TATE STREET, THAT GREAT STREET: CULTURE, COMMUNITY, AND MEMORY IN GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

by

Ian Christian Pasquini

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in
History

Charlotte

2015

Approved by:

_____
Dr. Aaron Shapiro

_____
Dr. John Cox

_____
Dr. Dan Dupre

ABSTRACT

IAN CHRISTIAN PASQUINI. Tate Street, That Great Street:
Culture, Community, and Memory in Greensboro, North Carolina
(Under the direction of DR. AARON SHAPIRO)

Tate Street represents a cultural center in Greensboro, North Carolina. This work outlines the varying social groups, organizations, and institutions that defined Tate Street's cultural identity between 1960 and 1990. Tate's venues and spaces acted as backdrops to the cultural shifts on Tate Street. Three venues act as subjects through which to research Tate Street. Through a collection of interviews, art, video, magazines, newspapers, and pictures, this work connects with historical memory to outline Tate's local and national historical significance. The work connects with a historical documentary made up of interviews as well as primary source materials to engage with Tate's historical actors.

DEDICATION

Engaging with Tate's history required the dedication of a small village of interested parties. I would be remiss in not thanking Tate's community at large – many people have offered both their time and energy to assisting this project and will remain unheralded. This work is a reflection of the strength of Tate's community which has both inspired and welcomed my inquiries.

Several of Tate's individuals were vital to this study. Chuck Alston welcomed me to his home in New Orleans, LA. He contributed a huge amount of primary source material as well as nearly twenty hours of stories and un-quantifiable levels of inspiration. Karen McClamrock has also been instrumental in this process, identifying important members of Tate's community and continually offering her service as a mediator between Tate's actors and myself.

Dr. John Cox inspired the genesis of this project with descriptions of Tate in the 1980s, outlining several important groups and offering feedback on ideas as they emerged. Dr. Dan Morrill helped to make this project possible by invigorating my interest in film and offering feedback as my skills both editing and shooting have developed. Dr. Dan Dupre offered critical feedback and illuminated many shortcomings in my work. Dr. Aaron Shapiro, chair of this project, has also contributed huge amounts of time and energy to this work in terms of revisions, interpretations, organization, and direction. His sacrifice in time (and sanity) can not be repaid in gratitude.

Finally, I would simply thank my family and friends for an overwhelming show of support and love. I could not have done this without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Greensboro, North Carolina's history is under-studied and ultimately lacks any investigation of cultural circumstance. With several area colleges focused on the arts, it is difficult to characterize Greensboro without examining its arts. By examining a small area – Tate Street, a commercial district in Greensboro, as the site of major cultural movements – this work illuminates Greensboro's unique characters, spaces, and culture. The community that developed on Tate supported artistic expression and experimentation. Three of Tate's places: UNCG, The Hong Kong House, and Friday's, serve as focal points of community and cultural exchange.

Many North Carolinians know Greensboro as the "Gate City." It rests near the center of North Carolina at the intersection of two major highways, Interstate 85 and Interstate 40. Greensboro has hosted several well-studied historical events. Most notably, in the 1960s, Greensboro found notoriety as an important part of the Civil Rights movement – students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University [NCA&T] initiated lunch counter sit-ins at the Woolworths on Elm Street in downtown Greensboro, inspiring similar demonstrations across the United States.[1] Though this episode highlights an important aspect of the historical significance of Greensboro, it does not necessarily reflect the entire culture of the city. In fact, William

[1] William H Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Chafe, author of *Civilities and Civil Rights,* suggests that Greensboro's history of segregation is not unique among other American cities. Though historians study this topic, the sit-ins are not representative of Greensboro's history. Aside from Chafe's text, few manuscripts of Greensboro's history exist; Alice Sink's *Wicked Greensboro* offers funny anecdotes about Greensboro's past, linking it to prostitution, drugs, and disorder throughout history, but the text lacks any historical analysis. Otherwise, the catalogue of Greensboro's history includes information about the final days of the Confederate Army and pictorial accounts of the architecture in Greensboro.[2]

To study Tate's culture it is important to distinguish between nationally marketable episodes and daily encounters. This study examines local history and its relation to national history in order to clarify the formation of Tate's community. It outlines the local art movements and cultural circumstances while acknowledging the influence of exterior cultural movements and music groups on its scene. Utilizing interviews, newspapers, magazines, music, and photographs, this examination focuses on Tate Street and how its members and spaces fostered community and art between 1964 and 1983. Tate stands as an example of local culture, contention, and history. Tate's bars, restaurants, outdoor spaces, and the university system all offered opportunities for young people to experiment and grow. Thanks to a strong and ever evolving community, a unique music scene flourished. Those on Tate supported one another and bent the rules of art and performance. Rather than a distinct sound or style, a mode of experimentation permeated art and experience on Tate. Memories,

[2] Robert M. Dunkerly, *The Confederate Surrender at Greensboro: The Final Days of the Army of Tennessee, April 1865* (McFarland, 2013); Lynn Salsi, *Greensboro* (Arcadia Publishing, 2007).

specifically those of Tate's denizens, serve to paint a detailed image of Tate Street and its emergence as a center of cultural change.

Greensboro's diverse educational institutions are partially responsible for Tate's success as a cultural center. Greensboro hosts several institutions of higher learning: North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University [NCA&T] and Bennett College [BC] are traditionally African American centers of learning. Nearby, two other universities serve the youth of Greensboro: The University of North Carolina at Greensboro [UNCG] and Greensboro College [GC.]

Nestled between these UNCG and GC in the College Hill district is Tate Street, a 0.7 mile stretch of road connecting Friendly Avenue and Lee Street. Between 1960 and 1990, the two block stretch between Spring Garden Street and Carr Street hosted the most vibrant cultural arts scene in Greensboro. The combination of University institutions, bars, venues, basements, and houses helped make Tate the center of cultural change in Greensboro.

Many young men and women found their way to Tate as a result of their tenure at UNCG. The school, however, has grown since opening as the State Normal and Industrial School in 1892 as the result of Dr. Charles McIver's quest to encourage women's education.[3] By 1919, The North Carolina College for Women emerged and in 1932, once again changed its name to The Women's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro or, simply, Women's College.

In 1964 Women's College opened enrollment to men and changed its name to The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The shift to a co-ed format was

[3] UNCG, "A Brief History of the University" (Walter Clinton Jackson Library, 2010), http://library.uncg.edu/info/depts/scua/collections/university_archives/brief_history.aspx.

paramount to the character of Tate throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Ed Shepherd, a resident of College Hill, UNCG Graduate, and Tate musician, conceded that the change from Women's College to UNCG directly influenced the conditions on Tate Street.[4] Ed Shepherd explained Tate's demographics: "This goes back to when UNCG was Women's College… The ratio of women to men at UNCG was 8-1 – on the weekends all of the women went to Chapel Hill. If you didn't have a car or a date, Tate was the happening place to go"[5] UNCG's students made up the majority of the attendees on Tate Street, both performing at and attending venues along the street. Regardless of integration, Tate remained a mainly white scene; they welcomed blacks and some were part of the scene, but Tate's history between the 1960s and 1980s is remarkably white.

[4] Ed Shepherd, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 16, 2014.
[5] Ibid.

Figure 1: Birds-Eye View of Tate Street maps.google.com

UNCG did not just contribute student population; its facilities and grounds along Tate were some of the first and most important spaces for community formation. Brown Music Building offered many Tate's musicians a place to rehearse and perform.[6] Next door, Aycock Auditorium hosted some of the biggest shows in UNCG's history.[7] While these spaces hosted Tate's community in an official capacity, young people in the sixties and seventies communed on the sloping lawn of the Brown Music Building. Hippie Hill was also the site of administrative struggle between the counterculture and UNCG administration and helps illustrate the cultural conditions on Tate Street.

Tate mirrored many major cultural shifts in America beginning in the 1960s. For example, it offers evidence of every major musical movement between 1960 and 1990. The Greenwich Village scene during the 1960s was influential nationwide and Tate hosted its share of folk musicians such as Bruce Piephoff and The BR Boys.[8] The hippie movement was also prevalent along the street and the accompanying fashion and drug use came to characterize College Hill.

Tate has also drawn comparisons to the Haight-Ashbury scene in the 1960s. The Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco provides a potent example of community and culture in the 1960s. Young people in Haight-Ashbury experimented with many different aspects of life including drugs, art, communal living, and radical politics. At 1090 Page Street, the place where author Christopher Newton contends that Haight-Ashbury's legacy began, a venue where community rather than profit flourished.

---

[6] Gilbert Fray, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.
[7] Jerry Harrelson, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, August 6, 2014; University of North Carolina at Greensboro, *Pine Needles 1969 - UNC Greensboro*, Digital edition (UNCG Digital Collections, 1969), http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/search/collection/PineNeedles.
[8] Chuck Alston, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview, New Orleans, August 26, 2014.

Members of that community worked together to keep the space open, contributing musical instruments and maintaining the stage space in the basement to the benefit of poets, musicians, and actors.[9] Tate's venues and personalities resembled those in Haight-Ashbury, but Tate's community distinguished itself in many ways. The strength and supportive nature of the community on Tate continually influenced the arts on the street.

Throughout the 1970s, the community fostered many unique musical groups, but fell along the stylistic lines of other cultural movements in the US. Jazz emerged on Tate Street. Groups such as Salt & Pepper reviewed traditional quartet and quintet jazz while The Hot Club of North Carolina paid tribute to the music of Django Reinhardt. The Sentinel Boys experimented with fusion and funk inspired rock n' roll while Billy Hobbs Ransom's blues rock fusion groups expanded the aesthetics of popular groups like The Allman Brothers and ZZ Top.

During the 1970s the experimental and subversive side of Tate emerged with Avant-Garde groups such as The F-Art Ensemble. National and internationally recognized experimental musicians such as Eugene Chadbourne and Glenn Phillips were regular performers at Tate's venues. Tate's artists explored mediums aside from music. Plankton Playhouse, a local theater troupe, utilized improvisation and audience interaction to break the common bounds of performance; and psychedelic art groups like Johnny Beaumont Clemmons and The Cosmic Ray Deflection Society of North America decorated and changed the appearance of the street.

---

[9] Christopher Newton, "1090 Page: The House Where the Haight Began," Wordpress, *The Pondering Pig*, (February 14, 2014), http://ponderingpig.wordpress.com/2014/02/14/luminaries-of-the-haight-4-1090-page-street/.

The late 1970s and early 1980s continued the cultural evolution on Tate Street. As hard rock and jazz fusion gave way to New Wave and Punk, Tate's community adapted once again. Youth paced cultural evolution on Tate and new venues rose to accommodate the new forms. Both Punks and New Wavers took to Tate Street as the home for their music.[10] By joining with the existing experimental forms on Tate, the Punk and New Wave scenes were successful. The subversive nature of these forms caused overlap and helped keep Tate's culture from stagnating.

While local groups as well as nationally recognized acts like R.E.M., Black Flag, and The Bad Brains performed on Tate, changes continued. The combination of community solidarity and the Punk aesthetic characterized Tate's scene throughout the 1980s. Local music groups like The Broken Crayons represented the Riot Grrrl movement in America, while The Flies pushed a repertoire of socially and politically conscious Punk rock more in line with nationally influential musical acts like Television and Pere Ubu. Even the late 1980s saw the incursion of heavier rock and metal into Tate with appearances of groups like GWAR at Hot Tamale's.[11] By hosting national music acts, Tate signaled its potency as a cultural center. National acts arrived on Tate for the community, because there was an interested crowd and an economy capable of supporting them. More significantly, however, national bands served to unite the community for the benefit of its adherents, allowing folks to gather and exchange ideas, experiences, and cultural artifacts.

The structure of Tate's story is similar to a pyramid. UNCG forms the foundation temporally and culturally. UNCG opened before the other venues reviewed

[10] Ivan Siler, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 26, 2014.
[11] Randall McCorquodale and Al Cowett, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 28, 2014.

in this work and is, at this time, still drawing young people to Tate Street. The Hong Kong House, and the accompanying basement venue, makes up the middle portion of the pyramid, illustrating how the community supported itself and how people unified to support Tate's culture. Finally, Friday's is the pinnacle of the pyramid. Its life spanned the shortest period of time, but coincides with the most productive period of Tate's scene, a period in which Tate's scene was most active.

Tate Street's historical significance is difficult to judge without a comparative framework of youth and music's roles in culture. Because Rock music was a large part of Tate's culture, its significance is massive. Glenn Altschuler's *All Shook Up* distinguishes Rock 'n Roll's countercultural character, writing that Rock n' Roll is the music of "liberation" and "rebellion."[12] Altschuler contextualizes rock in American Culture identifying Rock music as a mirror of social and cultural movements including civil rights and The Vietnam War. Much like the national music scene, Tate's cultural evolution coincided with the musical movements prevalent on the street. The culture there saw shifts from sleepy village to one glorifying experimentation and liberation. *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements* by Reebee Garofalo also examines the role of music in culture; Garofalo connects mass music to identity by showing the role of music in preserving culture.[13] These texts have a common thread, an insular community surrounding the alternative cultural movements. All of these authors recognize the importance of a site or scene in which alternative forms grow. Tate Street is a center of culture, an area in which multiple cultural elements emerged to

---

[12] Glenn C Altschuler, *All Shook up: How Rock "N" Roll Changed America* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[13] Reebee Garofalo, *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992).

characterize an ever evolving culture. Tate Street is significant because it offers historians an interactive subject matter which is still evolving. Many of the artists who performed in the Tate Street scene are still artists and actively comment on culture.

This work uses the concept of venue to examine Tate's history. Tim Burrows, author of *From CBGB to the Roundhouse*, is aware of his own cliché when he states "Venues are places where dreams are made."[14] Spending time at a venue guarantees more than entertainment. People of all stations interact at venues; attendees express themselves, play parts, and reflect cultural trends. Venues were the places where the members of Tate's community expressed themselves. The venues themselves had an effect on Tate's culture, setting the scene and creating an atmosphere conducive to artistic and communal expression.

