“ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IT MUST BE PRESERVED”: INDIANAPOLIS’S ATHENAEUM & GERMAN-AMERICANS UNDER WAR & POST-WAR PRESSURES, 1917-1973

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Introduction

On April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson's decision to officially declare war on Germany created a threat to the very essence of the German-American identity in Indianapolis. Wilson's decision not only started war against Germany for the United States, but also, consequently, the public perceived his address as permission for a war on German-American culture in the United States. A year later, in an effort to prevent vandalism, public outcry, and sanctions from Indiana, the annual meeting of the Sozialer Turnverein Stockholders in Indianapolis decided to change the name of the building in which their organization and several others were housed. Das Deutsche Haus transformed into the Athenaeum on Monday February 18, 1918. While this was one of the first changes and responses in Indianapolis, it made the threat on German-American culture in the United States closer to home for those in the city.

Changing the name of the building didn't relieve public opinion regarding German related aspects in the city, however, as anti-German sentiment continued to rise. In regard to neighborhoods and other signage, "[t]he Indianapolis City Council voted to change certain street names — Germania Street on Indianapolis' westside became Belleview Street, Bismarck Avenue became Pershing Avenue."[i] Following this, various legislation was passed, attacking all aspects of German culture. Naturally, organizations within the Athenaeum and the Athenaeum itself, began to see a decline of members and the sustainability of the building. Despite these challenges, the Athenaeum, collectively, continued their efforts to make the building and German-American community sustainable. After decades of struggle, a stronger foundation for the future was established when the building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.[ii]

The history of the Athenaeum between 1917 and 1973 demonstrates the impact of global and national events on a local, German-American institution and its members. More importantly, the Athenaeum's responses to international events and domestic socio-political trends reveal how an ethnic institution survived periods of uncertainty and complexity. In the face of challenges driven by World Wars, shifting identities and economic crisis, the Athenaeum was preserved by a mixture of reflection, adaptation and advocacy.

Although the history of the Athenaeum from 1917-1973 was marked with several obstacles pertaining to a threat towards the German-American identity in Indianapolis, this institution was able to respond to war & post-war pressures by efforts of advocacy, inner-city relations, and adjusting the purpose of the building. The ability to adapt, while still containing elements of its past self, allowed for persistence and the creation of a legacy in the face of a dilemma.

The Building Blocks of German-Americans in Indianapolis

In order to understand why the name change of the building, alongside the several other modifications, were so important, it is necessary to establish some context. The German community was heavily influential in Indianapolis during the mid 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1890, 54.5% of immigrants in Indianapolis were from Germany, and in total made up 7.5% of Indianapolis' total population (see Figure 1).[iii] The German population lived in small communities within the greater downtown area and established neighborhoods such as Lockerbie Square, which was formerly known as "German Town" by locals. Within this area, German immigrants, such as Henry Schnull, the Vonneguts, and the Muellers, created some of Indianapolis's first drug companies, whole-sale stores, the National Merchants Bank, and other prominent businesses and buildings.[iv] With the establishment of these neighborhoods, also came

the creation of influential architecture in Indianapolis. This is when and where the Athenaeum, then known as Das Deutsche Haus, came into existence.

The German immigrant population wanted to establish their culture and customs in the United States not only to unite their community, but also to affirm their presence within the city. It is important to note, however, that some of these customs and views differed from their homeland as many of these immigrants were escaping Germany after the failed Revolution of 1848.[v] Additionally, many already considered America to be the "heimat," or homeland.[vi] Nevertheless, German-Americans established these buildings and spaces as a culmination of their culture and a fresh start in the United States.

Within these new buildings, the German community established clubs and organizations that directly reflected their culture and customs. These clubs were primarily made by, "Friedenkers, people who had no religious affiliation, they [the clubs] may have served the needs for community and inclusion that would otherwise have been provided by churches."[vii] A group of these Freidenkers called the Sozialer Turnverein, or Turners for short, created Das Deutsche Haus. Germans used the club not only to provide an outlet for gymnasts, but also to promote "mens sana incorpore sano," which meant "a sound mind and a sound body".[viii] From here, the Sozialer Turnverein fostered freethinking ideology and created a space of inclusivity. Das Deutsche Haus, as mentioned earlier, provided this outlet for the club, while also embodying rich traditions of the German-Americans within the area. The Turners, while not being the only organization to be housed in the building, took on the responsibility of facilitating the operations of the building and members. By being a member of the Turners, one also had access to the other facilities and organizations. The Sozialer Turnverein, therefore, became the main body and power of the building.

In 1892, the Sozialer Turnverein set up a stock association and raised funds for the construction of Das Deutsche Haus.[ix] Vonnegut and Bohn Architects, run by Bernard Vonnegut and Arthur Bohn, were put in charge of creating a rendering of the building (see Figure 2).[x] After Vonnegut and Bohn completed an official mock up, and the stock association selected the location of the Michigan Avenue, New Jersey Street, and Massachusetts Avenue intersection, construction finally began. The east wing, in the German Romanesque style, began construction in 1893 and ended in 1894. Following that, contractors completed the west wing, in the German Renaissance Revival style, in 1898. The completion of the west wing also marked the official opening of Das Deutsche Haus to not only the German community, but also to the general public in Indianapolis.

Das Deutsche Haus was not only for the Sozialer Turnverein, but, as indicated earlier, it also housed other clubs and organizations such as the Musikverein, Women's Auxiliary, otherwise known as the Damenverein, the Maennerchor, Lyra, and organizations of the city amongst several other groups.[xi] As a result, Das Deutsche Haus became a space that fostered positive interactions with the greater Indianapolis community and German-Americans.

The beginnings of Das Deutsche Haus are vital in that they reveal how German-Americans wanted to express their identity in their new homeland. While this building was mostly utilized by Germans and German-Americans at the time, it was nevertheless open to all who wished to become a member of the Sozialer Turnverein and the other clubs. As the first World War came to fruition, change began. In the face of this war, the German-American community started to question their identity and additionally, they had to adapt and change the original purposes of the building to fit in a new political and social landscape.

