

Appalachian Journal



A REGIONAL STUDIES REVIEW

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Appalachian Journal welcomes artist Annie Greenwood in this issue. You will see her work illustrating Signs of the Times. She describes herself this way:

Annie Greenwood is a writer and illustrator who grew up in the mountains of Tennessee, West Virginia, and North Carolina, but now lives in the Finger Lakes region of New York. By the time you read this, she might have done something with her website: anniegreenwood.wordpress.com

“Most Paintable Mountains”: Rudolph F. Ingerle and the Call of the Smokies

CANDICE ROLAND CANDETO AND MATTHEW JOSEPH GAILANI



Candice Roland Candeto holds a Master of Arts degree from the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture at the University of Delaware and a BA in American Studies and Historic Preservation from the University of Mary Washington. She has worked with collections and interpretation at several museums and historic sites in the Southeast. A native Tennessean raised in Charlottesville, Virginia, Candeto now serves as the Curator of Fine Art at the Tennessee State Museum in Nashville, where she was the lead curator of Painting the Smokies: Art, Community, and the Making of a National Park, on display from April 2022 to January 2023.



Matthew Gailani is a Museum Curator at the Tennessee State Museum. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and earned a Master of Arts from Columbia University in the City of New York and a Master of Science from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2017. He was also a curator for the Tennessee State Museum’s exhibit Painting the Smokies. Originally from Franklin, Tennessee, he now lives in Donelson.

On a late October morning in 1926, the early train arrived in Bryson City, North Carolina, after a nearly three-and-a-half-hour journey from Asheville. Two artists stepped off the train, loaded with luggage, cameras, brushes, and sketching material, hungry to take in the Smokies with fresh eyes. Rudolph Ingerle stepped into a taxi with his traveling companion, Otto Hake, and headed for the Fryemont Inn, where he was immersed in the allure of the Smoky Mountains for the first time.¹ The two men were not new to landscape painting and had followed nature’s muse through the Ozarks, the Cumberlands, and Blue Ridge Mountains, among others. Something about this Southern Appalachian town felt different, however, and particularly resonated with Ingerle, a tall Chicagoan with a dark mustache. Although he did not yet realize it, his legacy as an artist was being woven together with the Southern Appalachian landscape. By the time of his death, Ingerle was known as “The Painter of the Smokies.”²



Figure 1. Rudolph F. Ingerle. Unidentified photographer. Courtesy, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

That fall of 1926 was likely Rudolph Ingerle's fortuitous first trip to the Smoky Mountains.³ Arriving during Southern Appalachia's showiest season, the artist immediately took in the stunning display of color and light offered by the autumnal landscape. At the Fryemont Inn in Bryson City, Ingerle recounted how he and Hake "were ushered in through a big rough door ... It was a rustic restful place and had that art appeal ... Our trunks were brought up. We donned our mountain clothes, and from then on it was one grand and glorious holiday."⁴ The Fryemont had opened just a year prior. As the first resort in the area, it was an early harbinger of a new era of tourism for Western North Carolina. Where Ingerle interpreted the Fryemont as "rustic," it was advertised as having "all comforts and luxuries of a modern hotel" and offering "sports of all kinds including golf."⁵ Clearly inspired, Ingerle was quick to step into the role of promoter of the Smokies. During his first stay in the mountains, newspapers reported that Ingerle and Hake had "written to artist friends of theirs to come here and revel and paint with them."⁶ For his part, Otto Hake hosted an exhibition of his newest work in Chicago featuring a sketch titled *Entrance to the Fryemont Inn*.⁷

Although he may have imagined himself an intrepid explorer, Ingerle was hardly the first outsider to "discover" the region's unique beauty. Just months before his arrival, the United States Congress passed legislation for what would

become Great Smoky Mountains National Park. In response to years of clear cutting and the expansion of logging interests in the region, Park promoters looked to acquire funds and land in both Tennessee and North Carolina to make their dreams a reality. These efforts were the first fruits of a transformational national campaign to translate love of the mountains into preservation and profit. The Fryemont Inn where Hake and Ingerle vacationed was keenly aware of the changes the Park would soon bring and committed to capitalizing on the growth; as early as May of 1926, they advertised the resort as “The Entrance to Smoky Mountain National Park” and in 1927 hosted the local Chamber of Commerce to celebrate the Park’s creation, urging the people of Western North Carolina to “press forward” and “develop their resources.”⁸ A grassroots effort committed to the mountains’ perpetual care, the park movement held capitalistic opportunity as a central goal from its origins.

From Ingerle’s first visit to the region and his stay at the Fryemont Inn, the Chicago artist may have absorbed some of the language and enthusiasm for the Park that influenced his promotion of the Smoky Mountains in the following years. As a painter, however, Ingerle did not number among the National Park’s greatest champions: business and civic leaders largely led the park movement, and photography was the most influential visual medium.



Figure 2. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Evening Light*, 1923, oil on canvas, likely the Blue Ridge or Cumberlands. Courtesy, Tennessee State Museum

Enamored by the mountains, Ingerle embraced the themes of the park movement and contributed to its mission through exhibitions of his art outside of the region. Arriving in the mountains at the same time the National Park was coming to fruition, the “Painter of the Smokies” serves as a valuable case study for the ways in which the Smokies inspired visual art in the 20th century, as those from outside the region used a particular vision of Appalachian culture and landscape to communicate ideas about America’s past, present, and future.

Rudolph Frank Ingerle was born in Vienna, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on April 14, 1879. Beginning his life on the edge of the majestic Alps, Ingerle maintained a deep connection to mountains throughout his life’s travels.⁹ In 1890, Ingerle’s father, a shoemaker, moved his young family to the United States, first arriving in Burlington, Wisconsin. Rudolph Ingerle became a naturalized citizen in 1895 and ultimately settled in Chicago, which became his home for the rest of his life.¹⁰

Interviews at the time suggest that a young Ingerle originally studied as a violinist and trained under Carl Michael Ziehrer in Europe. One story suggests that Ingerle became infatuated with art after stumbling across a painting titled *The Violin Maker* in the window of the Siegel-Cooper Department Store in downtown Chicago and was soon after enrolled in art classes.¹¹ Ingerle’s professional art training included stints at Smith’s Art Academy and, most significantly, the Art Institute of Chicago. Membership in numerous artistic groups and societies during his career, while primarily based in Chicago, ensured his awareness of the most of-the-moment ideas in American art. As Modernism rose in the American art scene during the height of Ingerle’s career, practitioners of more reactionary styles also thrived in his circles: all three of Regionalism’s brightest stars—Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, and Grant Wood—exhibited in Chicago, their artistic theories circulating the air Ingerle breathed. Membership in groups like the Municipal Art League of Chicago, The Cliff Dwellers, the North Shore Art League, and the Palette and Chisel Club provided the artist with exposure to new ideas, opportunities for accolades and exhibitions, and the iron-sharpening-iron fellowship of artists that sparked his fire for new purpose in his painting.¹²