Using venue as a limiting parameter for research, the important characters and movements on Tate are visible. Owners and operators accommodated the scene and welcomed the community. The regulars and residents of Tate, the acolytes, maintained and actively shaped the culture on the street. They are the ones who spent their creative capital on Tate, shaping the culture from the inside. Outsiders also influenced Tate; some who occasionally entered Tate's venues have contrasting memories of the scene. Tate's venues also serve as actors in Tate's narrative as UNCG, Friday's, The Belstone Fox, Mr. Rosewater's, New York Pizza, Mel's, The Janus Wings, and The Hong Kong House in many ways dictated the events which they hosted. As performers would occupy the stage and the spotlight on Tate, the other actors affected cultural circumstances to as great a degree.

---

[14] Tim Burrows, *From CBGB to the Roundhouse : Music Venues through the Years* (London: Marion Boyars, 2009).

Scholars often focus on the idea of space; cultural spaces, living spaces, neighborhood spaces, etc. Ray Oldenburg, author of *The Great Good Place*, expresses the idea of the Third Place, the spaces which "help people to get through their day."[15] He describes bars, cafés, and community centers as places in which people informally gather to seek company. While the first place is a place of work and the second place is one's home, third places, Oldenburg contends, are vital to the formation of community. They are spaces where people meet on an informal level, one travels to a local pub and meets friends with whom no plans existed. This is the brilliance of the third place, they are inclusive, self-governing, and people find different forms of fulfillment within their bounds. Venue is much the same as place, but the venues highlight cultural significance. Venue is generally shorthand for performance space.[16] I expand this definition beyond the terms of musical and theatrical performance to highlight the performance of audiences, customers, business owners, and attendees of any space. Because cultural performance was so important along Tate, even the simplest of shops became performance spaces for attendees.

Tate's third places had an impact beyond just communal gathering as they allowed Tate's acolytes to explore and radically shift modes of performance and interaction. "Performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through reiterated behavior" insists Diana Taylor.[17] The roles defined in performance vary from episode to episode, but they

---

[15] Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You through the Day* (New York: Paragon House, 1989) P 5.
[16] "Venue," *Miriam-Webster Online* (Miriam-Webster Incorperated, n.d.), http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/venue.
[17] Diana Taylor, "Translating Performance," *Profession*, January 1, 2002, 44–50.

center on cultural exchange. Tate was somewhat transformative in this sense. Whereas traditional theatrical performances rely on scripted exchange and regimented audience/performer roles, Tate's community constantly moved away from these paradigms; theatrical groups grounded in tradition were generally an extension of the university and its programs, but other theater troupes based on Tate Street relied on improvisation and audience participation.[18] Furthermore, Tate's acolytes continually broke down audience-performer barriers, welcoming audience members to dance as part of the spectacle or encouraging audience members to participate in narrative making in some instances.[19]

Tate's unique culture is evident in the fashion of the crowd and the terms of their speech. Though everyone attends a venue to see a show, not everyone sees the same thing. The locations reviewed in this work take on the tastes of three different groups: the owners and operators of the establishments, the attendees and performers, and the outside observers. It is impossible to say that any venue means any one thing; one can, for example, claim that "CBGB is the birthplace of American Punk Rock!" but one cannot suggest that this is the only significance of 315 Bowery St in New York City. The appearance of, say, the Ramones does not signify that as the only important event of the evening. The crowd makes the venue; it is the returning audience that dictates the culture of any place. Without community a venue is an empty shell, and without a venue no community can gather. These spaces offer both spatial and temporal limitations to this research, establishing boundaries and defining the sites of community formation.

---

[18] Rex Griffin, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 17, 2014. (specifically mentions improvised performances of Plankton Playhouse, a theater troop on Tate.)
[19] Alston, interview.

Tate's venues, rather than drawing massively marketable acts, catered to the unique community that developed along the street. Small groups of students and College Hill residents formed the relationships that made Tate Street a viable cultural center in Greensboro. The local aesthetic of Tate lent itself more to several notable local bands like The Village Pistols, The F-Art Ensemble, Treeva Spontaine, The Othermothers, The Sentinel Boys, Tornado, and The Broken Crayons. While many of these never achieved major noteriety, Tate offered a venue for other more notable North Carolina acts to get their start. A young Dexter Romweber, one half of the Flat Duo Jets, played many early shows on Tate. Emmylou Harris, country music superstar, got her start on Tate Street as well. Internationally famous experimental mastermind Eugene Chadbourne chose to make his residence in Greensboro as well. Other bands would make appearances on Tate throughout the years.

This text draws on several different source materials including magazines, photographs, flyers, web articles, and newspapers. Though all of these sources contribute to the work, video and audio interviews operate as the primary method to understand the communal relations on Tate Street. Much like Laura Ballance's *Our Noise: The Story of Merge Records* and Rodger Brown's *Party Out of Bounds,* interviews serve to expand the available source material and offer a personal account of the significant events on Tate Street. Furthermore, these interviews represent a study in historical memory. Following Michael Frisch's example in *A Shared Authority*, interviewees retain some autonomy in telling their own story in interview driven work. The interview method allows for a more personal approach to public history in conjunction with print source analysis and helps to illuminate significant topics.

Several dynamics took place along the street – divides were noticeable on either side of the street and through different times of day. In 1980, Tate was in its prime. Along the west bank of Tate, The Hong Kong House, owned by Amelia Leung and her family, served Chinese food to the community. In her basement, Aliza's Café and the Nightshade Café hosted live music. The Janus Wings Theater showed independent films, and on Saturdays, Marx Brothers pictures in the original 35mm format.[20] The Friar's Cellar sold pastries, beer, and coffee to the denizens of Tate while students stopped by The Corner at the end of the row to get grilled cheese sandwiches and sodas. Upstairs along the row, Mr. Snaverly, the owner of the west bank buildings, rented apartments to students and local musicians. Farther along, the Brown Music Building and Aycock Auditorium cemented UNCG's presence along Tate.

The east bank hosted a different contingent of the Tate Street community. Where the west bank had some of the most beloved and more family oriented plots on the street, the east bank saw some of the more eclectic and youthful establishments. New York Pizza, a noted Italian joint by day and a rowdy bar (and rumored mafia front)[21] by night, sat beside The Belstone Fox known for fine dining and jazz music while Friday's invited Punks and New Wavers to admonish the mainstream from its band stand. The east bank also played host to the alternative press as *The Greensboro Sun*, a subversive magazine, assembled its issues and fought to overthrow the conservative regime. Even the Kinko's Copies on Tate welcomed subversive youth to print their manifestoes. The East/West bank divide in appearance never materialized in the community, however, as local businesses supported each other and welcomed all

[20] Griffin, interview.
[21] Jonathan Milgrim, Interview by Ian Pasquini, Phone Interview. Greensboro, July 12, 2014.

elements of the community. Over time, the east/west bank relationship shifted. The focal point of Tate's community moved from west to east, first from UNCG, to The Hong Kong House, and finally to Friday's whose operation coincided with Tate's most potent cultural period.

Tate Street offered opportunities for more than just musicians and artists; whether a working lunch or a weekend day trip, Tate offered something for everyone. Here emerges the tale of two Tate's – daytime and nighttime. During the day, sandwich shops dress stores, banks, university facilities, and record shops welcomed people of any demographic. While many of these daily activities drew people from all of Greensboro, Tate at night attracted attention for other reasons. From the outside, to many, Tate appeared dangerous: drinking, loud music, drugs, and sex all conjured the fear of a generation of parents.

Randall McCorquodale and Al Cowett were young in the mid 1970s. By the early 1980s they formed The Othermothers, a Punk rock band of local fame for their destructive habits and alcohol consumption. Al heard about Tate from his older brother who referred to Tate as "Tate Street, that great street."[22] Al's plans to go down to Tate, however, met with opposition from his mother: "My mom was saying things like 'don't you go down there! They've got Motorcycle gangs, and hippies that'll make you do drugs, and a black guy marrying a white girl right there on Tate Street!'"[23] "From what I hear, late sixties early seventies, it was a pretty heated place…" "The worst" interrupted Randall "but there was all kinds of stuff to do on Tate. You could go down

[22] McCorquodale and Cowett, interview.
[23] Ibid.

there and see poets, they showed old movies. It didn't reflect what you had heard from your parents and the older people. No one forced you to do anything."[24]

Perceptions have hints of truth but also of myth. In the pages of this work, the emergence of a drug and music scene coincided with the development of a radical element on Tate. While people on the outside often saw this as dangerous, Tate Street's denizens report little or no danger. Many members of the community had a stake in retaining a good perception of Tate and its venues, but others were willing to admit some of the more dangerous occurrences on Tate; in the 1967, members of the Ku Klux Klan bombed a store along Tate Street[25] In the 1970s, several murders occurred in the College Hill Neighborhood[26] And in the 1980s a drive by shooting targeted the Galaxy Arcade.[27] In spite of all of these events, members of the Tate Street community remain steadfast in their positivity regarding Tate, marking the line between Tate insider and outsider. Exterior opinions of Tate reflect a negative and fearful view of the scene while Tate's acolytes rarely remember danger on Tate Street.

Conflicting memories, like those mentioned above, are one of the challenges of this project. Reviewing the memories of others offers historians a unique opportunity to interact with historical subjects and allow them a voice in their own stories, but also guarantees variance in stories. My own participation in interviews also causes some change – filming subjects causes a change in behavior and may prompt different responses. As such, memory of Tate is fickle, but instructive as to the attitudes of its denizens.

---

[24] Ibid.
[25] Jay Hopkins, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, September 6, 2014; Unknown, "Officers Report 'Quiet Night,'" *The Greensboro Record*, July 22, 1967, sec. B.
[26] Alston, interview.
[27] Amelia Leung, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, September 6, 2014.

Perceptions being what they were, Tate Street played host to a unique atmosphere and a thriving culture. At any point, as many as five music venues or bars operated on Tate Street. At Aliza's Café, Emmylou Harris, UNCG graduate and country-music superstar could be playing a gig. Across the street, Friday's attracted both local and national Punk acts nightly to entertain its patrons. Farther north along the east bank of Tate Street, New York Pizza [NYP] offered beer by the pitcher. Next door at The Belstone Fox, local jazz group Salt and Pepper tried to draw a crowd following Avant Garde master Eugene Chadbourne's electric Rake solo (and the accompanying exodus of patrons.)

This dual life ensured the continuing influence of Tate Street on Greensboro's culture. There was something for everyone. Not only did students have both eatery and watering hole, but also Greensboro natives had a place to uniquely call their own. Tate is a place where familiar faces emerge and it has been that way for over half a century. Since its emergence as a musical hotspot, young people of all backgrounds have frequented its establishments helping make Tate Street – That Great Street.

CHAPTER 2: FROM UNCG TO TATE VILLAGE

1964, Tate Street. Recognized as a small commercial district on the periphery of Women's College [WC], Tate Street resembles the sleepy village in America. Franklin Drugstore, Hart Appliance, and Dr. Christiansen's medical practice fill out the businesses on the street. Families and students of WC make up the customer base of the shops along Tate. Children in the neighborhoods surrounding WC attend The Curry School and play on the hill below The Brown Music Building. The College Pastry Shop serves pastries to the patrons of Tate Street while The Corner offers a lunch counter atmosphere to the street. This is where our story begins.

"We'd play King of The Mountain on the hill outside of the Brown Music Building" said Jerry Harrelson, a graduate of Curry High School, long-time resident of Tate, and eventual admissions officer at UNCG.[28] Harrelson recounts stories about Tate Street reminiscent of Mayberry.[29] He recalls buying ice cream at the Franklin Drug Store and delivering it to the Fire Station near Greensboro College, remembers The College Pastry Shop offering free pastries to local children, and recounts Dr. Christiansen's family practice from his youth.[30] Businesses on Tate maintained a family

[28] Harrelson, interview.
[29] Mayberry is the setting for the television show, The Andy Griffith Show – known for its characters and the simplicity of its narrative. Mayberry is a caricature of the sleepy southern town in mid 20th century America.
[30] Harrelson, interview.

atmosphere during the 1960s. Most of the businesses on Tate were family owned and operated. The Corner, The Friar's Cellar, and Mel's Sandwich Shop all invited people from Tate and UNCG to dine on cheap fare with familiar faces. While Tate displayed features of many small towns in America, by the late 1960s it was showing signs of alternative culture.

As America reacted to the cultural movements of the sixties, including The Vietnam War and the growing antiwar movement, Rock and Roll, Hippie Culture, and Drug Culture, Tate Street would attract hippies and Vietnam veterans. As Tate's patronage evolved, Harrelson observed that "It was almost like a magnet for hippies, it was just an alternative culture. It was just people that were not mainstream people. It was full swing hippie-ville back then. People with dreads, people with dreads before anyone knew what dreads were."[31] Other Tate Street acolytes like Gilbert Fray noted the support for the scene from the business owners, "It was a benign anarchist vibe from the older generation… they operated as a security net, when you fell, you couldn't fall too hard."[32]

The legacy of the sleepy village would always remain on Tate as business owners and residents continued to support the community. The shift to a counter-cultural Mecca did not occur in a vacuum. While national cultural trends influenced Tate, internal changes occurred to facilitate the transition from Mayberry to Ashbury. As the most prominent institution along Tate Street, UNCG was responsible for major demographic changes, but other institutions and individuals on Tate also helped promote change. Young people involved in alternative press around the state arrived on

[31] Ibid.
[32] Fray, interview.

Tate, feeding the growing alternative culture. Chuck Alston, who was among those bringing change to Tate Street, helped produce papers such as *The Greensboro Substitute* and *The Greensboro Sun* that kept locals informed about Tate's scene and encouraged countercultural expression. Experimental drugs and alternative lifestyles enveloped the street, setting the precedent for Tate as a center of alternative culture in Greensboro.

In 1964, WC changed its name to The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.[33] Attendance also shifted, moving from an all-Women's institution to co-ed format. The arrival of men on UNCG's campus changed the dynamics on Tate Street. Young men vied for the affection of young women, influenced Tate's businesses, and brought with them the subversive edge of 1960s and 1970s culture. As UNCG grew, young men and women from all over the United States arrived, bringing with them their ideas and traditions. Tate was the early venue for these new students to grow. Writers, musicians, and artists helped to fill out UNCG's student population. Rock and roll, largely a boys club at that point, debuted on Tate. Residing just off campus, Tate was the perfect place for young people to gather.