A Threat to the German-American Identity (1917-1945)

In the early 20th century the ambitions of European imperialism continued to increase across the globe. As the want for territorial expansion was ongoing, the threat of war grew. What was pressing to German-Americans, however, was the brewing tensions at the beginning of World War I, which had significant impacts on how the public perceived the German-American community. Furthermore, German-Americans in Indianapolis had to face the harsh realities of balancing both their German identities and culture, alongside with their new found sense of American identity and loyalty. No matter which side they felt most loyal to, they had to respond to these pressures in a way that allowed them to preserve their complex identities, as well as their buildings, such as Das Deutsche Haus.

While World War I officially began on July 28, 1914, the United States involvement began later on April 2, 1917 when Woodrow Wilson addressed the United States Congress. He, "advise[d] that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States…and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."[xii] While this document officiated the Americans' role in the war, it was also interpreted and used by different states as a way to justify stereotypes and beliefs they had about German immigrants and German-Americans within the country. The German community in Indianapolis, as well as Das Deutsche Haus, were amongst the areas affected. The German Press, within Indianapolis, covered the war in the lens of a pro-German take. As a result of this, they continued to force German-Americans to question their loyalties to their two homelands, as well as further the anti-German sentiments in Indianapolis.[xiii]

It is easy, when just looking at World War I and World War II history in a more general sense, to see only the negative imagery associated with the German people. What is important to note, however, is that the Germans and German-Americans in Indianapolis were somewhat removed from this war in that they were in a new homeland, not in Germany itself. Despite this, they were directly tied to this war not just in service, but they also had to grapple with what it meant to be German and what they thought of this war. Liberty bonds, for instance, are one of the ways in which German-Americans faced backlash. They were flooded with anti-German propaganda calling Germans "huns"[xiv] and "brutes."[xv] The public, then, directly applied these terms and associations to German immigrants and German-Americans, because of their background. These forms of propaganda enhanced anti-German sentiment in all areas across the United States, including Indianapolis. Conflicting identity was also apparent to many citizens in Germany during and after the war, and more so throughout division and reunification.

As it has been alluded to and will be discussed in more detail later, for those in Indianapolis, they saw themselves as patriotic and a true embodiment of the American tradition. On the other hand, they still salvaged many parts of their German identity and tradition. When your very identity is at threat, how do you react? This is a complicated question, but one that can be embodied in several different ways.

Many Americans with German heritage, some of which were prominent figures within Indianapolis and the Athenaeum, allied themselves together and created the Indiana German American Alliance. The goal of this organization was to lobby Indiana and the United States Congress away from actions that were against Germany. Furthermore, "the pro-German sentiment was strong enough among a few of the Indianapolis Germans to volunteer for the Kaiser's Army. In August of 1914 twelve young men met at the Indianapolis Brewing Company

to form an organization through which they might raise funds for anyone who would desire passage back to the fatherland for military service. The group set up headquarters at the German House…."[xvi] The public met these responses with harsh criticism since anti-German sentiment was already prevalent in the area. This did not, however, stop the ways in which the German media portrayed the first World War.

The local German newspapers at the time tried to act as yet another voice of the people to express how they felt about the war. The opinion of the German press, however, failed in that they sided with the fatherland, which was met with disapproval. Some members of the public believed that, "[a]lmost without exception the German press in the United States attributed the lack sympathy for Germany among many Americans…."[xvii] The actions of the press and alliance groups resulted in a direct response from the governing body in Indiana.

The State of Indiana reacted to the anti-German sentiment from the Indianapolis public and the response of the pro-German side by establishing the Bush-McCray Anti-German Bill. This piece of legislation removed teaching the German language in Indiana public schools. Cutting German classes acted as a way to remove "Germaness," from its beginning, in young children and in education, which significantly impacted the community. For Shortridge High School, a historically German school which was designed by German architects, not only was the German language taken away, but there was also a huge shift in how students viewed and wrote about Germans. As early as 1917 and 1918, *The Daily Echo* which was the student-run newspaper began to discuss how German words were taboo or how gaining knowledge about the war would help "stamp out German propaganda."[xviii] While some expressed a more satirical approach to the dilemma of anti-Germaness, other columns were more straightforward and posed stronger resentment towards the community.

Additionally, this bill is significant in that if it is looked at carefully, it reveals a key paradox that the German and Indianapolis community faced at the time. Less than a year before its establishment, the Governor of Indiana expressed his, "...confidence in the loyalty of the German American citizenry of Indiana to their state and nation. I do not think there has ever been any doubt of this loyalty…."[xix] Despite his appeal to the German community, he signed the Bush-McCray Anti-German Bill into effect the following year. The complexity found within this situation sheds light on how not only the German community had to grasp their battling identities, but also how the Indiana public battled their different images and ideas of the Germans in Indianapolis. In the midst of this tension, Das Deutsche Haus reacted in a way that contested the previous reactions held by Germans in the area.

The pro-German advocates, while they received a huge response from the Indiana government and public, was only one side of the response, as the majority of other German-Americans clung to their patriotism and devotion to the United States during the two wars. As mentioned above with Governor Goodrich's letter, the German community in Indianapolis was well-received before the war and had close affiliations with pride in their new homeland. Interestingly enough, Das Deutsche Haus officially opened on George Washington's birthday and Das Deutsche Haus used him as a major symbolic figure to German-American patriotism. On the tenth anniversary of the building, Chas E. Emmerich remarked on this notion: "[t]hough most of us present here are American citizens of German birth or descent…we are second to none in our love for and loyalty and devotion to our adopted country, and second to none in our desire to do honor to the great and good men whom this country has produced, chief among whom is he whose birthday we celebrate to-day, George Washington."[xx] This sense of loyalty and deep devotion to the new homeland as well as honoring its historical figures continued

throughout both World Wars in the form of service, and Das Deutsche Haus's commitment serving the city and nation.

In order to preserve some of their German heritage, while also easing some of the tensions found within the Indianapolis public, Das Deutsche Haus transformed into the Athenaeum in 1918, and the building continued to host the previous organizations.[xxi] The goal was to affiliate the name with something more classical and enlightening, such as the Athenaeum temple in Greece, and more so, for this building in Indianapolis to become a sanctuary of sorts for all people in all aspects of life. In this way, the organizations and the building were still able to house some aspects of their previous German tradition, while appeasing the public. The name change was amongst the first acts and adaptations to happen in the city alongside alterations to street signage, buildings, and club names. Despite the large anti-German implications of this change, it was also a way in which the German building continued to advocate its services to the larger Indianapolis community, which showed German-American loyalty to the United States during the war.[xxii] While previously the building was open to all in the Indianapolis community, this change exhibited a direct invitation across the entire city for anyone who wanted to join.