According to the artist’s curriculum vitae, which he attached to many of his works, Ingerle “believe[d], when a foreigner becomes an American, he should paint America—and with American enthusiasm.”¹³ In pursuit of this belief, Ingerle had already traveled extensively in search of great American landscapes to paint. This travel included trips to Brown County, Indiana, the Ozarks, where he had helped to found the Society of Ozark Painters with Carl R. Krafft, and the Cumberland and Blue Ridge Mountains.¹⁴ Ingerle’s most enduring fascination, however, was with the Great Smoky Mountains of Western North Carolina

An analysis of Rudolph Ingerle’s life and work reveals the enduring power of the Smoky Mountains to inspire art....

and East Tennessee. By 1927, Ingerle's exhibitions of his newest work proved that the artist's focus had been diverted to the Smokies.¹⁵ In particular, the artist's work featured at the Art Institute of Chicago during the late 1920s and early 1930s reveals this shift in subject matter. During this time, Ingerle used annual showcases to exhibit his paintings of the Smokies. For example, during a 1927 exhibition, Ingerle submitted three separate works with "Smokie Mountains" in the title. In 1929, the artist submitted two more pieces displaying the Smoky Mountains in the Windy City. This shift did not go unnoticed by critics.¹⁶ In 1935, Chicago art critic C.J. Bulliet recounted how Ingerle "deserted the Ozarks about a decade ago for the Smoky Mountains, which seem to him more poetically beautiful, more mysterious."¹⁷ An analysis of Rudolph Ingerle's life and work reveals the enduring power of the Smoky Mountains to inspire art, as well as the role of art in the region after the National Park was established in 1934.



Figure 3. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Smoky Mountain Panorama*, c. 1926-1935, oil on canvas. Courtesy, Tennessee State Museum

Ingerle's surviving paintings and writings leave little doubt of the artist's fondness for the Smoky Mountains. Defined by vibrant color and captivating light, the artist's landscapes of Southern Appalachia were exhibited to national

audiences who praised their effective technique and composition. Ingerle preferred painting in early morning or late in the evening, when the light cast a soft effect on the mountains that brought out their many hues. His paintings frequently featured distinctive backlit trees that seemed to glow from the canvas, often in the bright yellows and oranges of autumn (see Figures 3, 6, 9. Also see the *Appalachian Journal* website for color images of the artwork that appears in this article). Compositionally, some of Ingerle’s works depicted majestic landscapes as they might have appeared from an extreme vista or perhaps a soaring bird overhead. Others were more human-scaled scenes that gave the sense of being deep in the woods, nestled in ridges and foliage. While his earlier works suggest Impressionistic influences with loose application of paint and studied renderings of light, the artist’s paintings became increasingly realistic as he moved toward portraits of the Smokies’ residents in addition to depictions of the mountains themselves.

Imaging and Imagining Appalachia



Figure 4. Robert Seldon Duncanson, *Landscape in the Smoky Mountains, Tennessee*, 1851-1853, oil on canvas. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library

Artists from outside Appalachia, like Ingerle, were late to “discover” the Smoky Mountains. A generation or two earlier, the celebrated Hudson River School had found ceaseless inspiration in the Northern Appalachians. One of the earliest works of art to depict the Smokies was executed by Robert S. Duncanson, an African American painter based in Cincinnati. Duncanson’s painting centers on Short Mountain, a geographical feature in northwestern Cannon County,

Tennessee, outside of the Smokies, but nevertheless advertised to viewers as part of the region (Figure 4). The highly skilled rendering demonstrated the richness of the Southern Appalachians for artists seeking inspiration from the American landscape, a painting made more poignant by an African American man who took on immense personal risk in traveling to the antebellum South to create it. With a creek bed in the foreground, a dirt path winds towards the blue mountains in the distance, inviting the viewer into the Edenic center of the composition where cows peacefully graze. While Duncanson's work received great acclaim amidst fine art society, some 20 years later it was an engraving of the Smokies, rather than an oil painting, that became one of the first nationally consumed images of the mountains. Circulated widely in the publication *Picturesque America* in 1872, the print was part of a book of prose and illustrations that celebrated the diversity of the United States' landscapes in the wake of the Civil War, and on the eve of the patriotic fervor of the centennial (Figure 5). The image captured the layered ridges and mist, iconic characteristics that defined later depictions of the Smokies, introducing the seduction of the region to a new audience.¹⁸



Figure 5. The Smoky Mountains, in *Picturesque America*, 1872. Engraving by R. Hinshellwood, after a painting by Homer Martin

While paint and ink were spilled in abundance to celebrate the Northern Appalachians and Western Rockies in mid-19th century art and literature, large-scale, national interest in Southern Appalachia delayed to the end of the

19th century. So-called local color writers introduced the nation to Southern Appalachia through literature that dramatized the landscape, romanticized regional history, and communicated at times harmful stereotypes about its residents. White residents were frequently portrayed as illiterate, superstitious, and frozen in the past. While the real contributions of Black Appalachians were largely ignored in the literature, the Cherokee were frequently featured as tragic characters destined to fade from the landscape. Stereotypical characterization played out on an evocative mountain stage, isolated from mainstream culture, and shrouded in eerie mist. Local color fiction made for popular reading: by 1900, interest in the Smoky Mountains of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina had become a national phenomenon.¹⁹

Local color writing laid the groundwork for Ingerle and other outsiders to find their own meaning in Southern Appalachia. While little evidence survives of Ingerle's consuming local color writing prior to his first trip to the Smokies, the artist surely shared belief in the unique allure of the mountains, which he expressed in both his writing and art. His *Palette & Chisel* article "The Land of the Sky" tellingly used the same title as the 1876 local color novel by North Carolinian Frances Christine Fisher Tiernan, who published over 40 books under the pen name Christian Reid. In the article, Ingerle described the qualities that he believed set the Smokies apart for visual artists:

Usually, when speaking of mountains to the painter, the reaction is not over enthusiastic. While he knows they are awing and glorious to look at, he does not visualize good painting material. But in this respect these mountains are different. I believe they are most paintable. Covered with trees of every kind—(there are 127 varieties in this range) an ever changing color caused by continual haze of one sort or another, nice flowing line, plenty of running, tumbling rivers and creeks, clear as crystal, interesting cabins and above all here are the most hospitable, friendly folks to be with.²⁰

In this loquacious passage, Ingerle identified the two driving forces that called him and so many other creatives to the region—natural beauty and cultural interest. It was in these dual forces where Ingerle found inspiration, completing accomplished works of both landscape and portraiture in the mountains over his dozens of visits to East Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Ingerle responded to both, identifying key themes in each. Playing on established ideas of the Smokies as mysterious, pure, and nostalgic for a romanticized American past, Ingerle situated the natural and human resources of the mountains as an apologetic for his own beliefs about the future of American art, discussed later in this article.