Young people were not alone in their exploration of modern art; according to Tate's acolytes, university faculty supported Tate's Culture: "It was out of the university and onto the street… It was a more relaxed approach to alcohol and of course a more relaxed attitude towards all types of substances and experimentation was encouraged by most of the faculty… Tate was the post graduate program in

[33] University of North Carolina at Greensboro, *Pine Needles 1964- UNC Greensboro*, Digital edition (UNCG Digital Collections, 1964), http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/search/collection/PineNeedles.

experimentation."[34] By the early 1970s, professors like Jim Clark and Fred Chapel welcomed their students to lectures in Tate's Bars.[35] Bill Smiley formed Salt and Pepper, a jazz group which played at The Belstone Fox and invited Tate's acolytes.[36]

Aside from supportive faculty, UNCG also maintained performance space serving Tate Street. Tate's first performance spaces were part of the university. Aycock Auditorium is the largest venue on Tate Street and welcomed some of the most popular acts of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. It hosted jazz icons such as Dizzy Gillespie to lead workshops, influencing many of the young musicians attending UNCG.[37] It would welcome popular musical acts such as Otis Redding and Credence Clearwater Revival to perform for UNCG students as well as Tate's attendants.[38] And by the late seventies, Aycock hosted major acts from the New Wave movement, such as DEVO, to present revelations in rock performance.[39]

The Brown Building is another important UNCG facility. As the site of UNCG's School of Music through 1999, Brown housed classrooms, practice space, and a small auditorium for students of UNCG as well as their guests.[40] During that period, it welcomed many of those who would become fixtures in Tate Street's Scene. In 1979, Dave Doyle and Gilbert "Gil" Fray cofounded F-Art, an experimental improvisational group rooted in radicalism and debauchery: "Just as I was dropping out of Grad School, I moved to Tate Street. Dave Doyle was just beginning his tenure as a Graduate

---

[34] Fray, interview.
[35] Alston, interview.
[36] David Doyle, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.
[37] Griffin, interview.
[38] Harrelson, interview.
[39] Shepherd, interview.
[40] "[Brown Music Building] :: University Archives," accessed March 16, 2015, http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ui/id/713/rec/12.

Student. We had our first rehearsals in the Brown building."[41] Brown Music building also offered their equipment to many of Tate's musicians, allowing students to rent out reel-to-reel tape recorders and other equipment to document shows.[42] In addition, radical political groups held meetings in the small rehearsal rooms on the top floor during the 1980s.

While these venues were important to Tate, they had certain limitations in terms of their impact on Tate's community. Aycock offered a shared experience for its attendees; these shows provided some of the first community events on Tate, binding the memories of Tate's acolytes, For instance, many remember the DEVO concert as an astounding event, citing the enthusiasm of the crowd (people dressed in radiation jumpsuit much as DEVO) and the great performance.[43] The ability of this venue to draw a large audience helped to guarantee money for larger acts, marking Aycock as notable to the lay music fan. Aycock, however, was but a footnote to Tate Street's character. While Aycock drew many of Tate's acolytes as well as many from off Tate, it lacked the communal atmosphere of many of Tate's smaller, non-institutional venues. In *The Great Good Place*, Ray Oldenburg insists that a successful community gathering place requires an inclusive, participatory environment.[44] The ritualistic separation of audience from performer as well as the theater style seating preempted these experiences from affecting Tate Street. The traditional atmosphere in Aycock limited its influence on Tate. Because it was not open all the time, and because it did not regularly offer performance space to Tate's own scene, Aycock represented UNCG rather than Tate

---

[41] Fray, interview.
[42] Doyle, interview.
[43] Shepherd, interview; Karen McClamrock and Lee Spencer, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 27, 2014.
[44] Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place*.

Street. In fact, The Brown Music Building, which was a venue for musical experimentation and student projects is a more potent example of Tate's community; its spaces offered both UNCG's students as well as other Tate characters an opportunity to influence Tate's scene.

The diverse mix of people arriving on Tate highlighted some common issues with changing culture on the doorstep of a major institution. Seemingly, from the outside, there were two cultures: the University and The Hippies.[45] A vocal minority of UNCG's staff encouraged students to stay away from Tate. Part of UNCG's stance on Tate related to the hill in front of The Brown Building. The spot, known as Hippie Hill, offered a gathering space for young people.[46] Over time, however, the growing numbers of hippies on the doorstep of the Brown building garnered the attention of UNCG. In response, the school's administration had thorn bushes put up all over Hippie Hill.[47] "Those were dangerous bushes, occasionally, someone would fall in and get hurt"[48] said Gil. The faculty was also unsupportive of the move; longtime Music professor Richard Cox said he vastly "preferred the hippies to the razor bushes on the hill."[49] The arrival of hippies and accompanying disputes were evidence of the oncoming changes along Tate Street. The growing prevalence of drugs on Tate prompted Hippie Hill's closure.

While UNCG officials noted the marijuana common on Hippie Hill, business owners also recall marijuana on Tate.[50] Other drugs were also prevalent as the community's thirst for psychedelic drugs grew. One interviewee made mention of

---

[45] Harrelson, interview.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Larry Tucker, "A Very Thorny Problem," *Greensboro Daily News*, May 8, 1979, sec. D.
[48] Fray, interview.
[49] John Cox, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview, Charlotte, September 24, 2014.
[50] Leung, interview.

trafficking acid between Atlanta and Greensboro and many recount their trips on Tate.[51] Many young people on Tate were experimenting with drugs. "Little pieces of paper called LSD were the big thing going"[52] said Rex Griffin. Others consistently reference the use of marijuana among both Tate's acolytes and university faculty.[53] Though drugs had an overwhelming presence on Tate Street, the larger dealers generally insulated themselves from the rest of the community. While few of Tate's acolytes remember a backlash to the drugs, drug busts were common enough on the street. One interviewee remembered a man standing on the sidewalk of Tate Street marketing his drug business by shouting "marijuana, LSD," leading to regular arrests for his antics.[54]

The influx of drugs on Tate Street was a major part of the culture, but use was limited compared to other major cultural arts scenes nationally. Nancy Foster, a later matriarch of the Punk scene on Tate Street, grappled with the romantic vision of New York City as the center of Punk in the early 1980s. Her article, "Trackmarks on His Heart," details her experiences following major Punk acts around New York in the 1980s. The article details the depth of the New York scene, running into famous musicians like Billy Idol, and falling in love with members of The Heartbreakers, but the narrative revolves around heroin and heartbreak. "Mommies in NYC do more drugs than the head in Greensboro."[55] Foster's article makes the comparison between the drugs in New York and the drugs in Greensboro, showing that on Tate, while psychoactives were common, heroin and other dangerous drugs never made a big impact on Tate's scene. Still, the prevalence of psychoactive was encouraged

---

[51] Anonymous source
[52] Griffin, interview.
[53] Doyle, interview.
[54] Alston, interview.
[55] Nancy Foster, "Trackmarks on His Heart," *Greensboro Substitute*, September 1982.

throughout the 1970s as a cast of characters helped to introduce a unique press and publication movement which both unified and helped to define Tate's culture.

By 1972, Tate's reputation was changing. Parents cautioned their kids, sometimes in hysterical terms as Karen McClamrock noted "they really worked hard to keep the students from going down there. It was seen as unsafe for students."[56] Despite the warnings, Tate's patronage was growing. Drinks were flowing at Mel's Sandwich Shop and The Friar's Cellar, musicians were chatting about upcoming performances, and veterans and bikers were swapping battle stories. Violence was rare, drugs were free, and sex as easy.[57] With the expansion of these groups, the unified identity of Tate's patrons emerged.

During the 1970s, the diverse population of Tate codified into a recognizable community as groups generally abhorred by the mainstream came together to accommodate one another's interest. The Bikers on Tate supported Tate's subversive press, Vietnam veterans stood side by side with hippies attending Tate's Venues and consuming its libations, and university professors stood shoulder to shoulder with Street People and transients. Unity rested on the pillars of shared experience and the subversive press. Both were part of Chuck Alston's impact on the street.

In 1971, as Vietnam, psychadelia, Civil Rights, and Rock n' Roll were reshaping America, Chuck Alston arrived on Tate Street. Chuck had been living in Concord, North Carolina. During the Vietnam War, Chuck was a conscientious objector. He had been an orderly in Charlotte while helping to produce art for local subversive magazines like *The Charlotte Inquisition*. In 1970, just as Chuck began publishing his art, his local

[56] McClamrock and Spencer, interview.
[57] Fray, interview; Molly Fox, interview by Ian Pasquini, Personal Interview, Greensboro, February 20, 2014.

draft office dictated that Chuck work further from his pre-war residence in Concord.[58] The board reassigned Chuck to Cone Hospital in Greensboro. Once in Greensboro, he would come to represent the face of Tate counter-culture movement.

Chuck was at the head of several important Tate developments that would ultimately shape the culture in Greensboro. Prior to Chuck's arrival, hippies, bikers, and gangs had a small presence on Tate; Chuck's arrival, however, coincided with the acceleration of collective countercultural and subversive activity along Tate Street. Chuck brought with him connections to state wide alternative news outlets, artists, drugs, and music.[59] With his help, Tate would become part of a larger network of subversive press in North Carolina.

Chuck connected Tate Street and North Carolina's alternative press. His first venture was *The Carolina Plain Dealer*. Its headquarters were in Siler City and it maintained correspondents in every major city in North Carolina. Chuck was the editor and Greensboro affiliate, supplying cultural and political news from Greensboro, and often Tate specifically. The *Plain Dealer* printed political treatise, art, and comics. The magazine was a major source of political activism "we'd all get together – yippies, Maoists, Trotskyites, and we'd argue about our vision for the paper. It was great."[60] The *Plain Dealer*'s assault on the mainstream ran deep; they would regularly print reviews of different psychoactive drugs as they made their way to North Carolina and encourage political activism to readers from 1970 to 1972.[61]

---

[58] Alston, interview.
[59] Chuck Alston, "Anarchy Comics," *Greensboro Sun*, December 1973, 2 edition.
[60] Alston, interview.
[61] "The Carolina Plain Dealer.," accessed February 16, 2015, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89014079/.

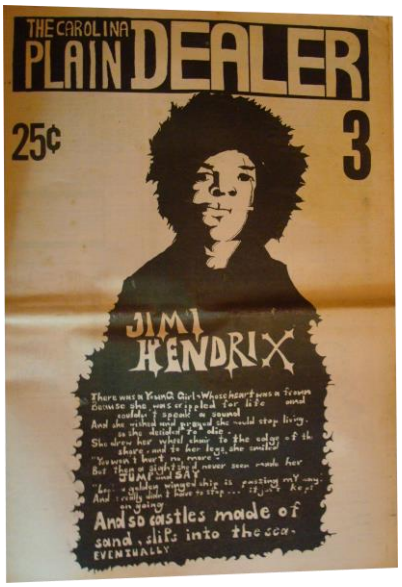

Figure 2: Carolina Plain Dealer Chuck Alston

The opposition to North Carolina political and social organizations featured in *The Carolina Plain Dealer* drew the attention of the police and big businesses.[62] In 1971, these activities came to a head when Southern Bell, a phone company, accused *The Plain Dealer* of promoting the use of "hacker tools" and police arrested the editorial staff.[63] Legal situations were a constant for the staff of *The Plain Dealer* as well as many other subversive publications in North Carolina: "You see, they would get us in court on charges that they couldn't substantiate. Fortunately, Judge Washington's [a radical judge] daughter was married to a biker on Tate. Washington was friendly to our cause. He got our cases thrown out, no contest, but we'd still have to come up with dough for lawyers – that and we were out of business for a few weeks whenever this happened. That was their way of stopping us… We were trying to incite a revolution."[64] Using government grants and student loans, Chuck's circle of acquaintances were

[62] Alston, interview.
[63] AP, "Phone Company Irate Over Story in Carolina Paper," *The Charlotte News*, April 28, 1971.
[64] Alston, interview.

rallying for equality – organizing protests and signing petitions to fight their big business and liberalize society.

With state officials and law enforcement seeking the closure of *The Carolina Plain Dealer*, it was only a matter of time before the magazine stopped printing. "One day, the police stormed in when everyone was asleep and put us up on cohabitation charges. They found one guy and six girls asleep in the building and that was essentially the end of the paper."[65] The end of *The Carolina Plain Dealer*, however, was the beginning of Tate Street's own unique press movement. Without the responsibilities of *The Plain Dealer*, Chuck facilitated a press focused on perpetuating Tate's cultural expansion. Local magazines like *No Greensboro, The Greensboro Substitute, and The Greensboro Sun* essentially replaced *The Carolina Plain Dealer*; the new publications focused on Tate's local cultural movement.[66] As the market expanded on Tate Street, more young people along Tate got involved. Local businesses helped to distribute the magazines – the Record Exchange and Discount records, as well as School Kids Records one block to the east, on Mendenhall Street moved copies of the local magazine, perpetuating the changing culture on Tate. By the late seventies, local writers carried on the legacy of *The Plain Dealer* with their own political treatise, album reviews, and Pop Culture News.[67]

With headquarters on Tate, *The Greensboro Sun* quickly gained readership in the College Hill neighborhood. Other writers on Tate were inspired to produce their own pamphlets throughout the seventies. With the support of local businesses, the industry would thrive. Aside from cheap printing at Kinko's, businesses such as like

---

[65] Ibid.
[66] Chuck Alston, "Magazine," *The Greensboro Substitute*, January 3, 1982.
[67] Bruce Piephoff, "Why You Live To Fly," *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.

The Hong Kong House and The Belstone Fox helped to keep Tate's publications operating by buying ad space in magazines. Magazines, in turn, kept readers up to date on upcoming shows and events along Tate.[68] The new, locally centered press helped to invigorate Tate projects. Steve Hayner, who owned Friday's Bar, never paid for advertising "I never made enough to pay for advertising."[69] Nonetheless, local magazines printed show dates and spread the word about Fridays to the surrounding population.[70] The symbiosis between the alternative press on Tate and the businesses strengthened the community. By perpetuating an internal economy, Tate's business and press guaranteed a thriving alternative culture.