Mixed with the impact of the anti-German bill that occurred a year after the name change and continued tension with the Indianapolis public, the Athenaeum continued to adapt. The organizations within the Athenaeum adjusted their means of operation and how they chose to define themselves. Meeting notes for organizations, such as the Women's Auxiliary, were to be recorded in English, rather than German. The Sozialer Turnverein, were now to be called the Athenaeum Turners and their stock association was now called the Athenaeum Turners Stock Association. All names of organizations, rooms, and other aspects of the Athenaeum were also changed, for the most part, to their English forms.

The Athenaeum continued its more neutral, yet patriotic stance in an effort to preserve itself, the organizations within it, and the sense of loyalty and commitment to the United States. In order to do so, the building offered its services in helping aid the Red Cross.[xxiii] The willingness to offer its services to the government and local community, at the time, directly contrasted with the ideas of the previous German alliances, discussed earlier, which also housed themselves in the facility. Through this action, as well as the voluntary name change and other transformations of the Athenaeum during this period, the space began to change from a German realm to, more so than ever before, an open facility for the city. This change was thought to be well-received by the Governor who had previously commented on the state of affairs plaguing the German-American community, up until he signed the Bush-McCray Bill, discussed earlier. He mentioned that, "[t]he present conflict…has torn at the heartstrings of German-Americans more than any other class of our citizens but I know that the great body of Americans of Teutonic blood will not swerve in their loyalty nor hesitate in their service to their country because of this. They know how to do their duty."[xxiv] The letters between Governor Goodrich and Das Deutsche Haus, once again, emphasize the civic duty and loyalty that was a great deal to the German-American identity at the time. The letters as well as the changes during the first world war also showcase the complexity that the Athenaeum faced. The result of the first war would continue to have lasting effects going into the second.

The beginning of World War II brought similar reactions by the Indianapolis public. A continuation of World War I anti-german propaganda was prevalent during the second World War. In the midst of this second round of tension, German-Americans in Indianapolis maintained some of their pro-German views, while others, just like the various name changes, decided to take a step away from their German heritage. They instead adopted a more consolidated means

of identity. The Athenaeum maintained their relationship with the American Red Cross Association and hosted events such as the Radio Corporation Association Dance of 1942 for Cadettes and Service Men (see Figure 3).[xxv] The building also continued to open its doors to vvarious organizations and groups of people for membership. They also hosted events for some of the founding families.

One of these founding families was the Lieber Family that was related to Herman Lieber, known as the father of Das Deutsche Haus. He hosted annual Thanksgiving meals from 1921 until around 1950. November 28, 1929 was the first Thanksgiving located at the Athenaeum. Despite anti-German sentiment between both World War I and II, these families, amongst others, kept some German traditions alive, such as German song, food, and poetry, amongst several other aspects linked to their heritage. These celebrations were typically more private matters, however, since anti-German sentiment was still prevalent in the city and across the United States.

More significant to these annual gatherings, however, was what they revealed about how German-Americans, especially those at the center of the Athenaeum, viewed World War II. Members who missed Thanksgiving dinner wrote letters home that were read aloud to all people in attendance. One from November 11, 1942 by Emma Allen Abbott reflected on how, "[t]imes have changed: we are all marching on to 'Victory'...young men, and women, too, are doing a great work: not only in the U.S.A. ; but all over the world, for freedom; hoping their effort will be accomplished soon!"[xxvi] Several in Mrs. Abbott's family and many amongst the German-American community, similarly shared her view and testimony of the war. As mentioned earlier, the sense of patriotism and loyalty to the new homeland was strong and it is interesting to note that amidst a family gathering where there is a continuation of German tradition and heritage,

there was still this balance between what it means to be an American with German heritage during this war.

Some of these letters from the gatherings were also of soldiers away from home. Many of the Lieber family's sons were drafted into the war and participated on the American side, rather than the drafted German side, as discussed earlier. In their absence, they also sent letters home detailing their time in service, fighting in World War II. One account by a family member named Kurt, described how his, "ship and [his] crew have…been spared from the horror and earmage of actual engagement with the enemy; that the forces of the United Nations concerning themselves, with not only winning a physical victory, but during war, laying the foundation for a hurricane and just peace…"[xxvii] This account is telling that firstly, Kurt fought on the American side of the war and sees this war as horrific and violent, and secondly that he truly believes that the United Nations will help bring peace amongst the chaos. These views correspond against the side of the Germans and shows that he sees himself as more of a patriotic figure, rather than a representative of his German heritage in this war.

L.J. Inman, another member who was deployed, wrote a year later, and hoped that a resolution would, "bring peace to both theaters of the war, although that hardly seems probable in the Pacific…"[xxviii] Once again, a member of this prominent German family, who fought on the side of the Americans, seemed to have a pessimistic view of this war. From these two letters, it appeared as though those who were soldiers and those who had family in this war wanted to be home and wanted to have them home. More so, soldiers and those at home in Indianapolis leaned towards their American identity rather than their German identity during these wars. Regardless of this change, German traditions during holidays, such as the ones held by the Liebers,

continued in some senses, which once again points to a complexity of identity for German-Americans during this time.

The war period from 1917-1945 is revealing in that, as mentioned several times before, the entanglement of what it means to be a German-American is continuously found in different accounts. While some German descendants decided to continue to support their sense of German identity, others decided to flee from it, and the majority decided to sit somewhere in the middle. The Athenaeum and the community housed within the building is one of these accounts that sit in the middle as a balance between the distinct German and American identities during the wars. It housed members that thought on both sides of the wars and enabled a space of neutrality, more or less. Even with changing some aspects of itself and the organizations housed within it, the Athenaeum made compromises to keep its German elements, which allowed this building to remain prominent and viable throughout this period. The organizations also continued their missions not only in keeping themselves viable, but also in maintaining their dedication to the building.

