave. Recreation	Site of the 3rd and 4th Pride Picnic events in 1984-85, sponsored by the Gay Club.	
William Peace University (formerly Peace College)		S O L H
2010s E. Peace St. Organization	Formerly a women's college, with notable alumna lesbian comedian Emily "Fortune" Feimster attending from 1998-2002.	
William Strickland Interiors		D O M
1990s W. Johnson St. Allied Business	N/A	
William-Cozart Antiques		S L H
1980s S. Harrington St. Allied Business	N/A	
Willie D. Pilkington and John Dilley House / Gay Club planning site		S O L H
1980s N. Boundary St. Private Residence	Mr. Pilkington, an organizer of Gay Club and publisher of the GLBT Report, provided an oral history interview for this project.	
WLLE Radio Station Site		D
1980s Maywood Ave. Allied Business	Black-owned radio station that interviewed LGBTQIA+ individuals to discuss discriminatory practices and other community challenges in the city. After being off-air for several years, the station returned via internet streaming in 2020.	
Womble & Fussell, Inc.		S C L
1990s Six Forks Rd. Allied Business	Limousine Service.	
Women's Center		S O M H
1990s E. Hargett St. Healthcare	County-owned counseling facility.	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved

Place Name	Description	Info
Women's Culture Collective Coffeehouse		S O L H
1970s Hawthorne Rd. Religious Institution	The Women's Culture Collective group hosted a women's social coffeehouse in this bungalow owned by the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Raleigh (UUFR).	
WORK. Nightclub		S C L
2020s Fayetteville St. Bar/Club	N/A	
Wrenn House		S O L H
1990s W. Morgan St. Healthcare	Shelter for LGBTQIA+ youth rejected by their families.	
Young Street / "Queen Street" neighborhood		S O L
1970s Young St. Neighborhood	Collection of modest 1930-40s brick houses along Young St between Wake Forest Rd and Ann St where gay men bought and rented to each other.	
YWCA Building		D C L H
1970s E. Hargett St. Allied Business	N/A	
Zebra's		C L
1980s Poole Rd. Bar/Club	N/A	

D/S = Building demolished / standing
H = Historic designation

O/C = Business open/ closed
1930s ●●●●● 2020s

L/M = Same Location / moved



Raleigh
Planning

raleighnc.gov
search: LGBTQIA+ HISTORIC