The relative success of the subversive press is indicative of the unified culture along Tate. An atmosphere of support on Tate for the counterculture helped to define a generation of Tate's acolytes. In his "Can't Forget the Motor City," Michael Kramer details the relationship between a place, Detroit, and a Magazine, *Creem*. Kramer suggests that *Creem's* purpose was to illuminate the link between consumer culture and rock and roll, stating, "The magazine attempted to develop a critique of the counterculture in which it participated, while refusing to give up on that counterculture's utopian dream of transforming Cold War America into a more just, vital, meaningful, and fun society."[71] While *Creem's* goals were lofty and based on consumer culture, the press on Tate attempted similar projects, offering manifestos and critiques of culture on Tate and placing it within a cultural context of America as a

---

[68] Chuck Alston, "Ad for Across The Street," *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.
[69] Steve Hayner, interview by Ian Pasquini, Phone Interview, Tampa Bay, January 12, 2015.
[70] Alston, "Magazine," 36.
[71] Michael J. Kramer, "'Can't Forget the Motor City': Creem Magazine, Rock Music, Detroit Identity, Mass Consumerism, and the Counterculture," *Michigan Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (October 1, 2002): 44, doi:10.2307/20173983.

whole.[72] As the hangover from the Hippie movement ended and the Vietnam War came to a close, Tate's press offered a launching point for the Punk movement in Greensboro in the late 1970s.

As Tate's culture solidified, Tate's writers made their way into UNCG's publications. These individuals began producing material for Pine Needles, the UNCG yearbook. Works of art by Chuck Alston as well as Tate's other artists, student and non-student, graced the yearbook. In 1980 Ed Shepherd, a UNCG student and member of The Village Pistols, one of the most popular Punk acts to ever emerge from Tate Street, served as editor of Pine Needles.[73] As Tate's potency as a cultural space grew UNCG acted as a boon to the scene on Tate Street, leaning on Tate's acolytes for its publications.

By 1975, the environment on Tate nurtured experimentation. Musicians were filling the venues on Tate Street such as Aliza's Café and The Belstone Fox. Local press developed the caricature of Tate's arts scene, leveraging unique, often subversive modes of performance to characterize a scene of open cultural exchange. Magazines like *Southern Fried Turnip Greens* welcomed local artists (musicians, painters, poets, and writers) to comment on corporate and political entities using poetry and cartooning. In one piece, "Electrical Fascism," David Britt and Don Morgan used a surrealist description of a dream to critique Duke Energy.[74] Musicians, artists, and writers used the press as a platform for their art, distributing their pieces on Tate Street. The street

---

[72] Steve McClean, "The Unseen Enemy," *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.
[73] Shepherd, interview; "Pine Needles [1980] :: University Yearbook Collection," accessed February 5, 2015, http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/PineNeedles/id/2044/rec/6; Danielsan Schmelzer, "Sieben Zoll Musik: GUEST COLUMN The Village Pistols -- Big Money 7"," *Sieben Zoll Musik*, October 12, 2013, http://siebenzollmusik.blogspot.com/2013/12/guest-column-village-pistols-big-money-7.html.
[74] David Britt and Don Morgan, "Electrical Fascism," *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, 1979.

itself was a venue for experimentation. Street theater and artistic experimentation were part of the norm. Classic modes of performance were broken down and re-written in a supportive environment.

Tate would play host to parades and performances; these cultural exchanges accounted for Tate's success and the current memory. More and more, the scene relied on a system of performance; Chuck and Tate's other acolytes pushed the aesthetics, helping to spread experimental art. The Avant-Garde became the preferred mode of performance. Experimental performance gained traction – Rex Griffin characterized a Plankton Playhouse performance at Aliza's Café in 1975 "They were doing a show called 'The Green Wrapper' and it involved a lot of green wrapping paper. It was real bad, but I looked around and said, this is for me." "We learned all of the rules so that we could break them"[75] said Gil of F-Art, his Avant-Garde performance group. Molly Fox recalled an F-Art performance of *The Assassination of Julius Caesar* which culminated in the destruction of a piano on stage.[76] The atmosphere on Tate went on to attract well-known Avant-Garde performers like Glen Phillips and Eugene Chadbourne who eventually made his home on Tate. Chadbourne's group "Shockabilly" co-opted local musicians and went on to influence other major acts into the eighties and nineties.

Other well known cultural artifacts such as Happenings made their way to Tate Street. Chuck was at the forefront of this movement; in the style of famous 1960s artists such as Allan Kaprow and Robert Whitman, Chuck organized participatory theatrical events known as "happenings." Happenings represented a further destruction of traditional audience performance relationships. Though Michael Kirby's *Happenings*

[75] Fray, interview.
[76] Fox, interview.

and Other Acts compares it to theater, he admits that it is dissimilar from traditional theatrical performance by including audience participation and distancing itself from traditional elements of theater like cause and effect narrative and isolated scenes.[77] These events included as many as sixty participants and included acolytes, outsiders, and the venues of Tate. One such event took the audience through school – from primary to graduate school. Audience members moved through "scenes" representing parts of school: "We took you through school, and we had classes like 'advanced probability' and 'panhandling' and eventually we made you get a job. It all ended at Friday's with a Rock show."[78] With the Audience reaction and interaction making up the bulk of the event, these happenings were another departure from traditional performance roles.

Chuck would even host his own venue off Tate. The Factory, his venue, was representative of the culture on and off Tate, inviting both denizens and performers. He invited musicians to play at the factory such as The Othermothers and Treva Spontaine. Chuck's factory was both gallery and gathering space. He held a number of his Happenings in the factory; however, this venue was a boon, rather than a fixture among Tate's acolytes. While it gained popularity among Tate's patrons, the venue was not legal. It lacked the permits to host shows in Greensboro and the police eventually saw to its closure. The venue's end coincided with a fire caused by the street people that commonly sought shelter within its walls.[79]

The legacy of The Factory, however, carried on at other venues on Tate Street. Chuck and his friends painted murals for local venues such as The Belstone Fox and

---

[77] Mariellen Sandford, ed., *Happenings and Other Acts* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995).
[78] Alston, interview.
[79] Ibid.

Aliza's café and organized further happenings at venues on Tate. Community members advertised their shows on every exposed surface on Tate, essentially turning it into a gallery. The un-policed and communal gallery space of Tate Street helped to turn the streetscape into a venue for performance. "Tate Street was completely covered in posters" remembered Ed Shepherd "it was like Rome in election season."[80] The artists associated with Tate's scene were constantly churning out art for different bands, some inspiring and some offbeat, but the art sought to promote local musicians. Chuck was also closely involved in this process. Characters he invented in magazines made appearances in posters.[81] He was also involved in organizing shows. By the arrival of the Punk Movement on Tate Street, he teamed up with local promoters to host the first Punk shows at his factory and eventually at the Janus Wings Theater and Friday's club.[82]

[80] Shepherd, interview.
[81] Chuck Alston, *Suzie Q and Also Aswell presentTruehearts & the Alibis*, Poster, December 9, 1979.
[82] Ibid.; Chuck Alston, "Haloween Dance at the Hong Kong Cafe," October 31st.

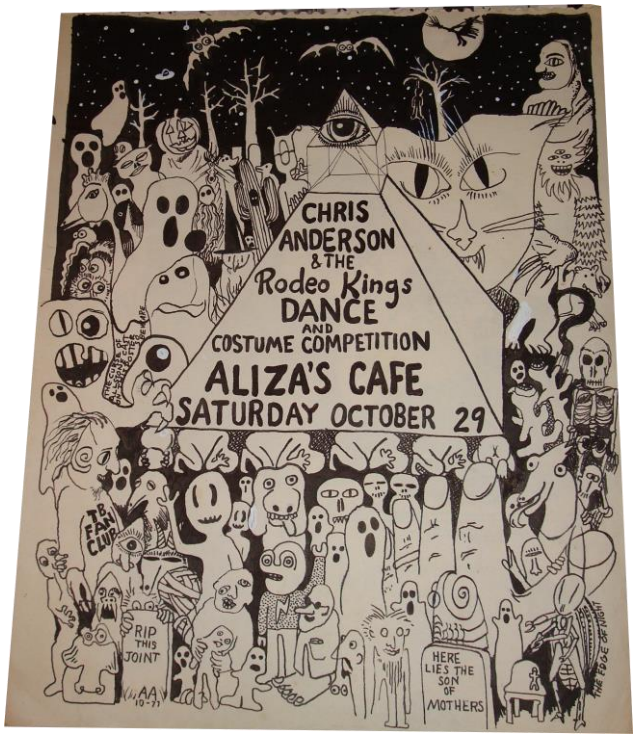

Figure 3: Dance Competition at Aliza's Café Chuck Alston

Further bending the rules of performance, members of the Tate Street scene, led by Chuck, would go on to form The Cosmic Ray Deflection Society of North America Inc [CRDS.] CRDS was both a public awareness and art project. The group was pushing for awareness of Cosmic Rays, an interstellar phenomenon whereby stray particles from outer space interact with the Earth's atmosphere. According to the CRDS website, Cosmic Rays display a level of intelligence and affect human beings in an "enigmatic manner."[83] CRDS went on to postulate that certain forms of clothing were effective in limiting the effects of Cosmic Rays on human beings.

The story of this group is representative of Tate Street. While CRDS did not operate as a solely scientific community (some contend that CRDS represents little

[83] "THE COSMIC RAY DEFLECTION SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA," October 26, 2009, http://web.archive.org/web/20091026233715/http://geocities.com/SunsetStrip/1483/.

more than a pseudo scientific "tin foil hat community")[84] it was successful and representative of Tate's community. CRDS' absurdist art and countercultural tendencies were successful, drawing in Tate's patrons and inspiring chapters across the United States.[85] CRDS' colorful and outlandish costumes, as well as their over the top antics, served to invigorate interest in their community. An interview in Omni Magazine reveals that CRDS' core principles include Art, Culture, and Environmental awareness.[86]

A pseudoscientific artistic organization such as CRDS is difficult to cultivate. The ideas were not mainstream in any way, focusing on the use of reclaimed materials and free artistic expression. Tate's acolytes, however, embraced the group. CRDS inspired local band Plan Nine as well Eugene Chadbourne to write songs about its projects. The effect on the community, however, grew considerably when Harrod Blank, noted documentarian, featured a Cosmic Ray Deflection Vehicle in his Art Car film, Wild Wheels.[87] The interest generated by CRDS is representative of the outsider culture on Tate as well as the growing movement towards political issues like environmentalism. CRDS is representative of Tate Street, the group displays many unique facets of Tate's community such as a penchant for experimentation and a focus on community projects. Artists and environmentalists still recognize CRDS for their use of recycled materials in their art as well as their community participation.

---

[84] "Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Cosmic Ray Deflection Society," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, October 19, 2005, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:Articles_for_deletion/Cosmic_ray_deflection_society&oldid=25873674. Accesssed 2, 10, 2015

[85] "THE COSMIC RAY DEFLECTION SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA."

[86] AP, "Group Ready for Cosmic Rays," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, May 14, 1985, sec. B.

[87] Harrod Blank, *Wild Wheels* (Harrod Blank Creations, 2005).

By attracting more young men to Tate Street, UNCG's growth helped fuel the expansion of Tate Street. At the same time, the arrival of sixties culture in Greensboro was promoting rapid changes in interaction on Tate. Just as the counter-culture began to infiltrate Tate Street, the arrival of Chuck Alston fostered the changes as both an acolyte and a business owner, operating magazines as well as participating in the scene. The emergence of iconic sixties cultural phenomena such as happenings and experimental art coincided with an increase in local press on the street. The development of the subversive press helped propel experimentation on Tate. As writers and artists experimented, the press helped to link them to venues. The symbiosis of these groups and activities helped make Tate the site of alternative culture in Greensboro from the 1960s to the 1990s.

CHAPTER 3: A TASTE OF HOME

September 2014, sunny afternoon. Amelia Leung welcomed me into the house with a smile and a hug. "We don't normally use the front door. Bad Feng-Shui." She turned and brought me to sitting room connected to her kitchen. Her home is cozy – designed to encourage conversation. She made tea as we exchanged pleasantries; she asked about my project and about what I expected from her interview but she seemed more interested in me as a person than as a student. It took very little effort to get comfortable in her home. She told me to set up in front of the Great Wall, a huge painting hanging over small sofa. She was neither shy nor proud, but her story was great and took a long time. I sought an hour of footage but her infectious personality and depth of narrative kept me for four.

Amelia has traveled around the world. Born in a small province in South East China, she moved to Hong Kong at a young age and lived with fifteen relatives in a home with no bathroom. Her mother taught her to cook and how to take care of her family. In the early sixties, Amelia moved to England. She attended nursing school and after five years earned her certificate as a Registered Nurse. During this period, she witnessed massive cultural changes. She watched as England's period of global prevalence waned, as its overseas empire faded, and as the sun finally set on the British Empire. She saw a rough, post-World War II era, which eventually morphed into a

youth-oriented liberal cultural scene. Another three years passed before Amelia would migrate to Canada near Toronto and then, in 1970, to Greensboro where her future husband's family laid roots.

Amelia's father in law, Peter Jones, owned the first Chinese restaurant in Greensboro, The Lotus Restaurant on Greene Street.[88] After moving to Greensboro, Amelia planned to continue her career as a nurse. Her path, however, was not set in nursing. Soon after obtaining her certification to work as a nurse in North Carolina, her husband purchased 330 Tate Street.

330 Tate Street had housed several different restaurants. Mark Israel, founder of the Doughnut Plant in Chelsea Market, NY, built on the recipes which his grandfather, Herman Israel, developed at the College Pastry Shop at 330 Tate, to start a successful business: "You could smell the bakery all up and down the street" recalled Jerry Harrelson, Tate Street native: "sometimes we would head up there and they'd give us free doughnuts."[89] The space was already set to be important in the community. Harrelson noted that as the College Pastry shop gained popularity, it became an important hangout for students, residents, and workers in the College Hill neighborhood.

In 1960, after the College Pastry Shop closed, the Apple brothers established a restaurant at 330 Tate. The Apple House was a successful eatery but their space was also representative of changing cultural conditions during the 1960s. Greensboro's entanglement with the Civil-Rights Movement emphasizes the Sit-Ins. In February 1960 Black students from NCA&T, less than three miles from Tate Street, sat at the "Whites

[88] Harrelson, interview, 28.
[89] Harrelson, interview.

only" lunch counter at Woolworths on Elm Street. Their actions brought attention to the inequity of American society and inspired a national sit-in movement that reinvigorated the Civil Rights Movements with its youthful creativity and energy. Today, people remember that the sit-ins helped define the Civil Rights Movement.[90] While the sit-ins were going on downtown, Tate Street experienced a civil rights reckoning.