More important, however, was the lingering effects from these wars on the Athenaeum and the German-American community. As mentioned by Carl B. South, President of the Athenaeum Turners in 1946, "[f]rankly, I am at a loss when it comes to recommending new projects, activities for the welfare of the organization because of the uncertainty of the future. True, the guns of World War II have ceased and we have defeated the enemy…[t]oday, however, the allies are not alone fighting among themselves for control of this or that but in our very own country we have a fight between capital and labor ...."[xxix] These words highlight an important aspect in that the Athenaeum not only had to face pressures from past anti-German sentiment, but they also faced the challenge of financial recovery after a major world war. The following

post-war period from 1945-1973 brought about new challenges for the Athenaeum and resulted in a period of uncertainty, questioning the very existence of the building.

A Period of Uncertainty: Concerns for the Athenaeum (1945-1973)

The end of World War II marked an end to the violence of war, but it did not mark an end to divisions found across the world. While Germans back home faced a divide between Eastern and Western Germany, German-Americans faced the lingering aftermath of war within the means of their identity. Many Americans of German descent opted to primarily place themselves amongst their American identity and leave their "Germaness," as a part of their heritage, rather than an identifier. In Indianapolis especially, a threat to German institutions after the wars became more prevalent as they couldn't quite seem to shake the impacts of the war. Additionally, the deterioration of city life in Indianapolis and the financial impacts of war had significant consequences. The social clubs and organizations within the Athenaeum, as well as local institutions in Indianapolis, had to work together and find ways to navigate this period in order to foster perseverance and a lasting relationship between the city and the German-American community.

Throughout the 1950s some German-Americans disassociated from their German identity in an effort to minimize the effects of anti-German sentiment, and with this came only a slight decline in membership for the Athenaeum.[xxx] This reaction was a continuation of the previous response made during war years. It is important to note that the building and clubs were still lively during this time, but as mentioned before, there were lingering stereotypes that came with the German identity and continued to affect them. On top of this, financial issues from war also played a role in how the building was able to manage itself. Despite some members drifting

away, the Athenaeum Turners found new ways to establish themselves and promote the building and organizations as a social realm and pillar of Indianapolis.

President of the Athenaeum Turners, Carl B. Sputh, Sr., reported some of this prosperity in his 1950 annual report which mentioned the 1,371 members they held, the $33,000.00 they spent in reconditioning and repairs to the building.[xxxi] He also made sure to recognize the several events and partnerships they held with organizations such as the Indianapolis Baseball Club, as well as the success of their Young Women's Volleyball team.[xxxii] These further fostered their commitment and involvement within the social aspects of the city. Some of this news was also conveyed in their new newsletter entitled *Athenaeum News.* They started this publication in September of 1958 and planned to release a new issue on the 15th of every other month after they had, "a long-felt need for a publication which would record, with words and pictures, our club events and other activities of mutual interest to members of the Athenaeum Turners."[xxxiii] The various editions of the newsletter helped to spread more awareness and advocate for the building. In turn, the newsletter made the Atheanaeum's services more accessible to the public and members of the Turners, just as they started to do during the war years.

The Athenaeum was also used to host several other events and people. In 1956, the gymnasium was used by two members of the United States Women's Gymnastics Team to train for the upcoming 1956 Summer Olympics in Melbourne, Australia.[xxxiv] Additionally, the Normal College Gymnastics Union used the building, alongside the gymnasium. This organization entered the Athenaeum in 1907 and continued to prosper during the 1950s. The Normal College was the first physical education program based in the United States, and would influence public school curriculum in the future.[xxxv] In combination with the Normal College and the Athenaeum

Turners, the Athenaeum offered gymnastics classes to the public and members during this time, which helped the building to create revenue.

The prosperity of the club at this time is interesting to note, as one would almost assume that due to backlash from both World Wars, that the Athenaeum would significantly decline. The building, however, as expressed above, was still viable at the time. While the beginning of the decade saw little to no signs of drastic impact, significant changes and worries about the building began in the later half of the decade.

Towards the end of the 1950s, the Athenaeum saw the start to some difficulties in business. In 1959, Hiram D.D. Keehn, president of the Athenaeum Turners, reported on the state of the building noting that: "operations of the Athenaeum over the past year have been largely satisfactory in that we have been able to operate at an overall profit in spite of the continued decline in business last year. This, of course, affected our gross income considerably. Our restaurant receipts, bar recipes and dues received all were slightly lower than during the same period in 1957...."[xxxvi] While business was "satisfactory," this was one of the first instances where the Turners made some of their struggles official. As the letter alludes to, there were some challenges in 1957 and this would only continue into 1959 when this letter was written. Furthermore, these challenges manifested themselves into greater problems in the next two decades.

The Athenaeum in this decade, more so than ever before, began to see the decline in membership and finances due to the lingering aftermath of the war. While at the beginning of the 1950s they seemed to be relatively unaffected, the latter half brought these changes in numbers. From the beginning of this decade, however, they had already found ways to adapt and advocate. The creation of new classes and the continued invitation for the public into the building, pushed

for a change in some of the defining factors of the building. Rather than a building solely dedicated to the historic German features and community, the push from the Indianapolis public and the wars, created a need to further redefine. The building and community were able to compromise, however, as adaptation didn't mean a complete erasure, but rather appeasing the public in order to keep its very essence and community alive. As reflected, adaptation was one of the many ways in which the community would respond at the time, as well as advocacy to the members and community. These responses gradually continued into the 1960s as conditions became worse.

The decade in the United States that is widely characterized as being about flower power, counterculture, fashion, and music, was a time of struggle for German-Americans and the Athenaeum in Indianapolis. The city itself saw increases in economic struggle, domestic life, crime rates, and civil disputes amongst several other issues. At this time, "the situation [also] became increasingly difficult with the general decline of the downtown and the movement of people to ex-urbs and the suburbs…."[xxxvii] These issues would directly impact the Athenaeum and German-American community.