Local color writing laid the groundwork for Ingerle and other outsiders to find their own meaning in Southern Appalachia.

Ingerle seems to have absorbed [Kephart's] ideas about the incomparable beauty of the mountains and his obsession with mountain folklife.

If Ingerle sought a kindred soul in this mission to study the Smokies and leverage their meaning, he certainly found it in Horace Kephart, the renowned woodsman and author. Kephart had arrived in the mountains in 1905 seeking a fresh start after a tumultuous period in his personal life. First published in 1913 to national success, Kephart's book *Our Southern Highlanders* recounted his experiences in remote Appalachia, rich with local color drama and stereotypes of residents. Ingerle and Kephart met on one of the artist's trips to the region. Ingerle wrote about this encounter stating, "We met Mr. Kephardt (sic), the

writer of 'Southern Highlanders' and a man that perhaps knows as much about these mountains as any one."²¹ Hints of Ingerle's exposure to local color writing appear in his echoes of Kephart's language. Ingerle seems to have absorbed the author's ideas about the incomparable beauty of the mountains and his obsession with mountain folklife. In the artist's writings he adopts many of Kephart's themes, especially regarding mountain residents' perceived connections to the past and to nature. In an essay for *The Palette & Chisel*, published about a month after Kephart

was killed in a car accident, Ingerle slips from an introduction to the history and geography of the Smoky Mountains into a nearly word-for-word romantic passage of Kephart's about the iconic mountain mist: "Nearly always there hovers over these mountains a tenuous mist, a dreamy blue haze, like that of Indian summer. In the late fall it is like a great smoke, that covers all, and beyond is mystery, enchantment."²² Although he failed to identify Kephart as the original author of the lines in his article, which appeared several years earlier in a booklet Kephart developed to promote the National Park, Ingerle clearly concurred with the late Kephart's sentiments as a fellow creative under the Smokies' enchanting spell.²³

The Smokies for the Nation

The Smokies that Rudolph Ingerle found when he arrived in the fall of 1926 were on the precipice of great change, following a decade of posturing in urban centers like Knoxville to position Southern Appalachia as a leader in the New South. At the center of this change was the movement to establish a national park in the area, the legislation for which was passed in Congress the same year as Ingerle's first visit to the region. Ingerle reportedly believed his art had "played a small part" in the success of the park movement which transformed the area. By traveling to the Smokies at this time, Ingerle's art was influenced by these events. Ingerle believed he also made a "modest" contribution "in persuading the government to set aside the Smoky Mountain region as a national park."²⁴

On September 12, 1910, the first Appalachian Exposition in Knoxville's Chilhowee Park had welcomed the world to East Tennessee.²⁵ The Exposition was acutely self-aware, intentionally pushing back against prevalent stereotypes by celebrating the region's progress, refinement, and potential. The Exposition's Fine Arts Building highlighted Southern Appalachia's artistic accomplishments, carefully curated and managed by members of a group known as the Nicholson Art League. The League and other Exposition leaders were keenly attuned to the important role art could play in promoting the region. Their attention to public perception was on display in their response to a mystical painting, *The Shadow of the Cross* by Henry Hammond Ahl.²⁶ In travelling displays, Ahl's portrait of Christ had garnered national fascination for its supernatural glow, reported in newspapers across the country. Organizers brought the novelty to the Appalachian Exposition, where attendees happily paid an extra fee to crowd the darkened room where the mystical painting was hung. The crowds to see Ahl's glowing Christ left the more austere galleries of the Nicholson Art League's carefully curated Fine Arts Building comparatively quiet.

The Shadow of the Cross countered everything the Nicholson Art League and civic leaders hoped to accomplish with the Appalachian Exposition: leveraging art as means of pushing back against "hillbilly" imagery and showcasing Southern Appalachian sophistication and modernity. They feared the enthusiasm for Ahl's painting reinforced stereotypes of Appalachian people as superstitious and uneducated. The League quickly put forth a rebuttal to the display with a didactic account of the painting's folly, intended to inform the public "what is and is not worthy in art." In a resolution introduced by Lloyd Branson, they condemned the painting and all "illegitimate and curious things to creep in the back way under the guise of art" as a "fraudulent" and "sacrilegious" distraction. Robert Lindsay Mason, another important member of the League, then published his own accounts explaining the glowing effect of Ahl's painting by a naturally occurring phosphorescent pigment. By attributing the mystical effect to a phenomenon drawn from the soil rather than the divine, Mason reinforced the prominence of nature in so-called legitimate art. Reiterating this point, Mason was said to have discovered the trick while painting a sunset, likely in his native Tennessee, reminding readers where true inspiration could be found.²⁷

The Nicholson Art League's response to *The Shadow of the Cross* demonstrates the importance they placed on their role as arbiters of art in Southern Appalachia, and the role they believed art would play in influencing the national perception of the region.²⁸ The League's influence was primarily local and regional. While Exposition leaders and the Nicholson Art League sought to counter and control stereotypes about their region through art, however, creatives like Ingerle from outside of the region leaned into those same images for inspiration. Central to depictions of Southern Appalachia's "otherness" in this period were ideas about its ethnic purity. By the time Ingerle arrived in the Smoky Mountains in the late 1920s, the United States was nearing the peak

of decades of rising immigration, with anti-immigration sentiment following in response. This rhetoric fueled the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, which sought to severely limit immigration to the United States, and particularly singled out Asian immigrants. During this period, Southern Appalachia remained a frequent touchpoint for those exalting the perceived virtues of Anglo-Saxon heritage and “purity.” President William Goodell Frost of Berea College famously expounded upon these virtues in his 1899 article, “Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains.” In language shared by Horace Kephart, Frost’s treatise presented Appalachian residents as “anachronisms” who had “stepped aside from the great avenues of commerce and of thought” and perpetuated ideas of Appalachians as isolated, self-sufficient, idiosyncratic, patriotic, and, with regards to their ancestry and race, “almost wholly Revolutionary and British.”²⁹

President Theodore Roosevelt reiterated the association between Southern Appalachia and ideas about ethnic purity in his speech at the 1910 Appalachian Exposition. He praised the “average citizen” of East Tennessee as “more purely native American than any other part of our country,” referring not to indigenous ancestry but to the white colonists of the Revolutionary generation.³⁰ A decade later when explaining his support for women’s suffrage, East Tennessee politician Harry T. Burn stated, “I desire that my party, in both state and nation, might say that it was a republican from the mountains from East Tennessee, the purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made national woman’s suffrage possible.”³¹ For many white Americans both inside and outside Southern Appalachia during this period, pride in and appreciation for the region was closely tied to inaccurate and harmful ideas about its racial makeup and history.³²