The Apple House, and accompanying Apple Cellar, was a popular college hangout. The Apple House, however, was not a socially progressive establishment and was not integrated. In 1962 and 1963, student activists from UNCG and NCA&T along with UNCG's chancellor Otis Singltary protested and petitioned The Apple Brothers and The Town and Country Theater (which would later become the Janus Wings Theater).[91] With the petition came protests along Tate. It took several months, but thanks to the protests and the support of the College Hill community, the Apple brothers conceded and desegregated.[92]

Still, the changing culture of the 1960s represented a challenge to the Apple Brothers. The Apple House also had a basement space known as The Apple Cellar, a college bar and one of the known hangouts of the Spoons gang, a well-known criminal organization in Greensboro.[93] According to Chuck Alston, the changing cultural conditions on Tate Street, notably the arrival of hippies, caused friction between the

---

[90] Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*.
[91] Katherine Taylor, "Confrence with Mr. Apple of the Do-Nut Dinette," March 13, 1963, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections, UNCG Libraries, http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/CivilRights/id/2191/rec/1.
[92] David Gwynn, "Race Relations at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro," *Civil Rights Greensboro*, n.d., http://library.uncg.edu/dp/crg/topicalessays/racereluncg.aspx.
[93] Harrelson, interview; Alston, interview.

Tate Street community and the Apple Brothers.[94] "The Apple Brothers couldn't get along with the hippies so we bought the place" said Amelia.[95]

Regardless of the causes, Amelia's husband saw the potential of the location: college students, traffic, and a vibrant cultural scene. 330 Tate had already established itself as a center of community, as an important venue, with a unique history. The Apple brothers chose to sell the location and in 1971 the Hong Kong House opened at 330 Tate.

Amelia elected to take on responsibility as head chef at the Hong Kong House and shelved her newly acquired nursing certificate in North Carolina. The Leungs embarked on a twenty-eight-year campaign, bringing food and fostering community along Tate Street. "We got to know the people on the street… It was a great melting pot, a great cultural experience for the kids."[96] Amelia claims that 1960s culture in England influenced her relationship with Tate Street. Her experiences met with her own generosity and helped to foster a unique community.

"Amelia was like a mother"[97] says Dave Doyle, one-time resident of College Hill and still a member of The F-Art Ensemble. Dave's love for Amelia is evident in his tone and expression when he brings up Amelia. "Initially, the Hong Kong House was a very special place to me. Amelia was tireless in her positive energy for the scene of Tate Street." Gil Fray, front man of F-Art, gives evidence of the depth of Amelia's involvement in the community: "We all hung out here, it was very colorful. At the Hong Kong, Amelia and her husband were so generous… All the people who worked

[94] Alston, interview.
[95] Leung, interview.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Doyle, interview.

there were, more or less, gigging musicians… Whenever we would play she would say 'you have to have a meal… at least you'll get something to eat so you don't starve."[98]

Support for the local scene was part of Amelia's life: "I have a great respect for artists. One of my husband's side [relatives] is an artist and it is hard to make money. People are really dedicated. People never get money in return. I can cook; at least you get a meal out of that. I make a free meal and sometimes they do great, sometimes they don't do good. At least they had a place to share their music." [99] Amelia stands by the power of food to bring people together: "Food is like expression of love. When you have people eating together, it is probably best thing… If you are hungry, there is always food around!"[100]

The Hong Kong House intersected with every facet of the culture on Tate Street. The venue itself hosted the people of Tate and the people within helped to craft Tate. The restaurant operated between 1971 and 1999. There, Amelia managed to raise a family. She fed the community and welcomed everyone who came through her doors. Local artists designed menus, musicians played in the basement, and students worked in the kitchen. Professors and students dined within the walls, poets and street-people took in Amelia's recipes, and Amelia's children served the food and cleaned the tables. As a venue, Hong Kong House hosted representatives of every sector of society present on Tate Street.

---

[98] Fray, interview.
[99] Leung, interview.
[100] Amelia's adherence to this tenant is present even today. Aside from the best cup of tea I have had in my entire life, Amelia made hard boiled eggs, pastries, and offered cookies while I was sitting with her.

Figure 4: Late Night HKH Menu Chuck Alston

Amelia's take on the street runs counter in some way to the popular narrative of Tate. While she was aware of alcohol use on Tate, she was unaware of the drugs present along Tate, "I sometimes smell marijuana, but nothing serious."[101] Regardless of what was going on along the street, she chose to support the local community. Amelia's position on Tate influenced her experiences and memories of the scene. Drugs did not circulate in the Hong Kong House out of respect for Amelia. Her view serves to texture the memory of Tate Street as a social and cultural space. She remembers many of the important people and places along Tate; however, her relationship with the personalities and culture on Tate reflect a position of authority and even motherhood. However she remembers Tate, one cannot deny the centrality of her venue or the importance of her presence.

[101] Leung, interview.

Family is one of the things that make the Leung's unique – Her children grew up on the Tate, roaming freely between the Hong Kong House, New York Pizza, Mr. Rosewaters, and the Galaxy Arcade.[102] They worked in the restaurant, making them proud members of the community. "That is the best way to raise children," says Amelia. Others remember the children creating a welcoming atmosphere for patrons. In many ways, Amelia adopted the college students and artists along Tate. She protected and supported them and they returned her affection.

A few years after The Hong Kong House opened, one of the employees at Friday's restaurant, Larry Jacobs, approached Amelia. Larry sought work for his girlfriend, Aliza Gottlieb. Aliza took a job as a chef and developed a close relationship with Amelia. Aliza and Larry had traveled all around the country and lived in New York before coming to Greensboro. After a shorttime, Aliza and Larry concocted a scheme to use the basement space at the Hong Kong House as a coffee house. Amelia agreed to a 50/50 profit split and Aliza's Café opened in the basement of the Hong Kong House. Within a few months they were selling yogurt and pastries. Within a year Aliza's café was hosting live music on Tate Street.

Aliza's Café offered the perfect atmosphere for a burgeoning arts and music scene. Much like CBGBs in New York, Aliza's became a building block for the culture. Due to its popularity, other venues opened nearby to service the artists and musicians in the area. Because Amelia was not reliant on the income of the venue and because Aliza's also offered food during the day, it was easy for musicians to book gigs. Nobody expected to make a lot of money so anyone could play there.[103] The cover

[102] Ibid.
[103] McClamrock and Spencer, interview.

charge was initially one dollar per head. With time, the cover charge increased, but always remained affordable for Tate's acolytes. Karen McClamrock, who collected the cover charge Aliza's and cooked with Amelia, described the community: "a few of the regulars refused to pay the cover charge, but I was pretty good at weeding payment out of people."[104] The familiarity among Tate's denizens helped solidify Amelia and Aliza's place in the community.

Many elements dictate the importance of a venue. Location, of course, is one of the most important. Based below the Hong Kong house, the café was guaranteed foot traffic because of the restaurant's popularity. The college crowd as well as the College Hill community supported the café and the Hong Kong House, but other factors make The Café a unique venue. The aesthetic of the basement helped to define the area. Chuck Alston has a massive collection of sketches from Tate's venues. The unique features of the café stand out in his drawings: note the exposed pipe in the middle of the stage and the proximity of the crowd. The unique flavor of this establishment kept it open for over twenty years.

After a few years of operation, Aliza and Larry moved on to open their own coffee house, The Sunset Café, on Spring Garden Street. Amelia kept the basement venue open for many years under other monikers including The Downstairs Café, The Hong Kong Café, and The Nightshade Café.[105]

---

[104] Ibid.

[105] Alston, "Haloween Dance at the Hong Kong Cafe"; Chuck Alston, "Shockabilly and The Stick Men at The Niteshade (Nightshade)," August 21, 1983.

Figure 5: Sentinel Boys at Aliza's Chuck Alston

Stories abound about the importance of the basement to Tate Street's Music scene. Musicians spent many nights in Aliza's and the Nightshade. Chuck Alston recalls many occasions in which local rock legends, the Sentinel Boys, played in the Nightshade Café. Eugene Chadbourn, internationally famous Avant Garde madman also frequented the Nightshade. F-Art, a prominent local experimental group also held many exhibitions in Aliza's. Aliza's, for all of its shows, remained a local hangout. While Friday's, a restaurant across the street, would eventually draw internationally famous Punk and rock acts to the shores of Tate Street, Amelia and Aliza supported mainly local musicians. Even those from all around North Carolina, like the young Dexter Romwebber of Chapel Hill. "I didn't care about his age, he wanted to get into the bar

and I figured that was how you get experience," laughed Siler. "Who cares that Dex was 14?"[106]

Aliza's hosted many important local acts. While one would assume that the events of national significance take precedent in the memory of any area, Tate Street collectively remembers the local and constant groups like The Village Pistols, Broken Crayons, Tornado, and F-Art. Because metrics like national notoriety and record sales do not dictate memory, it is difficult to say which was the most important group to play at Aliza's; however, the Sentinel Boys emerge as a community favorite in interviews. The Sentinel Boys included between five and seven members depending on the night. The core was Scott Mandring, but others filtered in. David Licht, known for his work with Shockabilly and more recently the internationally recognized klezmer band, The Klezmatics, manned the drums. Al Clinton played congas and other hand percussion while Bobby Kelly played bass. Bruce Swane played sax. This group experimented with some of the most potent Rock from the seventies. Incorporating elements of funk, fusion, jazz, rock, surf, and avant-garde, the group played a few times a month on Tate Street. "My favorite, of all time, were The Sentinel Boys. They played Saturday nights" remembers Rex Griffin.[107]

All of the musicians involved in the Sentinel Boys cut their teeth within the walls of Aliza's Café. Many of the Sentinel Boys would go on to solo careers or play in nationally influential bands. The influence of this group solidified the Tate Street community in several ways. First, their residency at Aliza's helped to cement the location as a hotspot of music in Greensboro. Members of the band commonly played in

[106] Siler, interview.
[107] Griffin, interview.

other groups as well. Scott Sawyer sat in with The Swingin' Lobsters, Scott Mandring started several important bands, and Licht played seemingly nightly on Tate Street.

While bands like The Sentinal Boys made their own sound, Rex Griffin suggests a southern inspiration for their style: "They were based on Little Feat I guess."[108] While Greensboro is a southern city, Tate Street was somewhat resistant to the label of southern space. Many of the important figures in the scene were not southerners. Amelia epitomized the multi-cultural organization of Tate with her Chinese heritage and her history with other countries like England and Canada. Others of non-southern heritage changed the face of Tate. Herman Israel, owner of the College Pastry Shop, was from Minnesota. He brought with him influences from the First World War in which he served with the U.S. Army Bakery Company.[109] Aliza and Larry were also travelers and their stay in New York helped to inspire them to open the Café and host live music.[110] The varied nature of Tate's patronage helped to define the place. Rather than representing a microcosm of the South, it instead fostered a unique culture.

In the seventies, the inclusive nature of Tate Street ran counter to the national narrative of southern culture. Tate Street, rather than embracing an exclusionary social structure, encouraged experimentation: "Tate Street was our post-grad program for experimentation" interjected Gil Fray. "I turned up on Tate Street after dropping out of my master's studies at Chapel Hill. Tate's community was very supportive of our experimental ventures."[111]

---

[108] Ibid.
[109] Mark Israel, "Doughnut Plant History" (Doughnut Plant, 2014), www.doughnutplant.com/history.
[110] Leung, interview.
[111] Fray, interview.

Other culturally important college towns, such as Athens, Georgia, showed similar characteristics in the 1980s. Athens hosted a thriving gay scene and supported the emergence of important acts such as The B-52s, R.E.M., and Pylon. One of Tate Street's alumni, Dexter Romwebber, also moved to Athens in the 1980s and created the influential blues-garage-Punk act The Flat Duo Jets, cited by The White Stripes' Jack White as an essential inspiration. In *Party Out of Bounds*, Rodger Brown describes Athens as isolated and desolate, describing how many left town on the weekends to go to Atlanta before the scene erupted in Athens. The sense of isolation was also present in Greensboro: "Nobody went downtown after dark, everything closed at 5 p.m. I think that Tate Street was the only place for young people to go out and have a good time in town in the seventies."[112] John Pasquini, a musician and UNCG graduate, even suggested that downtown Greensboro was dangerous after dark.

Amelia and Aliza were ahead of the curve in almost every societal metric. While other restaurants in the area were serving up grilled sandwiches, Amelia was conjuring a diverse and unique brand of food: "We had BEST hamburger!"[113] The Guitar Shop Burger, inspired by Keith Roscoe, owner of The Guitar Shop in the loft of the Hong Kong House, held a variety of toppings, but Amelia was going beyond the greasy burger desires of local musicians; Amelia even delved into healthy food before much of the nation caught on. Vegetarian options were some of her most popular: "People always asked for this stuff… I was the first Chinese restaurant in Greensboro using brown rice, no MSG, macrobiotic food, we had a juice bar, we had hot and sour soup." Amelia's unique blend of American and Asian cuisine helped make her an important

[112] John Pasquini, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.
[113] Leung, interview.

figure along Tate, but her business required more than a good word from those along Tate Street.

As Amelia gained the support of the community, she found that she could get help from the locals to operate the restaurant: "Holding that old building up was not an easy job... A lot of people who build would come by." Locals, realizing the possibilities in Aliza's Café, chose to build the stage and fix up the basement for the cost of materials.[114] Amelia recounted several local musicians and artists assisting with the labor. Even noted singer/songwriter Bruce Piephoff: "Bruce used to carry trash for me for a meal. Got something to do? Can we trade?"[115] Support like this offered musicians a livelihood as well as cemented the Hong Kong House's place in Tate's community.

Even while everyone on Tate Street understood the value of the Hong Kong House, its location held other treasures of the street. Local musician and craftsman Keith Roscoe operated his guitar shop and sales shop out of the loft above the Hong Kong House. Roscoe helped, in many ways, to form the community on Tate Street. He was a guitar player and had his own groups on Tate, but he also brought many others to Tate Street through other avenues.