In the early 60s, business and finances were seemingly stable. The Athenaeum continued to host several events. Most prominently, the Women's Auxiliary, otherwise known as the Damenverein, put together several banquets and anniversary celebrations. These were in an effort to recognize their work in helping the Athenaeum Turners over the course of its history.[xxxviii] Aside from celebrations as well as their important relationship and role to the Athenaeum, the Women's Auxiliary also put together events, such as fashion shows, for members of their organization to show off their skills (see Figure 4).[xxxix] All of these events hosted by the Women's Auxiliary both showcased their differing hobbies and interests, but

subsequently also helped to raise money and proceeds for the Athenaeum. At this time, the majority of proceeds would go towards the start of renovations that happened in different parts of the building during this decade. These renovations were necessary for the upkeep of the building, and were detailed in the 1960 Annual President's Report.[xl]

In addition to the Women's Auxiliary hosting events, the Athenaeum, at the request of several members, also put together more classes to teach adults and the youth skills pertaining to dance and gymnastics.[xli] This was a continuation of the previous efforts in the 1950s. One of the most popular events, however, was the annual circus. Beginning in the early 1950s with the American Turners, which was the national organization of Turners, and adopted by Athenaeum Turners in 1961, the Athenaeum held a circus that included members of Barnum & Bailey, Ringling Brothers Circus, and the Athenaeum Turners themselves (see Figure 5).[xlii] The Athenaeum arranged this event continuously into the 1970s. The circus was widely popular, as many members wrote letters giving their tickets to friends and members of the public.[xliii] This was yet another way in which the Athenaeum would open up the building and facilities to a more public sphere. Additionally, it would be a creative way in which they used their tradition of gymnastics as a way to generate funding for the building and the organizations. The German-Americans, therefore, continually found creative ways to keep their culture alive while also compromising and receiving funds.

These acts were not enough, however, as the building, being historic and in need of continual repairs, constantly required funds for upkeep. Additionally, membership continued to gradually decrease as more and more groups of people proceeded to move out of the city and into suburban areas.[xliv] Where the beginning of the decade saw a gradual decrease, the end of the decade brought significant changes as membership went from 1680 members in 1960 to 1217 in

1969.[xlv] One of the only solutions left was to either increase the prices for services, or to decrease the expenses for the offerings in the building.

One of the earliest instances in which these details were laid out was in 1964. In a letter to the Athenaeum members on October 15, 1964, President William F. Krass, Jr. noted: "the time has come when we must ask for a moderate increase in dues to successfully carry on the activities of the Club. The costs of maintaining the Club property and of underwriting our social program…have steadily risen in the past several years…."[xlvi]While there were other forms of managing the funds and trying to allocate for operation costs, increasing the costs of membership, seemingly, didn't work as well as the board had thought.

Just five years after this letter and at the end of the decade, the new president Walter J. Pippert sent out a plea for help in his July 6, 1969 letter to members. "We need your help!" remarked Pippert, "The Athenaeum has problems, financial problems. The Athenaeum could easily become history…"[xlvii] Likewise, the same financial problems are outlined in a letter from Riley Shuttleworth in 1969 where he stated plainly, "WE ARE IN TROUBLE, and we think you should know about it…"[xlviii]As it can be seen above, the end of the 1960s is where the Athenaeum truly began to make its financial situation known. The Turners used these letters not only to inform, but to advocate to members, organizations, and the Indianapolis public for help in preserving the building and its various functions. While this can be seen by some as a sort of cry for help, it is also worth noting that this can be recognized as a last resort for the building and its community. As mentioned earlier, the Athenaeum actively tried to implement other forms of funding such as events to fundraise and active member outreach. They weren't simply compliant and weren't strictly grasping for help in all forms. They adapted and advocated in ways that

allowed them to survive this period, through various methods of rearranging finances and opening their services, more so, to the public.

The 1960s truly embodied some of the toughest times for the building, as many amongst its quarters saw a dark future ahead. It is worth mentioning that the Cold War and Vietnam War were also having significant impacts on cities across the United States. The direct impact of the first two World Wars and now post-war pressures created a direct link to a decrease of membership. Furthermore, as families moved out of the city, the building itself wasn't getting used and wasn't fulfilling its purpose, as it once had. Once again, however, the German-Americans and Athenaeum during this time adapted and formed new strategies that allowed them to stay prominent during this time. While back home Germans faced the creation of the Berlin Wall and lasting divisions, the German-Americans in the United States and Indianapolis continued to face concerns over the stability of the Athenaeum and their identity. The 1970s, however, created an interesting turn of events as the Athenaeum was beginning to see some first steps into preservation efforts, and a change in perspective by the city.

The 1970s, as mentioned earlier, marked a sort of turn of events for the building. Before the Athenaeum was to get to this point, however, they first had to see some of the continuous overflow of uncertainty from the previous decade. Beginning in 1970 The Normal College left the Athenaeum and moved into what is now known as the IU Indianapolis School of Public Health.[xlix] This was a significant loss for the Athenaeum as it has housed the Normal College for sixty-three years at that point. The Normal College also removed several pieces of equipment and supply items from the Athenaeum gymnasium and former classrooms that they felt belonged to them. These moves were outlined in a letter sent by Lola Lohse in 1970 where she detailed which items the college was to take. She also mentioned how she felt that she had leaned over

backwards in favor of the Athenaeum and couldn't have been more fair in taking the equipment that she did.[l] This was a devastating loss for the Athenaeum as the Normal College reflected similar values to the foundation of the Athenaeum, the Turners, and the German-American community. Furthermore, this meant that, yet again, the building faced a decline in business as a result of this pivotal organizational change.

The Athenaeum proceeded to increase membership dues and tried to lessen operational costs in order to accommodate for the loss in membership.[li] Renovations for the building, however, were still needed for the upkeep of the Athenaeum. In an effort to balance out some of these increases and costs, the organizations also kept on with having several events including the Champagne Gala, youth classes, and Oktoberfest amongst other activities.[lii]

After many years of uncertainty, the year 1972 marked a start to progress for the Athenaeum. Members of the clubs and organizations, most prominently the Turners, continued to advocate for the club and building to stay open which did show some signs of success. New organizations, such as the Indiana Repertory Theatre joined in 1972 and was based in the concert ballroom.[liii] This brought some of the public back to the building to view various performances.