While white politicians eulogized the Anglo-Saxons of Appalachia, the Cherokee, the region’s original inhabitants, held a complex place in this ideology. Ingerle’s personal correspondence documents that the artist did meet with members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians during his initial visits to the region. It appears the artist even traveled to the Qualla Boundary, writing after one trip, “in the afternoon we all went to the Cherokee Indian Reservation. There were about 2,000 Cherokees here....”³³ Ingerle may have also encountered Cherokee culture at the Fryemont Inn which by 1926 was hosting weekly Cherokee “historic dances.”³⁴ Despite these experiences, it appears Ingerle believed the Cherokee people would not remain in the region for long. In another letter in the fall of 1927, he wrote, “... then there are the Cherokee Indians but it won’t be long before they will pass and they are starting to somewhat pass already.”³⁵

Rudolph Ingerle joined a chorus of writers and authors who looked to Southern Appalachia as a fount of pure American identity in an era of social, economic, and technological change. The artist’s views on mountain culture, in contrast with those of broader American society, informed the art he created there. Writing about the region and its residents, Ingerle stated, “The natives are the finest strain of Anglo-Saxon, hospitable, kind, living mostly in log



Figure 6. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Swappin' Grounds*, 1928, oil on canvas. Courtesy, Art Institute of Chicago

cabins, down in the 'holler,' as they call the valley. The mountaineers are fine types and afford great opportunities for figure painting. Here, I believe, is one phase of American life and landscape that is still pure."³⁶ In another letter, Ingerle wrote that the Smokies housed, "the greatest array of real characters one could ask for."³⁷ Ingerle praised this variety of "characters" in the same way he had celebrated the array of plant species found in the Smokies, although he seems to have appreciated botanical diversity more than ethnic and cultural diversity in the region.

Ingerle's comments on ethnic purity in the Smokies are complicated by the fact that he himself was an immigrant. Throughout his career, Ingerle maintained relationships and practices that reinforced his heritage, including using Czech phrases on occasion in his correspondence. As a member of the Bohemian Arts Club, Ingerle networked with other Chicago-based artists who shared his Eastern European background, including fellow Art Institute of Chicago artist, Czech-American

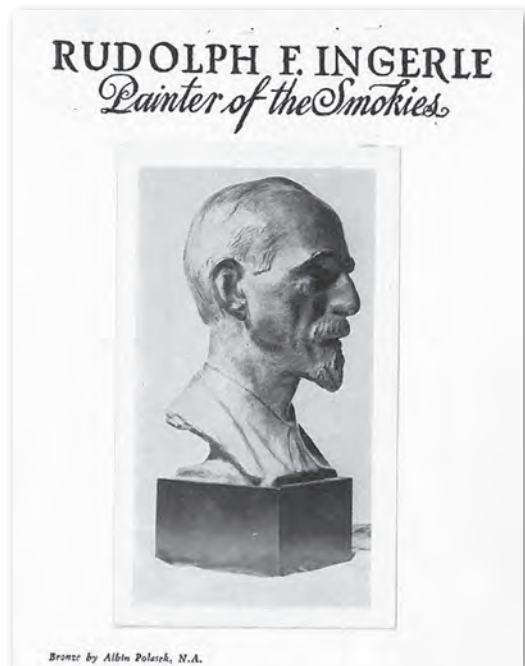


Figure 7. Ingerle's Artist Card, depicting bust by Albin Polasek. Courtesy, Rockford Art Museum, Rockford, Illinois



Figure 8. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Salt of the Earth*, c. 1930, oil on canvas. Courtesy, Rockford Art Museum, Rockford, Illinois. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie H. Geddes

sculptor Albin Polasek. Ingerle used an image of the bust Polasek sculpted of him on his artist card for the backs of his paintings (Figure 7). On the eve of World War II, Ingerle, Polasek, and others surely would have processed the political turmoil of their homeland together, along with the latest artistic thought.³⁸ Despite his musings about the superiority of American landscapes for the artist, compared with those of Europe, Ingerle traveled to Czechoslovakia in 1935 to “do paintings of his fatherland.”³⁹ Neither blue-eyed nor Anglo-Saxon—qualities he praised in the Appalachian residents he idealized—Ingerle seemingly held both his Eastern European heritage and his ideas about ethnic purity in American identity simultaneously without conflict.⁴⁰

The portraits Ingerle created in the Smoky Mountains demonstrate his interest in the region as a model of pure American identity. One of the artist's largest canvases, a portrait set in Western North Carolina, depicts a man and a woman on the porch of their log home. The woman sits just behind her husband to his left, an apron covering her dress and a kerchief covering her head, while the man in boots and overalls holds an apple in his lap, picked from the toppled sack resting on the dusty porch. Ingerle depicts the couple gazing directly at the viewer, their posture communicating a quiet, self-assured pride in keeping with the artist's descriptions of the residents he encountered in the mountains and the painting's unequivocal title, *Salt of the Earth* (See Figure 8). Their stoic pose and modest domestic setting are reminiscent of Grant Wood's famous *American Gothic*, which was first exhibited in 1930, about a year before Ingerle's similar work.⁴¹ Comparisons to *American Gothic* appeared in newspapers and exhibition reviews almost immediately after *Salt of the Earth* was first exhibited.⁴² That Ingerle was familiar with Wood's painting, which had been so enthusiastically received at its debut in Ingerle's own hometown of Chicago, seems probable. While the similarities in composition and subject matter are striking, Ingerle's work is more natural, the couple situated in a believable pose and setting, in contrast to Grant Wood's fastidiously composed and intentionally flattened image. Wood's *American Gothic* was modeled after the artist's sister and the family dentist—intended to represent a farmer and his daughter—yet the couple in Ingerle's *Salt of the Earth* were a real husband and wife from the rural Smoky Mountains: the Franklins of Alarka, North Carolina.⁴³ This Smoky Mountain family became under Ingerle's artistic eye a statement on American art and values. Revealingly, a newspaper account from the period identified Ingerle's alternative title for the painting as *Southern Highlanders*, echoing the title of Horace Kephart's most famous work.⁴⁴

Salt of the Earth was Ingerle's visual presentation of a quintessential Appalachian couple—connected to the land and home, untainted by modern society. In another painting titled *Sunday Afternoon* (See Figure 9), Ingerle reiterated his perspective on mountain life and its perceived values for his national audience. Here, towering golden trees are as much subject as setting, framing a log cabin and a family dressed in homespun. An intrepid patriarch, interpreted by some as an image of Horace Kephart himself, poses outside the log home, while women stationed in the doorway symbolize domesticity.⁴⁵ Ingerle employed the enduring symbolism of the log cabin to evoke ideas about American identity, mirroring the Park Service's own decision to remove modern frame structures and repopulate log ones for the enjoyment of visitors to Cades Cove.⁴⁶ Realistic in technique, Ingerle's depictions of mountain residents are nevertheless deeply romanticized. Its people would be as comfortable in an early 19th century frontier as in the 1930s, their lives deeply connected to the remarkable landscape but never leaving an irreversible mark upon it. In *Sunday Afternoon*, Ingerle presented a visual defense for the "contemporary ancestor" thesis Kephart and Berea College's Frost had argued.