Roscoe opened his shop as a retail establishment, selling mass produced guitars to anyone who walked through the door. Over time, Keith gained notoriety as a handyman: "Keith Roscoe could fix anything; he was just that type of guy. He fixed all types of electronics out of the back of the Guitar Shop." According to Cliff Greeson, drummer for Tornado (as well as many others on Tate) expressed a debt of gratitude to Roscoe for bringing him to Tate "Roscoe called me for a gig at Aliza's so I came out. I

[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

realized, Tate gigs were just the thing to do."[116] Roscoe was doing more than just bringing musicians to Tate, he was playing music on the street and creating a new generation of musicians through his business. Randall McCorquodale, a member of the Othermothers, a Punk outfit of Greensboro and Boone musicians who frequented Fridays and The Hong Kong House, recalls buying his first guitar at Roscoe's shop "I wanted an electric guitar and my dad drove me directly to Tate Street to Roscoe's Guitar Shop. There was this black guy playing a guitar turned up to 10 playin' leads like I'd never heard before. We met Keith and he found me an Ibanez '59 copy."[117]

Thanks in large part to Amelia's contributions to the community; Tate Street emerged as a cultural center in the 1970s. Her venue served many different purposes – from meeting space, to guitar shop, to music venue, to restaurant. Everyone had some interaction with Amelia, within her venue; the aesthetic that would define Tate matured and grew in artistic influence. The Hong Kong House, however, did not stand alone. Other places along the street served to enhance the community – artistically and commercially. While 330 Tate helped to illuminate some of the unique elements of the street, other places were more dangerous. Violence was an occasional problem along Tate, but Amelia managed to avoid these issues altogether. Amelia's contributions to Tate Street's scene helped to pave the way for later business owners. The community, which she helped to build, would continue to grow and shift with national cultural changes while retaining its experimental character.

---

[116] Cliff Greeson, interview by Ian Pasquini, Tape Interview. Greensboro, July 17, 2014.
[117] McCorquodale and Cowett, interview.

CHAPTER 4: THE NEW WAVE

Friday's Club represents the most prolific era in Tate's development. Its emergence coincides with the shift from Hard Rock and Jazz which were so successful at Aliza's Café to the New Wave and Punk music that would ultimately characterize the late seventies and Early Eighties. Steve Hayner, Friday's eventual owner, helped make it the center of Tate's community between 1976 and 1984. In these years, Friday's' reputation grew from that of a simple lunch counter to venue and host of national and local music acts. Following a course somewhat similar to Aliza's café, Friday's emerged as a crowd favorite and one of the most influential venues on Tate Street. Friday's supported the socially relevant music of the early 1980s.

In 1967, Russell Cox opened Mel's Sandwich Shop at 411 Tate Street.[118] On the opposite bank of Tate from The Hong Kong House, Mel's was unassuming. Serving sandwiches and beer, Mel's continued a Tate Street tradition, competing with The Corner and The Hong Kong house for the college lunch crowd during weekdays. In 1976 Rowley Hayner took over Mel's Sandwich Shop.[119] Rowley continued the business model of Mel's with some minor changes. Friday's, as Rowley dubbed the joint, developed a solid following. During the week Friday's sold sandwiches, pizza, and beer to Tate's acolytes. On the weekends, however, most UNCG students traveled, leaving

[118] Leung, interview.
[119] Hayner, interview.

empty tables in Friday's.[120] Seeking weekend success, Rowley hired local bands to events at Friday's. The Alibis, Trueheart, and Tornado immediately brought their followings there, initiating a new trend for Tate Street by shifting some of the focus from The Nightshade Café [previously Aliza's] and attracting a new generation of Tate's patrons through the doors.

In 1976, Rowley's brother, Steve Hayner, was attending shows rather than hosting them. Steve's experience with venues began in the clubs of New York City. As New Wave and Punk music developed, Steve regularly attended the most infamous venues in Rock history – CBGB, Max's Kansas City, and The Copacabana – to see some of the most potent music of the 1970s. He saw Patti Smith at CBGB, watched as Gang of Four and The B-52s incited dance riots, and listened as The Ramones delivered the blueprint for Punk. Steve attended countless shows and developed a love for New Wave and Punk. Throughout his tenure in New York City, Steve soaked in a culture that would dominate rock clubs throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s.

While Punk and New Wave music were expanding in national popularity, Tate Street marked the perfect home for these forms in Greensboro. The two movements are not necessarily the same, but Punk and New Wave shared some features. The Punk aesthetic was prevalent in New Wave movement. Punks and New Wavers traded in the tie-dye regalia of the hippies and flamboyant façade of hard rock super groups in exchange for jeans, t-shirts, and leather jackets and outlandish costume pieces mocking of mainstream culture.[121] Punks and New Wavers also shared musicians – many played

[120] Ibid.; Shepherd, interview.
[121] Perry Grossman, "Identity Crisis: The Dialectics of Rock, Punk, and Grunge," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 41 (January 1, 1996): 19–40. 21

in multiple groups or altogether changed their sound to fit into the other category.[122] Punk was defined by groups like The Ramones, whose club debut in 1974 and subsequent album releases helped to initiate a new, stripped down form of Rock n' Roll. Punk would also give birth to Hardcore groups like Black Flag and The Circle Jerks. The DIY ("do it yourself") ethos as well as the outsider mentality of Punk musicians struck a chord with many young people along Tate during the late seventies. Punk and New Wave also shared distaste for mainstream culture. Early Punk bands like The Sex Pistols and The Ramones lashed out at nationalistic imagery and consumerist ideology while DEVO, a seminal New Wave band, used mechanical movements and musical arrangement to, in the words of one sociologist, "ridicule the alienating mechanisms and social conditioning of America's dominant ideological system."[123]

As Friday's began to gain popularity, Rowley saw the intersection of Friday's music and Steve's interests. He invited Steve to come to Friday's to be a part of Tate Street's burgeoning scene in 1979. It was a decision that changed the face of Tate Street. "I got a message that the New Wavers had moved to North Carolina, and the popular band was The Alibis and it just took off."[124] Groups known for performing at other Tate venues eventually moved into Friday's. Owing to Steve Hayner, Tate's community, and the growing Punk and New Wave movements, Friday's fit the cultural circumstances of the late 1970s and early 1980s and built on Tate's existing scene.

---

[122] Michael Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991*, 1 edition (New York, N.Y.: Back Bay Books, 2002).
[123] Theo Cateforis, "Performing the Avant-Garde Groove: Devo and the Whiteness of the New Wave," *American Music* 22, no. 4 (December 1, 2004): 564–88, doi:10.2307/3592993.
[124] Hayner, interview.

Neither the Hayners nor Friday's were wholly responsible for Friday's success as a venue. Tate's community, previously centered on UNCG and The Hong Kong House/Aliza's, was a key factor in Friday's success; this is evident from the similarities between the venues. Aliza's Café laid a blueprint for successful venues along Tate; community participation, diverse attendance, and obsessive dedication served to invite Tate's attendees through its doors. The Leungs and the Hayners both worked tirelessly to support the scene, spending their energy hosting Tate's community.[125] Musicians who had cut their teeth at Aliza's found a new home at Friday's – the atmosphere was welcoming to new rock groups as well as R&B and Pop groups throughout the period. Like The Hong Kong House, community involvement in operating Friday's proved crucial to its success: local musicians such as Rex Griffin worked as cooks in Friday's kitchen; Ivan Siler, Greensboro College student and radio DJ collected money at Friday's door; and local artists such as Chuck Alston and Marvin Veto made posters and promoted shows.[126] "We had a lot of Artists that would do posters for me, a lot of people came from an hour away – Kernersville [NC] and other places, they really liked it."[127] Due in part to the familiar setting as well as community involvement in the venue, Friday's quickly developed a local following.

Tate Street's cultural circumstances offered a perfect climate for artistic performance. The high density of young people made Tate ripe for the new music. UNCG and Greensboro College, like other four-year institutions, invited new students on a yearly basis. This meant that generational shifts in the College Hill neighborhoods happened rapidly. Just as the early wave of Tate Street acolytes, associated with Aliza's

[125] Ibid.; Leung, interview.
[126] Griffin, interview; Alston, interview; Siler, interview.
[127] Hayner, interview.

and The Hong Kong house, arrived and quickly developed their own scene, so too did the New Wavers. Friday's success came suddenly. Between 1976 and 1980, it shifted from a sandwich shop to one of the most popular bars and venues in Greensboro.[128] As the cultural circumstances changed in late 1979, Steve Hayner took ownership of Friday's and focused most of his attention on the musical side of the business.

One reason for the great success was Steve Hayner's welcoming nature: "He'd let pretty much anyone play" said Gil Fray, front man of the F-Art ensemble.[129] Following Amelia's example, Steve invited people from all genres of music and lifestyles to grace the stage at Friday's. One of the greatest strengths of Friday's was its diversity; Jazz groups as well as Punks performed, guaranteeing a great variety of music week to week. "That was one of the great things, people never knew if it would be New Wave, R&B, Raggae, Punk."[130] Friday's continued the tradition of other Tate venues by offering an inclusive environment (essential to the fostering of potent community spaces).[131] While Punk and New Wave groups were generally the major attraction, people from all of Greensboro's bands and from all walks of life attended Friday's for the great music. Steve would even offer housing to many out of town bands as well: "A lot of bands would stay with us since it was just me and my wife. When The Stimulators' van broke down, they stayed with us for two weeks!"[132] As Steve welcomed in new bands, the surrounding community helped to expand Friday's even further, welcoming bands and offering places to stay. When touring bands would come to Tate's record stores, Discount Records and The Record Exchange, employees would

---

[128] Ibid.
[129] Fray, interview.
[130] Hayner, interview.
[131] Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place*.
[132] Hayner, interview.

point the bands to Friday's. Dave Doyle remembers when The Butthole Surfers' van broke down: "Their van broke down, so I gave them all the money in the drawer for that day to fix the van. They stayed at my place and we had a big party because the Butthole Surfers were in town."[133]

Other community developments helped shape Friday's; local magazines like *The Greensboro Substitute* ran ads for Friday's, informing the community of upcoming shows. The growing crowd of music aficionados on Tate found Friday's selections enticing. Local flyers and magazines promoted Friday's shows without compensation. "I never could afford advertizing" said Steve, but because of Friday's importance to the community, local outlets such as magazines, flyers, and posters maintained coverage of the venue.[134] Chuck Alston's psychedelic art conglomerate, the Cosmic Ray Deflection Society of North America Inc. [CRDS] held a "TV party" within the walls of Friday's; "They had all kinds of TVs rigged up, all of them broken – white noise, somehow not working, and they were all blaring. It devolved into a rock show by the end of the night."[135] The community quickly co-opted Fridays into their culture, welcoming local bands to play there and using the place as another venue for street performance and an incubator for new styles.

As Punk and New Wave bands were starting to develop in Greensboro, Friday's offered its stage to Tate's performers. Nancy Foster saw firsthand the musical transition from Hard Rock to Punk and New Wave. "The first Punk band in Greensboro was The Flies, we saw them perform at a biker bar – the Red Hat – but they needed a new

[133] Doyle, interview.
[134] Hayner, interview.
[135] McClamrock and Spencer, interview.

place."[136] She watched as bands like The Flies, Hellhole, and Small Change transformed Greensboro's music scene – Small Change was winning open Battle of the Band competitions in downtown Greensboro in 1978.[137] Other bands were looking to find new places to play as well. Trueheart had been developing their sound since 1976. From rehearsing in the back of a local deli, Lox Stox and Bagel, to performing at Aliza's, Trueheart was searching for the perfect place to perform their music.[138]

While the first few shows at Aliza's were successful, the new generation of bands such as The Alabis and The Othermothers would not find success until playing Friday's regularly. Groups pined for a place to call their own. Chuck Alston promoted shows with Trueheart and The Alibis at The Janus Wings, and while this garnered attention, The Wings was primarily a movie theater.[139] Hellhole, another local Punk band, played The Belstone Fox in the late 1970s, but they met some resistance from the management as The Fox was more of a fine dining and jazz venue, attracting a different element of society than the Punks brought. The first Punk bands to play The Fox got in under false pretenses, failing to mention the nature of their music, instead surprising management with their obscene lyrics and loud music.[140] Punk groups also played in The Nightshade Café regularly. While local venues were supportive of young musicians, the Punks and New Wavers tended to cause more trouble than seemed reasonable. The antics of many bands would cause friction between the Punks and the rest of the Tate Street community.

---

[136] Nancy Foster, interview by Ian Pasquini, Phone Interview. Boston, July 13, 2014.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Siler, interview.
[139] Chuck Alston, *Suzie Q and Also Aswell presents Truehearts & the Alibis*, Poster, December 9, 1979.
[140] Doyle, interview.

"They break my toilet!"[141] cried Amelia at the first mention of the Othermothers, a Greensboro Punk outfit. Randall McCorquodale and Al Cowett, founding members of the Othermothers, grinned at the mention of Amelia's. They, even now, are proud of their escapades.[142] As young Punks, they had been a destructive force with which to reckon. Members of Punk bands snuck booze and vandalized property (including Amelia's toilets and the vehicles of other Punk bands.)[143] Other members of the community recognized the destructive nature of the new Punk movement. Chuck Alston exclaimed "Those guys from the Othermothers could break anything."[144] During the 1970s and 1980s, Chuck tried to welcome the Punks and the New Wavers into his factory, but the bands' destructive nature along with the legal circumstances of the factory preempted its success as a venue. In spite of the Punks penchant for destruction, owners and operators of Tate's venues continued to support the artists. Tate's patrons wanted more.