The following year, 1973, was a significant turning point for the building and its future within the city. President Robert Fatout detailed some of this progress in his March 20, 1973 letter where he thought that the Athenaeum has, "a basis of support. The ray of hope will be a mirage unless we all put our shoulder to the wheel - AND REALLY PUSH. THE ALTERNATIVE IS CLOSING THE CLUB…."[liv] He continued the letter and outlined some of the key projects and goals he had for the Athenaeum, most of which included raising membership levels, funds for the building, and increasing the amount of renovation that happened. Most importantly, in 1973 the National Register of Historic Places officially marked

the Athenaeum on its list, which saved the building from potential demolition that happened in the urban areas of the city.[lv] Being placed on this registry meant the local and national government could work to make improvements on this building, as it was now protected. This also marked a flip in the government's previous perspective on German-Americans and German institutions as seen during the World Wars. The future of this building was much more secure than it had once been.

With the recognition of the Athenaeum, other resources were able to play a role in the preservation of the building. The National Register of Historical Places and the Athenaeum partnered to commission George Bahre Company to run a feasibility study of the building beginning in 1973 and finalizing in 1974. Under this study, the contractors not only ran diagnostics on the building's interior, exterior, and the costs of the renovations, but they also gained key testimonies and insights into why this building was so important to the community of Indianapolis and the organizations within the Athenaeum. As they outlined in the preface of their report: "[t]he purpose of this report is to gather the forces necessary to halt deterioration and to undertake a program of rehab…To, also, fully utilize space within the building to its greatest advantage by providing for activities of the Indiana Repertory Theatre, citizens's organization, Athenaeum Turners club, and the public."[lvi] The report, once again, emphasized the idea that the building is housing multiple identities. Those of the German-Americans, the differing organizations, and additionally, the city of Indianapolis.

The testimonies, however, were most vital to this idea of utilizing the space as they provided strong insights into how the city viewed the building and community during this era. Additionally, they provided the flipped perspective towards German-Americans and German

institutions. These testimonies overshadowed any underlying anti-German sentiment that was present in the previous decades.

The first of these testimonies came from some of the organizations housed in the building, including the newly joined Indiana Repertory Theatre. The president of the IRT expressed how the building's many components allow it to be a sort of "meeting house," for the city of Indianapolis.[lvii] The word meeting house came from Gerald Ford's newly established project, "Heritage '76 "Meeting House" Bi-Centennial Project," which wanted, "every American to recall his heritage and place it in its historical perspective," through historical place markers at specific sites across the United States.[lviii] This project helped reinforce the significance of several sites across the United States, as well as how some of these sights were largely influenced by immigrant populations. The Athenaeum and several sights in Indianapolis fell under this umbrella.

Various organizations across the city also would place their support for the Athenaeum in this report as they believed it was, "a treasure…and we simply cannot stand by and let it be destroyed. One way or another it must be preserved. In my opinion, the potential is there to make it an economically viable, even profitable operation, as well as a historic landmark and tourist attraction in the heart of our city."[lix] The different governmental offices in Indiana also provided testimonies and hinted at how German-American history in the city and the Athenaeum both played a key role in the development and influence of Indianapolis. As mentioned by the Senior Deputy Mayor of Indianapolis, "its story is intertwined with the history of Indianapolis and the German-American citizens who settled here…"[lx] The Governor further justified this idea by mentioning how, "[t]he Athenaeum was created out of the cultural heritage of the early German

population of Indianapolis and serves as a logical location for the community to come together in our capital city for general civic purposes…"[lxi]

The ideas expressed by many within Indianapolis hint at how the Athenaeum was an important part of the city in that it had a rich history with the development of Indianapolis and, furthermore, it had served as a building block for the diverse community of Indianapolis. These ideas, once again, related back to the Heritage '76 Project and the emerging shift in perspective for the Indianapolis public. The Athenaeum, further, provided a sanctuary of sorts for all across the city to participate in various aspects of not only German-American culture, but the overall culture of the city. Additionally, it hints to the inner-city connection that was developed when the first German immigrants first established their buildings and early influence in the city.

The 1970s marked a significant change for the building and continued to push for not just responses by those active within the Athenaeum, but also called on those who had seen its importance to the city. German-Americans in this decade, therefore, are not the only ones who responded to the aftermath of pressures from war. Rather, the larger community of Indianapolis joined them to help preserve and maintain an important element of Indianapolis. This allowed the building and the German-American community to stay prominent, despite the harsh realities they were facing. This sort of one hundred and eighty degree flip of perspective, when compared to the previous perspective the city held during the World Wars, is significant in that it shows the complexity of not only the German-American identity and response, but also of the city. It also, much like the entirety of the post-war years, illustrated how vital this building truly was and that it was something that needed to be maintained. The Athenaeum, as will be discussed later, faced several other challenges as it worked its way through the 20th century, but 1973 marked the beginning of progress and an end to the focus on war and post-war pressures for the building.

The post-war years posed a huge threat to its existence, but the strong push to maintain this landmark and community through advocacy, adaptation, and a call back to inner-city connections and influences, allowed this building to see the first sign of significant progress that slowly continued later.

Conclusion

Following 1973, the Athenaeum and organizations continued to face challenges pertaining to staying prominent in Indianapolis. The Athenaeum would be listed once again on the National Register of Historic Places in both 1982 and 1987.[lxii] Additionally, organizations such as the American Cabaret Theater, YMCA, the Indy Metro Church, and the Young Actors Theatre joined the building varying from 1989 to 2008.[lxiii]

What was most notable during these years, however, was the reconstruction and renovations that took place. The building was under severe disrepair and, "[i]n order to save the Athenaeum building, the board knew that it could no longer be a club. It needed to become an organization recognized as exempt under Section 501(c)(3) of the internal revenue code, organized for charitable, religious or educational purposes."[lxiv] At the hands of several donations, city help, continued advocacy by members, and other means of funding, they started major renovation in the early 1990s.[lxv]

Continuing into the 21st century, the building was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2016. The building still houses several organizations and holds events, which both cater to the Indianapolis public and the still present, Germany community. People no longer have to register for memberships in order to be a part of the Athenaeum's community. Some of the most popular events hosted by the Athenaeum Foundation, the new sponsor of the building, are Germanfest and Christkindlmarkt, amongst several others. Despite the meaning and purpose of

the building slightly changing as the modern age has arrived, the heart of this building is still German, and those who read about it, enter it, or even take a slight glance, can see the German influence and history still present within the building and its ever growing community. The Athenaeum regained its original Das Deutsche Haus sign in 2018 which would symbolize this community overcoming past adversities, and furthermore, starting a new chapter in their history.