Figure 9. Rudolph Ingerle, *Sunday Afternoon*, 1929, oil on canvas. Courtesy, the Johnson Collection, Spartanburg, South Carolina

Artistic interest in the Smoky Mountains included both these ideas about racial and environmental purity. Ingerle celebrated the artistic potential of the American landscape for its lack of human intervention: “America ... leads the world in landscape painting, the reason for this being perhaps that here we do not have so many charming little cottages and buildings around which to center our landscapes,” he said. “We paint nature, which is art at its grandest.”⁴⁷ At times, writers and visual artists—Ingerle included—adopted contradictory arguments, simultaneously celebrating the untouched landscape and the people who had clearly left their mark on it for generations. As shown, Ingerle did not shy away from populating his painted landscapes with the people whose lifestyle he so admired—yet in his writings, he often praised the natural environment as free from human influence. Ingerle wrote, “This wildest and most picturesque highland east of the Rockies was practically unknown until a few years ago. Even now there are gulfs in the Smokies that no man is known to have penetrated.”⁴⁸ With this language, Ingerle, joining writers like Kephart

and the local color novelists, also diminished the centuries of indigenous presence on the land. Especially in the context of advocacy for the National Park, minimizing the permanency of contemporary rural residents helped to justify removal from their homes. If their residency left so little mark that the landscape surrounding them bore no trace of their presence, then displacing them from their homes surely would be inconsequential.⁴⁹

In reality, however, the Smokies' supposed isolation and ethnic homogeneity were both imagined. Writers that emphasized both traits revealed more about their own assumptions and agendas than about rural mountain communities themselves. Scholars, especially Durwood Dunn, have demonstrated that from the earliest inhabitation by white settlers, mountain communities like Cades Cove, which ultimately became part of the National Park, were home to a diverse group of people from a variety of national origins.⁵⁰ Although the geography of the mountains could inhibit travel, many communities that existed within what became the borders of the National Park were thriving groups with personal, commercial, and governmental connections to neighboring cities. These connections meant exposure to mainstream American culture and active participation in society outside of the rural mountains. Outsiders' perceptions of the region as a frozen-in-time, preserved portion of Anglo-Saxon early America merely perpetuated a strategic mythology.

Salt of the Earth is a particularly strong example that aligns Ingerle within the American art movement known as Regionalism. Regionalism rejected the modern European influences of Abstract art, which Ingerle described as "decadent." "Nowadays," Ingerle complained to an interviewer, "some of these people just daub on a few splashes of paint, give it some fanciful name, and then if you don't see anything in it, they tell you that you don't appreciate art."⁵¹ Instead, Regionalists favored realistic depictions of everyday American scenes, especially in the rural heartland. In the context of national reckonings with immigration, changing technologies, and economic devastation, Regionalism's messaging was, on its surface, strategic: it offered a comforting solution to modern woes, a response which was rooted in the rural past. Ingerle's writing and painting provide insight into this movement and the ways in which Southern Appalachia's natural and cultural resources were leveraged toward its goals.

Recent scholarship has expounded upon the subversive social commentary present in regionalist works by Wood, Curry, and Benton, which complicate their nostalgic first reading. Ingerle's painting, however, is earnestly sincere. His portrayals of the mountains and their residents, as well as his writings about the inspiration he found in Southern Appalachia, reveal no hints of irony or double meaning. In this way, Ingerle represents a version of Regionalism, that is, an artistic interest in the character of a specific locality, which is free from the more complex interpretations of the movement's brighter lights. To his stated goal to paint America, as an immigrant, with American enthusiasm, Ingerle could have added "in an American manner." He wholeheartedly rejected the encroaches of "European modernism," instead perfecting a realistic style



Figure 10. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Aunt Winchester*, c. 1934, oil on canvas. Courtesy, United States National Park Service, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, GRSM 122

and embracing subjects that connected himself and the viewer to an imagined American past insulated from globalizing influences.⁵²

That Ingerle's work is sincerely Regionalist, however, does not mean that his paintings were without relevance to their day. Although artists in the period and later scholars have described Regionalism—including Ingerle's works of portraiture—as honest and unromanticized, idealization of mountain culture characterized both Ingerle's writings and paintings. In selecting his subjects, Ingerle generally privileged log cabins and homespun over the frame structures and ready-made consumer goods that were also present in the developed communities where he stayed in the Smokies. Romanticization of and nostalgia for a whiter, "simpler" American past was a keen socio-political statement in the 1920s and '30s, one which Ingerle's art seems to endorse.



Figure 11. Robert S. Duncanson, *Landscape with Rainbow*, 1859, oil on canvas, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Leonard and Paula Granoff, 1983.95.160

Not all artists who found inspiration in the Smoky Mountains, however, were inclined toward Regionalism's nostalgic goals. For Will Henry Stevens, the Smokies provided a laboratory to explore more modern art styles. Stevens was also an outsider to Southern Appalachia, born in Indiana and employed in prestigious teaching and design positions from Cincinnati to Louisiana. Stevens, too, found inspiration in both the people and landscape of Western North Carolina and East Tennessee. He briefly established an arts school in Gatlinburg and made frequent trips to the region, where his prolific work in pastel displayed his interest in modern styles.⁵³ Stevens embraced the abstract and nonrepresentational art that repelled Ingerle. The mountains were vast enough to contain both perspectives.⁵⁴

Depicted in her log home, Ingerle's *Aunt Winchester* is perhaps the most revealing example of the artist's portraits of Southern Appalachians (Fig. 10). The striking portrait depicts a seated elderly woman in her log home, an oil lamp on the table beside, with sunlight from the adjacent window casting a warm glow over the scene. Winchester's deep-set eyes and creased face call the viewer to imagine the bygone days she has witnessed, while the fading light in Aunt Winchester's modest home suggests the passing of time and waning of her era. As in *Salt of the Earth*, Ingerle used a plate of apples to reference both the symbolic American Eden he had found in the mountains and the real historical importance of apple production in the region. Products of home craft fill Aunt Winchester's space, from a carved broomstick or walking stick to the homespun dress she wears, all showing the real materials of everyday life in the mountains and the romanticized, increasingly commercialized products of nostalgia and imagination. While the setting is not unrealistic for a home