While early attempts to accommodate Punks and New Wavers drew crowds and opened Tate up to the new form, Punk and New Wave needed a home along Tate; Friday's would provide the venue for these developments. Friday's was not a large venue. It had space for less than fifty people and a tiny stage upon which more than three people struggled to comfortably perform.[145] Steve recognized this success and worked to maintain the atmosphere. The intimacy of the setting helped to enhance the potency of the venue. Locals were crammed in together, sharing pitchers of beer and swapping stories of recent shows or current art projects. Punk acts known for their

---

[141] Leung, interview.
[142] McCorquodale and Cowett, interview.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Alston, interview.
[145] Siler, interview.

energetic outbursts and violent interaction with audiences would find their way into the crowd, jumping off of the stage and landing on patrons and their tables. Nancy Foster remembers the wild dancing in Friday's – in a magazine article comparing the New York and Greensboro Punk scene's she stated "in New York, everyone stood still while the band played and danced to the jukebox. In Greensboro, at Friday's, people danced all the time."[146]

From day to day, the venue changed. One could see The F-Art Ensemble, carrying on their legacy of debauched musical experimentation, followed by local R&B legends Tornado the next night, only to have Black Flag or R.E.M. headline the weekend slot. Thanks to this diversity, Friday's remained packed. After becoming one of the most important venues for locals, Friday's gigs shifted the culture on Tate Street. According to Ed Shepherd of The Village Pistols and F-Art, the music scene surrounding Friday's took over the street "Everyone was in a band, posters were everywhere."[147] This was actually the inspiration for Ed Shepherd's band, The Village Pistols: "We just wanted to make concept art for a fake band and see if we could generate any buzz. The Village pistols were just an idea, a combination of the two most unlikely bands to share a bill – The Village People and The Sex Pistols."[148] Worldwide, Punk fans recognize The Village Pistols for their seven inch record, Big Money, circulates internationally. The group held their first show at Friday's "We weren't very good, we were just trying to piss people off -- The crowd really liked it."[149] The muddy recordings of their live shows at Friday's offer a portrait of the Tate Street scene; The

[146] Foster, interview.
[147] Shepherd, interview.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

Village Pistols were insulting and crude from their fake English accents to their absurdist costumes like dresses, masks, and pillowcase hats.[150] The Punk atmosphere as well as Steve's contributions helped to encourage The Village Pistols.

[151]

Figure 6: Village Pistols *Big Money* Ed Shepherd

Steve Hayner's dedication was another key component of Friday's success. Steve guaranteed money to each of the bands that played with mixed success, but the tactic did help to attract major acts from around the nation: "We'd always put up a guarantee and we got burned a lot, but it brought in bands."[152] Friday's was not always run efficiently, Steve was not an expert businessman, but a music lover and dedicated worker. Thanks to the income generated by the community during the day, Friday's was able to operate regardless of the financial success of the bands that graced the stage. The symbiosis between the community, the business and Friday's as a venue helped to

[150] *Village Pistols - Please Don't Touch (live October 1980 at Friday's in Greensboro)*, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPN2HV7vgOk&feature=youtube_gdata_player.
[151] Ed Shepherd, *Big Money*, Album Cover, 1981.
[152] Hayner, interview.

ensure its success as a cultural institution. The connections he developed, as well as the inclusive nature of his establishment, helped to foster an environment of artistic freedom and expression.

Friday's uniqueness depended partly on its ability to avoid the commodification so often associated with the music of the 1970s. In "The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the era of 'Mechanical Music,'" Timothy Taylor writes that music, and by extension art, is not inherently a commodity but a product.[153] Taylor uses Marx to show that music can expand from product, the music itself, to commodity by creating "surplus value," beyond that of the product itself, in effect becoming part of an economic model.[154] This is the model by which the music business expanded during the latter twentieth century, by adding in surplus value to music – branding of T-Shirts, the expansion of massive venues, and the rise of major record labels all serve as surplus economies whereby the product of musicians supports a larger economy. While Steve's success as a venue operator hinged on the bands that arrived, he was never financially successful as a performance space. Lunchtime operation as well as alcohol sales acted as a boon for the financial success of the business. Fridays remained a draw for outside groups, but operated less as a money making entity and more as a community project. "If I had any money to put back into the business, we could have been very successful."[155] Steve's isolation from the money making side of music helped Friday's to maintain open expression, never forcing the venue to welcome groups for the money they would generate, but instead welcoming bands for their art.

---

[153] Timothy D. Taylor, "The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of 'Mechanical Music,'" *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 281–305. p 283
[154] Ibid.
[155] Hayner, interview.

Steve's reputation for generous guarantees spread around the nation and bands from across the country played the stage. While he was successfully promoting local shows, some groups from out of town began to have gigs at Friday's. "R.E.M. helped with that. They used to play our place, I don't know how my name got to Atlanta. Tim Grey that used to play with The Brains got our name out as well as Don Dixon."[156] While bands like The B-52s had successfully made the move from the famous Athens Georgia scene to the national spotlight in the 1970s, North Carolina was beginning to develop its own scene. In fact, Friday's success had fallen perfectly in line with New Wave's incursion into North Carolina.

Don Dixon, to whom Steve Hayner attributed Friday's Success, played in a popular Rock Band, Arrogance, who cut several major LPs.[157] Arrogance would play Friday's on several occasions as Dog Breath.[158] Dixon's connection to important New Wave bands strengthened throughout the eighties as he worked with Mitch Easter. Let's Active, Easter's band, played Tate Street a number of times, but Easter's key contribution to music was the draw of his studio. In 1976, Easter opened The Drive-In Studio in Winston Salem. Easter's studio attracted up-and-coming acts such as R.E.M., Pylon, and Pavement through the 1980s.[159] The arrival of famous record producers and bands were an extension of the success of Friday's. Let's Active would play Friday's on several occasions, helping spread the word to other famous groups such as R.E.M.. who arrived in North Carolina to record with Mitch. Because Friday's developed

---

[156] Ibid.
[157] "Arrogance (5)," *Discogs*, accessed January 26, 2015, http://www.discogs.com/artist/2098976-Arrogance-5.
[158] Hayner, interview.
[159] Ronald Suny, "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 7 (December 2002): 1476–99.

connections with other important actors in the music scene of North Carolina, success came.

As word spread, Fridays took on some of the more significant shows throughout the early 1980s. Friday's played host to Hardcore Punk icons Black Flag on multiple occasions. According to Ivan Siler, who worked the door, the place was alive "Henry Rollins [frontman of Black Flag] was kicking pitchers and glasses off of tables and rolling around in the glass on the floor. It was a riot!"[160] Other famous groups like The Circle Jerks and The Brains were headlining shows at Friday's regularly. By the 1980s, Friday's was hosting the major acts of Punk and Hardcore music.

With the incursion of the Punk movement, Tate's community welcomed more black patrons. Thanks to Joe Strummer and Paul Simonon of Punk innovators The Clash, Reggae culture intersected with the Punk movement. Strummer experimented throughout the seventies with different reggae bands and these experiences affected the music he produced. Strummer's. Bands like The Bad Brains, a hardcore Punk/Reggae crossover act, would play at Friday's. Eventually, traditional Reggae bands would play at Friday's; the venue was essentially Greensboro's hub for all of the underground music and culture of the early 1980s. "A band called Sun Fire came and sang 'kill all the white people' while twenty white kids danced on the floor" said Rex Griffin."[161] The diversity of the music helped to keep the gigs fresh and maintain popularity in the venue.

Punk represents a revolutionary force, and the reggae bands operated in the same vein. Owing to its radical past, Tate was already primed for this revolutionary art

[160] Siler, interview.
[161] Griffin, interview.

form. Punk Bands welcomed in a form of individuality and invited amateurs to express themselves. Steve Hayner's philosophy on bands lent itself perfectly to this movement: "It's a release, music is fun, it really can be fun. They saw a lot of good raw talent. I don't like big concerts. The small night club atmosphere with raw talent is the best thing in the world… This was real people trying to do what they think was great."[162]

Tate's denizens used the space, made it theirs, and protected its borders. Bouncers were commonly community members, they guaranteed a safe and inclusive atmosphere, while personally making decisions which skirted the law such as letting in under-age patrons and denying entry to the police.[163] Friday's, however, avoided the reputation of violence held by many Punk clubs. Tate's acolytes policed themselves, actively forcing more dangerous elements of society out.[164]

Steve did not go out of his way to attract an element of society foreign to Tate, but instead sought to enhance and cultivate the existing community along Tate: "The 'soil' was there at Tate Street to grow the crop."[165] Due partially to Steve's lack of background in venues, this place remained, in a sense, pure. Friday's was an organic entity, changing with the time and acted as an extension of the community. Much as a tree grows in a forest, Friday's operated to house the cultural expansion of the area. Unfortunately, Friday's was not destined to be open forever. In 1983, after a seven year run, Friday's closed.

"A health inspector came in and stuck his finger in my chest and said 'you ain't never gonna get an 'A' in here.' I couldn't sell food with a 'B' rating on the wall, so we

[162] Hayner, interview.
[163] Siler, interview.
[164] Foster, "Trackmarks on His Heart."
[165] Hayner, interview.

had to close down."[166] The circumstances were unforeseen, but the end of the venue was a testament to the importance of the place. For the last show, R.E.M. played at Friday's. "R.E.M. closed us up, and that was great. They donated the door back to us [referring to the money collected as entry fee, normally paid to the band] and we used that money to get back to New York."[167] This is testament to the effect of Friday's on the community and North Carolina's music scene as well as the music scene in the early eighties in general. Nancy Foster said it best: "Nobody expected Friday's to end so quickly, we thought it would go on a lot longer."[168] The community attachment to Friday's is obvious and continues even today.

Friday's is still at the forefront of the public memory; it is astounding that over twenty-five years since its closing, the community surrounding Friday's still holds it in high esteem. The Friday's Reunion is still a major event in Greensboro. It is held at different venues around the city, none more famous that The Blind Tiger. People who attended Friday's during the run between 1979 and 1984 come together to remember the groups that played and the good times they shared within the walls of Friday's. The memorable nature of the experiences shared there are a testament to this place as a venue. Groups like The Village Pistols, Trueheart, F-Art, Dexter Romwebber, and Treeva Spontaine and The Graphics come back to play the event regularly, helping to foster memories of the venue.

Friday's marked the most prolific time in Tate Street's history, a time when many national acts as well as local acts shared the stage. It shared in the success generated by other previously thriving venues, and welcomed a changing musical

---

[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Foster, interview.

demographic. Friday's was never a thriving business; however, the community united at Friday's, making this venue a potent example of cultural exchange. Punk and New Wave would develop within its walls along side the Avant-Garde and R&B groups that previously dominated Tate Street. As Friday's era came to a close, other venues continued to carry on its tradition. Hot Tamales, a Mexican restaurant and venue opened shortly after Friday's closed.[169] Hot Tamales would go on to welcome Punk bands as well as the burgeoning metal scene throughout the late eighties with major names like GWAR continuing the reputation of radical music along Tate.[170] The Nightshade Café would also operate into the late 1990s, inviting many of Friday's successful groups back to play its stage.

Friday's legacy is still part of Greensboro's culture. Since its closure, Fridays inspired members of Tate's Community to form groups, remembering its importance. The Friday's Reunion, a Facebook group, engages with the memory of Friday's, hosting conversation about the past culture on Tate and keeping tabs on members of the community and their current projects. Members of the group also share photos and flyers to help sustain the memory of Friday's. Other members of Friday's scene have gone on to use their experiences as a boon for current projects. Photographer Rusty Moore's collection includes images of both national and local music acts. His collection of performance photos begins with the pictures from Friday's in the early 1980s.[171] Chuck Alston's Cosmic Ray Deflection Society also still operates, thanks in part to the events held at Friday's.

---

[169] Cox, interview.
[170] McCorquodale and Cowett, interview.
[171] "Portfolio | LOUDFASTPHOTO | Rusty Moore Photography," accessed February 23, 2015, http://www.loudfastphoto.com/portfolio.

Collections of artifacts and memorabilia from Friday's still grace the shelves of Tate's acolytes. Chuck Alston's collection of flyers and photographs is extensive, including both local and national groups. Chuck is also slowly digitizing the information, carrying it on to invigorate the memory for the old generation an to inspire the new generation. Among these collections, Friday's effect on Tate's and Greensboro's community is immutable. The venue propagated a generation of artists. Fridays is representative of the Punk movement as well as the revolutionary community fostered on Tate Street. While Friday's does not mark the conclusion of Tate's Scene, it marks the most prolific era of Tate's community. With high traffic and national notoriety, Friday's helped to make Tate Street both memorable and important to Tate's acolytes.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Historians often focus on what they can learn in the archives – scanning the shelves for some tome, thick with dust, to offer a snapshot of the past. Opportunities to research history in other ways, however, are increasing. Advances in technology have simplified the pursuit of living history – the rising tide of oral history as well as digital collections have, in many ways, simplified the job of the historian – oral histories are easy to record and store, information is readily accessible, and the barriers to historical research are now limited to historians' creativity. Tate Street offered the perfect avenue to explore these new concepts and methods. Without the advent of digital communities, finding subjects for this project would have been more difficult, if not impossible – through the communities on Facebook such as The Friday's Reunion[172] and The Tate Street Archives[173] helped to indicate active members of Tate's community and illuminate important venues and events throughout Tate's history. Email contact with different subjects helped with both scheduling and initial contact. Digital camcorders and audio recorders helped to capture interviews and offered easily accessible source material. Thanks to the digital age, memories of Tate can survive until the future.

As a cultural center, Tate Street helps to seat Greensboro in many nationally significant cultural trend of the era. The hippie movement of the 1960s and 1970s was visible in the fashion and emerging drug culture on Tate Street; they coincide with

[172] https://www.facebook.com/groups/fridaysreunion/?ref=br_tf Accessed: Mar 20, 2015
[173] https://www.facebook.com/groups/Tate.Street.Archives/ Accessed: Mar 20, 2015

UNCG's emergence as well as the arrival of the alternative press on Tate Street. UNCG continues drawing students throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and its venues continue operating to the present, but the focus of Tate Street's community shifts to the street in the 1970s in association with the new venues. The music and art of the mid seventies are also visible on Tate Street with psychedelic art conglomerates as well as fusion and rock bands emerging on the scene; these groups were always welcome at The Hong Kong House and Aliza's Café. Finally, the emergence of the Punk Rock and New Wave scenes during the late 1970s and early 1980s were aided by previous developments on Tate Street; the alternative press kept the community informed of shows and the supportive music and social scene made Friday's a veritable Punk Rock Mecca.

Tate Street offers a lens to study community formation. It was on Tate Street that unique groups came together to form a vibrant and thriving community. Business owners were foundational to the rise of Tate Street – they provided the physical spaces, the venues, in which many cultural changes emerged. Amelia Leung and Aliza Gottlieb welcomed Tate's community to The Hong Kong House and Aliza's. From providing food and jobs to musicians to offering a gathering and drinking space to the normal denizens of Tate Street, Aliza's and The Hong Kong House were centers in which musicians, hippies, drunks, street people, UNCG Faculty, Tate Residents and Tate Outsiders all gathered. The space was maintained by Tate's acolytes – they built the stage and manned the bar, supporting the continued success of the venue. Steve Hayner, the owner of Friday's had a similar position in the community, welcoming music groups as well as other organizations to perform their art in the heart of Tate Street.