The focus on the war and post-war period, explored in this paper, reveals not only how the building was able to stay viable through difficult challenges, but it also further exemplifies key complexities found during this time. One of these complexities is found within the German-American community itself and how they chose to identify and grapple with what it meant to be German-American. World War I and II, as well as the post-war era brought about vast responses and compromises to this sense of identity that were shared and differed across the community. Additionally, there is a complexity that is identified in how the Indianapolis public and the Indiana government chose to view the German-Americans. As it was explored above, this was an ever changing view and perspective that shifted as both wars came about and ended. The Athenaeum's response to war and post-war pressures, being various forms of adaptation, advocacy, and inner-city connections, therefore allowed not only the building to remain viable, but also the German-Americans in Indianapolis, which allows for this history to still be a source of importance today.

Figures

TABLE II-5 : Five Foreign Areas Making Greatest Contribution to the Population of Indianapolis, 1870-1920 (expressed as a percentage of the city's total population and foreign-born population)

1870	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	49.6%	11.0%
2. Ireland	31.2	6.9
3. England	6.5	1.4
4. Canada	2.7	0.6
5. Scotland	2.4	0.5
	92.4%	20.4%

1880	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	48.1	8.1
2. Ireland	29.0	4.9
3. England	7.6	1.3
4. Canada	3.0	0.5
5. Scotland	2.5	0.4
	90.2%	15.2%

1890	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	54.5%	7.5%
2. Ireland	24.5	3.4
3. England	6.8	0.9
4. Canada	3.3	0.4
5. Scotland	2.4	0.3
	91.5%	12.5%

1900	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	50.4%	5.1%
2. Ireland	22.0	2.2
3. England	6.7	0.7
4. Canada	3.9	0.4
5. Scotland	2.5	0.3
	85.5%	8.7%

1910	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	37.9%	3.2%
2. Ireland	16.4	1.4
3. Russia	6.3	0.5
4. Austria	6.2	0.5
5. England	6.0	0.5
	72.8%	6.1%

1920	Foreign Population	Total Population
1. Germany	29.8%	1.6%
2. Ireland	14.1	0.8
3. Russia	7.7	0.4
4. England	7.0	0.4
5. Canada	4.5	0.2
	63.1%	3.4%

Source: Population volumes of the U.S. Census.

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Figure 1

Figure 1

Figure 3

Figure 4. On the left, "Fashion Show Finale," in the Auditorium April 1960. On the right, "Florence Ruede Modeling at the Style Show," in the Damenverein Suites March 1961.

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Figure 5. On the left, "Women on Trapeze," in the Athenaeum Gymnasium 1961. On the right, "Men Hanging from Bar," in the Athenaeum Gymnasium 1961.

Endnotes

[i] Will Higgins, "Indy business leaders once took out an ad: 'Get that nasty German thinking out of you,'" *Indianapolis Star*, February 20, 2018, https://www.indystar.com/story/life/2018/02/20/indy-business-leaders-once-took-out-ad-get-nasty-german-thinking-out-you/1013212001/.

[ii] Fix. National register historic places.

[iii] Robert Graham Barrows, "A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis, 1870-1920,"(PhD diss.,Indiana University, 1977), 69.

[iv] "Biographical Sketch," M0185, Box 1, Folder 1, Schramm-Schnull-Mueller Family Collection 1868-1992, Manuscripts and Visual Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN. https://indianahistory.org/wp-content/uploads/schramm-schnull-mueller-family-collection.pdf.

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[vi] Richard Hofstetter and Jane Simon Ammeson, "Coming to America," in *The Athenaeum*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2020), 9.

[vii] Richard Hofstetter and Jane Ammeson, "Coming to America," in *The Athenaeum*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2020), 11.

[viii] "Virtual Tour: Then & Now: Rathskeller," The Athenaeum Foundation, video, 00:21-00:26, Accessed September 24, 2024, https://athenaeumindy.org/tntour/.

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[x] "Das Deutsche Haus (The Athenaeum)," watercolor painting, 1896, P0160, Vonnegut and Bohn architectural renderings 1896, 1911, Visual Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

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[xii] President Wilson's Declaration of War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917, Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington, D.C., https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/address-to-congress-declaration-of-war-against-germany#:~:text=Citation%3A%20President%20Wilson%27s%20Declaration%20of,declaration%20of%20war%20against%20Germany.

[xiii] George Theodore Probst, "The First World War and Its Consequences for the German Element," in *The Germans in Indianapolis 1840-1918*, edited by Eberhard Reichmann, (Indianapolis, IN: German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc., 1989), 148-150.

[xiv] "'Keep the Hun Out!' poster," poster, 1917, State Archives 2729 AV, World War I Posters Collection, Ohio State Archives, Columbus, OH, https://www.ohiomemory.org/digital/collection/p16007coll51/id/641.

[xv] "Destroy this mad brute Enlist - U.S. Army," photograph, 1918, 2010652057, Prints and Photographs Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. https://www.loc.gov/item/2010652057/.

[xvi] Probst, "The First World War and Its Consequences for the German Part, 1914-1918," 149.

[xvii] Probst, "The First World War and Its Consequences for the German Part, 1914-1918," 148.

[xviii] The Daily Echo, 1918-05-17," newspaper, May 17, 1918, Shortridge High School Collection, Indiana Historical Society & Indianapolis Public Library, Indianapolis, IN, 1. https://www.digitalindy.org/digital/collection/shs/id/24189/rec/22 and "The Daily Echo, 1918-04-05," newspaper, April 5, 1918, Shortridge High School Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library & Indianapolis Public Library, Indianapolis, IN, 2, https://www.digitalindy.org/digital/collection/shs/id/21161/rec/154. Important 1917 issues to look at with similar themes were published on May 25 and April 16.