Figure 12. Rudolph F. Ingerle, *Triumphant Arch*, 1926-1935, oil on canvas. Courtesy, Tennessee State Museum

in the rural mountains during this time period, the scene is intentionally timeless, equally evocative of the frontier a century earlier, with one important exception: in the middle of the composition, a Cardui drugstore calendar firmly roots the painting in the present. The calendar appears to be from 1934, likely the year Ingerle painted *Winchester*; it is also the same year the National Park was officially established, a herald of the imminent change set to transform Winchester's world. The portrait, alternatively titled *The Matriarch of the Smokies*, depicts a real woman—Mary Ridley Winchester (1848-1942) of Swain County, North Carolina.⁵⁵ Through the exhibition of the painting, Mary Ridley Winchester became a symbol of a nostalgic past rooted in the image of the mountains that transfixed the nation. Her image was later distributed as a popular postcard printed by Kelly & Green of Gatlinburg, Incorporated, and distributed to Smoky Mountain tourists, where its influence continued beyond Ingerle's lifetime into the late 20th century.⁵⁶

Ingerle maintained a fondness for *Aunt Winchester*: he kept the portrait in his personal collection until donating it to the National Park Service in 1950. When he did so, his instructions for the painting's framing reiterated its interpretative goals. In a letter to Arthur Stupka, a naturalist for the Park Service, Ingerle wrote that he wanted the piece set in a new frame of "plain

3-inch molding,” as the current hand-carved gilded one was “out of key” with its rustic surroundings.⁵⁷ The thick oak frame that Ingerle dictated, in its emphasis on natural material and simple design, complemented the artist’s embrace of nostalgic mountain imagery and the strong association of craftsmanship with Appalachian heritage and cultural identity. As he made plans to transfer the portrait to the Park, Ingerle wrote to Stupka stating he hoped that he could “move down there sometime in the near future.” The great “Painter of the Smokies” never called the Smoky Mountains home, however—Rudolph Ingerle died in Chicago on October 20, 1950. His widow mused that perhaps if he had made it back to the mountains sooner, he would have lived.⁵⁸

Conclusion: The Painter of the Smokies

On January 20, 2021, an 1859 painting titled *Landscape with Rainbow* by Robert S. Duncanson—the masterful African American artist who had been among the first non-Appalachians to paint the region—took center stage in the inauguration festivities for President Joseph R. Biden. The attractive landscape, probably depicting an area near Duncanson’s base in Cincinnati, featured cows peacefully grazing in a valley enclosed by blue mountains, while a man and woman, their bare feet connecting them to the earth, gesture toward a magnificent glowing rainbow in the sky above (Figure 11). Duncanson skillfully employed the rainbow motif which had been used by his contemporaries to symbolize hope; the poignancy of the message resonates against the artist’s context as a Black man in the United States on the brink of Civil War.⁵⁹ Some 70 years later, Rudolph Ingerle reached for the rainbow imagery to communicate his perspective on the Smoky Mountains and hope for a nation once again in an era of challenge and change. Ingerle’s painting also centers on a valley nestled amidst blue ridges, with a translucent arch of color and light dominating the top two-thirds of the composition (Figure 12). In Ingerle’s valley, however, rather than a lone couple and a herd of cows, is a small town. The artist places his symbol of hope and blessing over not just the beautiful natural landscape but over a Smokies community, the built environment dwarfed by the majestic mountains, yet distinct and significant in the composition. Ingerle described this intangible experience of being in the Smokies as, “a peacefulness and grandeur that make you feel tiny and your earthly troubles look small.”⁶⁰ Through both his landscapes and portraiture, Ingerle demonstrated the inspiration, meaning, and hope for the future he identified through his experiences in the Smoky Mountains.

In the years following his first visit to the Smokies in 1926, Rudolph Ingerle and other artists who “discovered” the region helped establish the Smoky Mountains as a beloved subject for painting, as well as a destination for art enthusiasts from around the country. In Gatlinburg in 1933, Louis E. Jones, originally from New York, established the Cliff Dwellers Studio where he sold his own paintings, souvenir postcards, and a curated selection of artisan products that reflected East Tennessee’s status as a central hub for

craft revival.⁶¹ After the dedication of the National Park in 1940, Gatlinburg's arts and craft community continued to flourish, bolstered by growing waves of tourists interested in taking home a piece of the beauty they found in the mountains. Cherokee artisans in Western North Carolina strategically capitalized on tourism, too, adapting traditional art and craft practices to create and market baskets, carvings, and other creations as souvenirs. Ingerle remained focused primarily on his professional fine arts community to the metropolitan North, with few of his images of the Smokies remaining in the region that inspired them. Many artists shortly after him, however, shifted their attentions to the pocketbooks opened by the Park. Further study of this group of artistic depictions of the Smoky Mountains post-1940 could reveal the ways in which local and non-local visual artists adapted their work in response to this new audience and market.

Ultimately, Ingerle's moniker "Painter of the Smokies" may have been largely self-appointed. Appearing on the artist's statement card that he affixed to the backs of many of his paintings and occasionally in published reviews, the title represents a small example of how non-Appalachians claimed a piece of the region during this era of capitalization on the mountains' natural and cultural resources. Although clearly enamored with Southern Appalachia, Rudolph Ingerle maintained his home in Chicago, where Census records captured him living with his family in Highland Park.⁶² Ingerle traveled south to the Smokies again and again but kept his roots firmly planted in one of the nation's most vibrant urban artistic centers. Ingerle's decision to remain in Chicago may have contributed, even if indirectly, to his ability to influence the movement for a National Park. Ingerle displayed his Smoky Mountain landscapes in numerous exhibitions in Chicago during the critical years of lobbying for and working to create a national park in the region, and from his first visit responded to the beauty of the mountains by inviting other artists to join him in the Smokies. By bringing his images of Southern Appalachia north to a major city, with their unmistakable messages about the region's meaning and significance for a changing American society, Ingerle served as an evangelist for the mountains.

It would be difficult to number Rudolph Ingerle among the park movement's most significant champions—by his own assessment, his contributions were "small."⁶³ In truth, the mountains served Ingerle's artistic purposes more meaningfully than Ingerle served the movement to create Great Smoky Mountains National Park. For those who study and appreciate his art today, however, Ingerle's personal experiences, stated artistic goals, and visual language used to speak about the Smokies reveal much about how artists and non-Appalachians viewed the region and found inspiration there. Ingerle's landscapes did garner more national exposure than most artists working in the region during this time. Exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Mint Museum in Charlotte, North Carolina, during this period brought his award-winning images of the mountains to a wide audience, and his writings and presentations to local groups spread awareness and appreciation of the Smokies outside of

the region. For those of his urban audience who had never experienced the Smokies firsthand, Ingerle's art testified to the beauty, perceived purity, and vulnerability of the mountains at a time when their future was yet undecided. For viewers today, appreciating Ingerle's work requires holding simultaneously the beauty of his paintings and the complexities of the nostalgic, at times troubling, worldview they communicated.