Tate's Acolytes were the main drivers of the community. Their creative lives made a home on Tate Street; acolytes spent time and creative capital within the venues on the street. People such as Chuck Alston and Gil Fray who lived and developed their sound on Tate Street helped to develop new modes of performance. Chuck was one of the main actors in the alternative press on Tate Street, welcoming other motivated young people to perfect their writing on the street and helping to keep the community informed of other events. Later, his group The Cosmic Ray Deflection Society, as well as Gil Fray's F-Art Ensemble, helped to solidify the alternative mode of performance that characterized Tate Street. The Acolytes are the movers and the shakers, the ones who made Tate's cultural affinities.

The last group on Tate, the outsiders, also shaped Tate in a peripheral manner. Their opinions, negative or positive, often encouraged young people to go to Tate.[174] Many outsiders had a negative opinion of the culture Tate Street, viewing the penchant for drug use and the off beat arts as dangerous to the young people. The stories that the outsiders offer of the street did little to dissuade young people from attending Tate. The outsiders were also supporting the acolytes and business owners. Because Tate's venues were not particularly lucrative as performance spaces, the capital generated during the day at The Hong Kong House and Friday's kept the scene running.

The three groups, acolytes, outsiders, and owners, built an enduring community. Tate rose in waves. One period gave way to another, leaving a legacy and promoting cultural evolution. The hippies brought with them the first vestiges of experimental culture as well as counter-cultural community. During the 1970s the community repeated, reworked, and rewarded alternative-lifestyles and art. As the 1970s gave way

[174] McCorquodale and Cowett, interview.

to the 1980s, Tate's reputation as a counter-culture Mecca was cemented, engrained through years of trial.

The venues on Tate offered a number of advantages as focal points of research. Aside from outlining a space for historical research, each venue offered its own temporal range through which to view Tate. UNCG was the dominant force on Tate Street prior to 1971. As such, one can see many of the cultural shifts on Tate through the events at UNCG. Institutional changes forced a shift in demographics on Tate Street. UNCG brought many men to the street, ultimately changing the focus of many of Tate's venues. With them, the press came. You could see the press playing a part at UNCG as well as on the street throughout the rest of Tate's development. Students continued to bring with them the newest bits of culture, the constant turnover and arrival of new students kept the culture on Tate fresh.

The Hong Kong House and Aliza's were the most potent force on Tate between 1971 and 1976. During this period, Amelia laid the groundwork for Tate's unique community by supporting local artists and offering opportunities to many of Tate's acolytes. Furthermore, Aliza's, which Amelia helped to found, offered performance space and ultimately shaped the music scene on Tate Street during this period. The venue itself would continue under other names, but the impact was always major. Aliza's was the first real showcase of alternative art on Tate Street. It is the place where groups like Plankton Playhouse and The F-Art Ensemble came together to perform. It offered homes to other types of performance as well; local groups like The Sentinel Boys and Tornado would perfect their sounds in the basement of the Hong Kong House, playing to crowds of both acolytes and outsiders.

Friday's prominence marks the most prolific era in Tate's history. During Friday's success, between 1976 and 1983, Tate Street hosted five venues. Aliza's (or the Nightshade Café during this period) was still welcoming Tate's denizens to perform, the Belstone Fox (which changed to Crocodiles and later King Arthurs) operated across the road, encouraging and welcoming jazz musicians. The Janus Wings Theater was putting on both film and musical performances right next door to Aliza's while Aycock auditorium was welcoming in big names from around the country. Across the road, even Mr. Rosewaters, a run down house-converted-to-bar was welcoming groups like Southern Culture on the Skids. Friday's itself was the pinnacle of Tate's evolution. It acted as a major community center, with live music and food, while also drawing in major acts from around the country and bringing Tate national notoriety.

The strength of the Tate Street community is still visible today. New York Pizza is now the focus of Tate's scene, welcoming both local and regional acts to play its stage. Tate Street Coffee also serves as a community hub. This study concludes with Friday's closure as a result of the interviews. No interviews about Tate's later period exist. Also, Friday's marked the most active period of Tate's history, with the largest number of venues, its closure was the beginning of a fundamental changes including drinking age and mass closures. Nostalgia guides this work in many ways, including its temporal boundaries. Tate's acolytes share memories of the different venues and events on Tate Street in online communities hosted by Facebook. Gatherings of Friday's as well as other Tate Acolytes are a semi-regular during The Friday's Reunion hosted by Ivan Siler. This event draws both Tate's local groups as well as major acts like Dexter Romwebber to remember the most prolific era in Tate's artistic history. Community

interest defines this work; an interested and excited cast of characters came together to direct research about Tate. Be it business owners or artists, the interest in preserving Tate's history inspired and assisted in this work. Unofficial digital archives of Tate are maintained by its members online, while artists maintain personal collections of paintings, drawings and posters. Tate's acolytes have stores of audio recordings, taken from 4-track recorders in Aliza's and Friday's; the vinyl recordings of Tate's success still exist. Unfortunately, this is the main area of Tate Street that remains unfulfilled; the archival information pertaining to Tate Street is in great danger. Tate's Acolytes are beginning to pass and with them, their collections are falling to the wayside. The collections of digital interviews associated with this project are a step towards the preservation of Tate's history, but the artifacts of Tate deserve preservation.

Furthermore, this study remains incomplete. A better understanding of the historical places reviewed here is possible. Ownership records are difficult to come by on Tate. Informal agreements between building owners and business operators cloud the history of Tate. Certain buildings (such as the one that housed Mr. Rosewater's bar) no longer exist. Through the myriad of information about Rosewater's, no photographic or deed data exists. The performances at UNCG are another point that could use expansion while plenty of interview data about the shows at UNCG exists, the information corroborating these shows is difficult to find at best. Through the "Pine Needles" yearbooks, physical evidence of some shows exists, but a better catalogue of the performances at Aycock could better support Tate's significance to culture in Greensboro.

In order to reach the subjects of this study, this work connects with a historical documentary; the plot of which ties together the memories of Tate's acolytes, business owners, and even outsiders. Their memories illuminate a progressive community that changed with the cultural turns of American Culture. Tate's venues unite the memories of Tate Streets scene. While they served to push the culture and community on Tate forward, they also aligned a mechanism of historical research. By recording the memories of Tate's attendees, a small archive of interviews as well as historical artifacts will help future historical research. These memories can be used for many purposes in scholarly research including music history, sociology, and even an in depth review of Greensboro's history. The documentary offered an artistic outlet, something through which to further connect with the cultural artifacts and memories of Tate Street. The documentary simplifies the narrative to connect with lay audiences as well as Tate's participants.

As testament to the strength of Tate's scene, musicians and artists still gather along the street. While this examination concludes with the end of the Friday's era, venues and personalities on Tate continued to develop. Other venues like Hot Tamale's, New York Pizza, and The Tate Street Coffee House could use further study. Today, young people still gather along the street, playing their music, drinking, sharing experiences, and experimenting with new art forms. Tate's acolytes are still in touch, gathering for the Friday's reunion and working on new art projects across the nation. While Tate Street's scene has been impactful in Greensboro, the affects of its acolytes on other scenes around the country are as interesting as their on Tate exploits.

REFERENCES

Alston, Chuck. “Ad for Across The Street.” *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.

Alston, Chuck. “Anarchy Comics.” *Greensboro Sun*. December 1973, 2 edition.

Alston, Chuck. “Haloween Dance at the Hong Kong Cafe,” October 31st.

Alston, Chuck. “Magazine.” *The Greensboro Substitute*, January 3, 1982.

Alston, Chuck. “Shockabilly and The Stick Men at The Niteshade (Nightshade),” August 21, 1983.

Alston, Chuck.*Suzie Q and Also Aswell presentTruehearts & the Alibis*. Poster, December 9, 1979.

Alston, Chuck.Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview, New Orleans, August 26, 2014.

Altschuler, Glenn C. *All Shook up: How Rock “N” Roll Changed America*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

AP. “Group Ready for Cosmic Rays.” *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*. May 14, 1985, sec. B.

AP. “Phone Company Irate Over Story in Carolina Paper.” *The Charlotte News*. April 28, 1971.

“Arrogance (5).” *Discogs*. Accessed January 26, 2015. http://www.discogs.com/artist/2098976-Arrogance-5.

Azerrad, Michael. *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991*. 1 edition. New York, N.Y.: Back Bay Books, 2002.

Blank, Harrod. *Wild Wheels*. Harrod Blank Creations, 2005.

Britt, David, and Don Morgan. “Electrical Fascism.” *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, 1979.

“[Brown Music Building] :: University Archives.” Accessed March 16, 2015. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ui/id/713/rec/12.

Burrows, Tim. *From CBGB to the Roundhouse : Music Venues through the Years*. London: Marion Boyars, 2009.

Cateforis, Theo. "Performing the Avant-Garde Groove: Devo and the Whiteness of the New Wave." *American Music* 22, no. 4 (December 1, 2004): 564–88. doi:10.2307/3592993.

Chafe, William H. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Cox, John. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview, Charlotte, September 24, 2014.

Doyle, David. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.

Dunkerly, Robert M. *The Confederate Surrender at Greensboro: The Final Days of the Army of Tennessee, April 1865*. McFarland, 2013.

Foster, Nancy. "Trackmarks on His Heart." *Greensboro Substitute*, September 1982.

Foster, Nancy. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Phone Interview. Boston, July 13, 2014.

Fox, Molly. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Personal Interview, Greensboro, February 20, 2014.

Fray, Gilbert. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.

Garofalo, Reebee. *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992.

Greensboro, University of North Carolina at. *Pine Needles 1964- UNC Greensboro,*. Digital edition. UNCG Digital Collections, 1964. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/search/collection/PineNeedles.

Greensboro, University of North Carolina at. *Pine Needles 1969 - UNC Greensboro,*. Digital edition. UNCG Digital Collections, 1969. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/search/collection/PineNeedles.

Greeson, Cliff. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, July 17, 2014.

Griffin, Rex. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 17, 2014.

Grossman, Perry. "Identity Crisis: The Dialectics of Rock, Punk, and Grunge." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 41 (January 1, 1996): 19–40.

Gwynn, David. "Race Relations at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro." *Civil Rights Greensboro*, n.d. http://library.uncg.edu/dp/crg/topicalessays/racereluncg.aspx.

Harrelson, Jerry. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, August 6, 2014.

Hayner, Steve. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Phone Interview, Tampa Bay, January 12, 2015.

Hopkins, Jay. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, September 6, 2014.

Israel, Mark. "Doughnut Plant History." Doughnut Plant, 2014. www.doughnutplant.com/history.

Kramer, Michael J. "'Can't Forget the Motor City': Creem Magazine, Rock Music, Detroit Identity, Mass Consumerism, and the Counterculture." *Michigan Historical Review* 28, no. 2 (October 1, 2002): 42–77. doi:10.2307/20173983.

Leung, Amelia. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, September 6, 2014.

McClamrock, Karen, and Lee Spencer. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 27, 2014.

McClean, Steve. "The Unseen Enemy." *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.

McCorquodale, Randall, and Al Cowett. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 28, 2014.

Newton, Christopher. "1090 Page: The House Where the Haight Began." Wordpress. *The Pondering Pig*, February 14, 2014. http://ponderingpig.wordpress.com/2014/02/14/luminaries-of-the-haight-4-1090-page-street/.

Oldenburg, Ray. *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You through the Day*. New York: Paragon House, 1989.

Pasquini, John. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 18, 2014.

Piephoff, Bruce. "When You Live To Fly." *Southern Fried Turnip Greens*, January 1979.

"Pine Needles [1980] :: University Yearbook Collection." Accessed February 5, 2015. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/PineNeedles/id/2044/rec/6.

"Portfolio | LOUDFASTPHOTO | Rusty Moore Photography." Accessed February 23, 2015. http://www.loudfastphoto.com/portfolio.

Salsi, Lynn. *Greensboro*. Arcadia Publishing, 2007.

Sandford, Mariellen, ed. *Happenings and Other Acts*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995.

Schmelzer, Danielsan. "Sieben Zoll Musik: GUEST COLUMN The Village Pistols -- Big Money 7"." *Sieben Zoll Musik*, October 12, 2013. http://siebenzollmusik.blogspot.com/2013/12/guest-column-village-pistols-big-money-7.html.

Shepherd, Ed. *Big Money*. Album Cover, 1981.

Shepherd, Ed. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 16, 2014.

Siler, Ivan. Interview by Ian Pasquini. Tape Interview. Greensboro, June 26, 2014.

Suny, Ronald. "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?" *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 7 (December 2002): 1476–99.

Taylor, Diana. "Translating Performance." *Profession*, January 1, 2002, 44–50.

Taylor, Katherine. "Confrence with Mr. Apple of the Do-Nut Dinette," March 13, 1963. Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections, UNCG Libraries. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/CivilRights/id/2191/rec/1.

Taylor, Timothy D. "The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of 'Mechanical Music.'" *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 281–305.

"The Carolina Plain Dealer." Accessed February 16, 2015. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn89014079/.

"THE COSMIC RAY DEFLECTION SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA," October 26, 2009. http://web.archive.org/web/20091026233715/http://geocities.com/SunsetStrip/1483/.

Tucker, Larry. "A Very Thorny Problem." *Greensboro Daily News*. May 8, 1979, sec. D.

UNCG. "A Brief History of the University." Walter Clinton Jackson Library, 2010. http://library.uncg.edu/info/depts/scua/collections/university_archives/brief_history.aspx.

Unknown. "Officers Report 'Quiet Night.'" *The Greensboro Record*. July 22, 1967, sec. B.

"Venue." *Miriam-Webster Online*. Miriam-Webster Incorperated, n.d. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/venue.

Village Pistols - Please Don't Touch (live October 1980 at Friday's in Greensboro), 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPN2HV7vgOk&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

"Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Cosmic Ray Deflection Society." *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, October 19, 2005. http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:Articles_for_deletion/Cosmic_ray_deflection_society&oldid=25873674.