[xix] "Athenaeum Turners Letter to James P. Goodrich, 1917-04-09," Letter, April 9, 1917, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis, University Library, 2. https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4986/rec/1.

[xx] "Das Deutsche Haus: February twenty-second, nineteen hundred eight," pamphlet, February 22, 1908, F535.G3 D4 1908, Pamphlet Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN, 3.

[xxi] William Selm, "Athenaeum: German cultural and social center," *E*ncyclopedia of Indianapolis*,* 1994, Revised 2021, Accessed October 8, 2024, https://indyencyclopedia.org/athenaeum/.

[xxii] "Athenaeum name change newspaper articles, 1918," Shaping the Circle Exhibit, last modified April 27, 2004, Accessed October 8, 2024, https://library.indianapolis.iu.edu/static/exhibits/circle/newspaper.html. This page consists of various newspaper articles from the Indianapolis Star and other publications between January and February of 1918. Each one addresses how the name change had larger implications than just a simple adoption of "The Athenaeum," name.

[xxiii] "Athenaeum Turners Letter to James P. Goodrich, 1917-04-09," Letter, April 9, 1917, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Indianapolis, IN, 1. https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4986/rec/1.

[xxiv] Ibid.

[xxv] "Cadettes and Service Men at Dance," image, circa 1942, M1225, American Red Cross – Indianapolis Chapter Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

[xxvi] "Thanksgiving Scrapbook 1921-1950," letter, November 11, 1942, M0215, Box 1, Lieber Family Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

[xxvii] Ibid.

[xxviii] Ibid.

[xxix] "President's Report, 1946," letter, April 3, 1946, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/5774/rec/2.

[xxx] "Board of Directors minutes 1950-07-12," letter, July 12, 1950, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/2987/rec/6. Also see "President's Report, 1950," letter, May 4, 1950, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Indianapolis, IN, 1, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/5782/rec/20. This report outlines resignations, deaths, and other factors of loss for membership. After the gains in membership (143) were compared to the resignations (85), deaths (17), and dropped over fees (56), the final number of loss for 1950 was 15, showing the gradual loss.

[xxxi] "President's Report, 1950," letter, May 4, 1950, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/5782/rec/20.

[xxxii] Ibid.

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[xxxiv] "Our History," The Athenaeum Foundation, accessed October 30, 2024, https://athenaeumindy.org/about/the-building/our-history/.

[xxxv] "Virtual Tour: Then & Now: Gymnasium," The Athenaeum Foundation, accessed November 20, 2024, https://athenaeumindy.org/tntour/.

[xxxvi] "President's report, 1959," letter, April 1, 1959, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4139/rec/14.

[xxxvii] Giles Hoyt, email message to author, October 1, 2024. Giles Hoyt is the lead historian for the Athenaeum Turners This response was received through inquiry regarding sources and points of interest for this topic.

[xxxviii] "Athenaeum Turners History," text, 1955, SC 2798, Alpha Rho Latreian Club collection 1955-1956, Manuscript Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

[xxxix] First photo "Fashion Show Finale," photograph, April 1, 1960, MSS039, Athenaeum Damenverein & Women's Auxiliary Image Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections & Archives, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/Damenverein/id/28/rec/49. Second Photo "Florence Ruede Modeling at Style Show," photograph, March 1961, MSS039, Athenaeum Damenverein & Women's Auxiliary Image Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections & Archives, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/Damenverein/id/37/rec/9.

[xl] "President's Report 1960," letter, April 6, 1960, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4117/rec/32.

[xli] "Letter from Athenaeum president Hiram D.D. Keehn to members," August 30, 1960, Letter, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4295/rec/10.

[xlii] First photo, "Women on Trapeze," 1961, photograph, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection. IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/704/rec/1. Second Photo, "Men Hanging from Bar," 1961, photograph, MSS032, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/705/rec/4. Not pictured: "The Turner, March 1953," magazine, March 1953, MSS038, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, 1, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/AmTurnersLS/id/5388/rec/1.

[xliii] "Forest Steinlage letter to Robert Swan, 1978-03-29," letter, May 29, 1978, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection. IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/5477/rec/2.

[xliv] "Annual meeting minutes 1960-04-06," letter, April 6, 1960, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, 3, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/2030/rec/16. Indicates the number of losses for membership. There were 1680 members in 1959. From 1959-1960 there were 128 losses and 95 new members, widow, or reinstated. The new membership total was 1647.

[xlv] "Annual meeting minutes 1969-05-14," letter, May 14, 1969, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, 6, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/2080/rec/2. Also see April 6, 1960 meeting minutes referenced above.

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[xlvii] "Letter from Walter J. Pippert to Athenaeum members, 1969-07-08," letter, July 8. 1969, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection. IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4303/rec/1.

[xlviii] "Letter from Riley Shuttleworth to Athenaeum members, 1969," letter, 1969, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/3229/rec/3.

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[l] "Lola Lohse letter to Art Lautzenheiser, 1970-09-23," letter, September 23, 1970, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/4615/rec/13.

[li] "Letter from Riley Shuttleworth to Athenaeum members, 1970-08-21," letter, August 21, 1970, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/3924/rec/14. President Shuttleworth mentioned that membership is around 1,000 and needs to be around 2,000, which outlines a loss of just over 200 members since 1969.

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[liii] "Our History," The Athenaeum Foundation, Accessed November 13, 2024, https://athenaeumindy.org/about/the-building/our-history/.

[liv] "Letter from Athenaeum President Robert Fatout, 1973-03-20," letter, March 20, 1973, MSS032, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IU Indianapolis University Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN, https://iuidigital.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ATurners/id/3233/rec/66.

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[lvi] "Feasibility Study for the Athenaeum Building, 1974," manuscript, May 1974, SC 1838, Manuscript Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN.

[lvii] Indiana Repertory Theatre's letter 12/12/73, in the "Feasibility Study for the Athenaeum Building, 1974," manuscript, May 1974, SC 1838, Manuscript Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library, Special Collections and Archives, Indianapolis, IN. Also detailed in Indianapolis Senior Deputy Mayor's Letter on June 18, 1973 and the Department of Housing and Urban Development Director David O Meek's letter on 12/27/73 found within the same feasibility study.

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[lxiii] Ibid.

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