Art in general, especially painting, played a specific and limited role in the movement to create Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Even for those exhibited outside of the region, landscape paintings created by Rudolph Ingerle and other East Tennessee contemporary painters like those of the Nicholson Art League, reached relatively few people nationwide, especially compared to photographic images created in the region. Many of the people that these paintings did reach, however, were strategically situated to impact the movement for a park. Ingerle's paintings in the Smoky Mountains brought Regionalism painting to Southern Appalachia, where its themes found the mythologies and mysteries of the mountains to be fertile soil. Today Ingerle's works stand as a testament to the enduring call of the Smokies and the spirit of the times that brought the country's most visited national park into reality.⁶⁴

Notes

1. Otto Hake (1876-1965) was a German-born artist who, like Ingerle, was based in Chicago and was a member of the Palette and Chisel Club. He is best known for his murals as a WPA artist. For more information on Otto Hake, see Wendy Greenhouse, "Otto Hake," M. Christine Schwartz Collection Artist's Page.

2. Rudolph F. Ingerle, "The Land of the Sky: A Mountain Lyric," *The Palette & Chisel* (January 1927): 3, 8. Courtesy of the Palette & Chisel Academy of Fine Arts records, 1896-1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

3. Accounts of the date of Ingerle's visit to the Smoky Mountains differ. Language from the author's own writings and newspaper articles from the time about his travels, however, especially in *The Palette & Chisel*, suggest that the date of fall 1926 is most probable. Anne D. Bryson, "Artists Charmed with Mountains: They Come to Stay One Week and Can't Get Away for Six," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, December 5, 1926, 8.

4. Ingerle, "The Land of the Sky," 8.

5. Letterhead of Fryemont Inn, personal correspondence, Rudolph Ingerle to Mrs. L.A. Schulz, November 1, 1927, Rockford Art Museum Artist Files, Rockford, Illinois. Special thanks to Carrie Johnson of the Rockford Art Museum for granting access to these materials.

6. "Artists, Film Man are Attracted by Bryson City Views," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 2, 1926, 5.

7. Eleanor Jewett, "Otto Hake to open exhibition today at Palette and Chisel," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1927, 40.

8. "Fryemont Inn," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 16, 1926, 32; and "Bryson City has fete over park," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, February 27, 1927, 5.

9. C.J. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present, No. 23, Rudolph Ingerle," *Chicago Daily News*, July 27, 1935, access courtesy of the Illinois Historical Art Project.

10. For biographical overviews on Ingerle, see Estill Curtis Pennington and Martha R. Severens, *Scenic Impressions: Southern Interpretations from the Johnson Collection* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 38-39; Wendy Greenhouse, "Rudolph Ingerle," *Chicago Modern, 1893-1945: Pursuit of the New*, edited by Elizabeth Kennedy (Chicago: Terra Museum of American Art, 2004), 123; and Wendy Greenhouse, "Rudolph Ingerle," M. Christine Schwartz Collection Artist's Page.
11. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present."
12. "Rudolph F. Ingerle 'Painter of the Smokies,'" Rockford Art Museum Artist Files [n.d.].
13. Ibid.
14. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present."
15. Art Institute of Chicago, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Works by Chicago Artists, 1897-1985*. Journals in this series from between 1920 and 1930 reveal a shift in Ingerle's attention to the Smokies around 1927.
16. Art Institute of Chicago, *The Catalogue of the Thirty-First Annual Exhibition by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity at The Art Institute of Chicago, February 3 to March 8, 1927*; Art Institute of Chicago, *The Catalogue of the Thirty-Third Annual Exhibition by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity at the Art Institute of Chicago, February 7 to March 10, 1929*.
17. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present."
18. "Robert S. Duncanson," Smithsonian American Art Museum, <https://www.americanart.si.edu/artist/Robert-S-Duncanson-1353>; "Winterthur acquires rare painting by Robert S. Duncanson," press release by Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library, June 4, 2019.
19. For more on stereotypes of Appalachia in popular literature, see Stewart Plein, "Portraits of Appalachia: The Identification of Stereotype in Publishers' Bookbindings, 1850-1915," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 15, no. 1 (Fall 2009), 99-115; Katie Alego, "Locals on Local Color: Imagining Identity in Appalachia," *Southern Cultures* 9, no. 4 (2003), 27-54; and Nellie McNeil and Joyce Squibb, "Local Color & the Realistic Tradition," in *A Southern Appalachian Reader* (Appalachian Consortium Press, 1988), 69-174.
20. Ingerle, "The Land of the Sky," 3.
21. Ibid.
22. Rudolph F. Ingerle, "A Painter's Paradise and its Lure: The Smoky Mountains and their People," *The Palette & Chisel* VIII, no. 5 (May 1931), 1-2. Courtesy of the Palette & Chisel Academy of Fine Arts records, 1896-1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
23. Ingerle was quoting Horace Kephart, "A National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains" (Swain County Chamber of Commerce, 1925). Kephart had also used similar language in his most famous work, *Our Southern Highlanders: A Narrative of Adventure in the Southern Appalachians and a Study of Life Among the Mountaineers*, revised edition (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 52.
24. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present."
25. For an overview of the Appalachian Exposition of 1910, see Robert D. Lukens, "Appalachian Exposition of 1910," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 20; and "The First Fair of Its Kind: Knoxville's 1913 National Conservation Exposition,"

an online exhibition by the East Tennessee Historical Society, 2013, <https://www.easttnhistory.org/exhibits/first-fair-its-kind>. The authors thank Adam Alfrey for his insights into the role of art in early 20th-century Knoxville society.

26. Henry Hammond Ahl (1869-1953) of Connecticut was an American artist primarily associated with Tonalism. Religious themes appeared frequently in Ahl's work, which included murals and portraits for churches. Ahl's obituary provides a biographical overview: "Henry Hammond Ahl," *Boston Daily Globe*, May 22, 1953, 36.

27. In addition to his work with the Nicholson Art League, Robert Lindsay Mason (1874-1952) authored *The Lure of the Great Smokies* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1927), which reiterated many of the themes discussed in this article. Mason argued the value of the Smokies to the artist through romanticization of the landscape, exoticization of the Cherokee, and emphasis on perceived racial purity. He is included in the Knoxville Museum of Art's exhibition resources for "Higher Ground: A Center of the Visual Arts in East Tennessee," accessible online through the Traditional Fine Arts Organization at <https://www.tfaoi.org/aa/10aa/10aa51.htm>.

28. "Nashville Artist Wins Exposition Art Trophy," *Knoxville Sentinel*, November 7, 1911, 2; "Local Painter Held Up By Near Acquaintances," *Knoxville Sentinel*, October 24, 1911, 9.

29. William Goodell Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1899. See Katherine Ledford, Theresa Lloyd, and Rebecca Stephens (eds.), "William Goodell Frost: 1854-1938," in *Writing Appalachia: An Anthology* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2020), 111-117.

30. "Col. Theodore Roosevelt's Speech to the Assembled Thousands in Exposition Stadium," *Journal and Tribune* (Knoxville, Tennessee), October 8, 1910, 1.

31. Harry T. Burn, quoted in "Proud of Opportunity to Free American Women from Political Slavery," *Chattanooga News*, August 19, 1920, 1.

32. Recent scholarship has addressed the long-overlooked history of African Americans in Southern Appalachia. In 2018, Great Smoky Mountains National Park launched the African American Experience Project led by Antoine Fletcher to conduct research and share stories of Black experiences in the region from the 16th century through the present day. Ongoing developments are shared through the Park's website: <https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/african-american-experiences-in-the-smokies-project.htm>.

33. Ingerle, "The Land of the Sky," 3.

34. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 31, 1926, 20.

35. Rudolph Ingerle to Mrs. L.A. Schulz, November 1, 1927, Rockford Art Museum Object Files, Rockford, Illinois.

36. Ingerle, "A Painters' Paradise and Its Lure," 1-2.

37. Rudolph Ingerle to Mrs. L.A. Schulz, November 14, 1927, Rockford Art Museum Artist Files.

38. In a July 23, 1935, letter in the collection of the Albin Polasek Museum and Sculpture Gardens, Ingerle addressed Polasek as "my dear friend" and signed the correspondence with the Czech phrase, "tak nazden kamarde." Polasek and Ingerle both appear frequently in the same Chicago exhibitions and in reviews by Eleanor Jewett for the *Chicago Tribune*. The authors thank the Albin Polasek Museum and Sculpture Gardens in Winter Park, Florida, for their insights.

39. "Chicagoan Will Fly on Maiden Trip of Airship," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 1935, 95.
40. Ingerle praises Appalachian residents according to an incomplete and inaccurate view of their ethnic and racial makeup throughout his writings and interviews. See also Edna Sellroe, "Rudolph Ingerle: Famous Painter of Landscapes and Character Studies of Mountaineers," *Artistry*, 3 (December 1937), 2. Courtesy of the Union League Club of Chicago.
41. Sue Wood provides an analysis of Ingerle's *Salt of the Earth* in conversation with Grant Wood's *American Gothic* in Chapter 1 of her book, *Grant Wood's Secrets* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003).
42. "Two Interesting New Art Shows Opened Here," *Chicago Tribune*, May 5, 1935, 102.
43. "Chicago Motor Club Exhibits W.N.C. Scenes: Rudolph Ingerle Places Paintings On Display for Travelers," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, September 4, 1938, 8.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Pennington and Severens, *Scenic Impressions*, 38-39.
46. Michael Ann Williams, "Vernacular Architecture and the Park Removals: Traditionalization as Justification and Resistance," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 13, no. 1 (Fall 2001), 33-42.
47. "Rudolph Ingerle Paintings Fascinate Large Gathering," *Kenosha Evening News*, May 12, 1931, 4.
48. Ingerle, "A Painters' Paradise and Its Lure," 1-2.
49. For more on displacement in the creation of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, see Margaret Lynn Brown, *The Wild East: A Biography of Great Smoky Mountains National Park* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001); Daniel S. Pierce, *The Great Smokies: From Natural Habitat To National Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015); Katrina M. Powell, *Identity and Power in Narratives of Displacement* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015); Katrina M. Powell, *The Anguish of Displacement: The Politics of Literacy in the Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007); and Aaron D. Purcell, ed., *Lost in Transition: Removing, Resettling, and Renewing Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2021).
50. Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818-1937* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988).
51. "Rudolph Ingerle Paintings Fascinate Large Gathering," 8.
52. *Ibid.* Twentieth century aversion to the influence of European modernism, shared at times by Ingerle, could be viewed ironically given the strong influence of Romanticism from Europe on the Hudson River School, often described as the first truly American art movement.
53. J. Richard Gruber, "The American Journeys of Will Henry Stevens," in *Will Henry Stevens: Modernist/Naturalist*, exhibition catalogue, Huntsville Museum of Art, 2021; J. Richard Gruber, *Water, Nature & Spirit: The Art of Will Henry Stevens*, exhibition catalogue, Ogden Museum of Art, 2015.
54. From April 2022 to January 2023, the Tennessee State Museum displayed *Painting the Smokies: Art, Community, and the Making of a National Park*, a temporary exhibition which explored the work of artists Rudolph F. Ingerle and Will Henry Stevens, as well as Charles C. Krutch, Thomas C. Campbell, and Louis E. Jones, in the context of the changes brought to the region before, during, and after

the park movement. In addition to these five, other visual artists were active in the region from about 1900 to 1950 and participated in the themes explored in this article.

55. Mary Winchester, 1942, North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976; "Death Claims Mrs. Winchester," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, July 19, 1942, 9.

56. Postcard titled, "Painting of Aunt Winchester at the age of 100 years by the late Chicago artist Rudolph Ingerle." The postcard features a color photo of *Aunt Winchester* by Rudolph Ingerle on the front by Gene Alken. The postcard was published by Kelly & Green from Gatlinburg, Tennessee, and copyrighted by Buckhorn Press in the latter half of the 20th century, Private Collection. In reality, Mary Ridley Winchester (1848-1942) was not 100 years old when the painting was done. See note 55 above.

57. Rudolph Ingerle to Arthur Stupka, November 3, 1949, personal correspondence, Collections Permanent Files, United States National Park Service, Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Special thanks to Baird Todd for providing this access.

58. Marie Ingerle to Arthur Stupka, October 30, 1950, Collections Permanent Files, United States National Park Service, Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

59. Kelsey Ables, "A closer look at Robert Duncanson, the Black landscape artist behind the inaugural painting presented to the Bidens," *Washington Post*, January 28, 2021; Christopher Knight, "The symbolism in the Biden inaugural painting by Robert S. Duncanson," *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2021.

60. Ingerle, "The Land of the Sky," 8.

61. For an introduction on the history of the arts and crafts movement in East Tennessee and the Arrowmont School's role, see Susan Knowles, "Pi Beta Phi Settlement School," Tennessee Historical Society, *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/pi-beta-phi-settlement-school>; "Louie E. Jones Back for Third Season to Paint," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 16, 1930, 10; "Smokies are Artists' Perfect Medium," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 27, 1930, 19; for the history of the Cliff Dwellers Studio, see the current website, <https://www.cliffdwellersgallery.org>

62. Rudolph Ingerle appears in U.S. Census records in the Chicago area from 1900 to 1940—at his Highland Park address with his wife, Marie, in 1930 and after—and in Chicago City Directories during that time frame.

63. Bulliet, "Artists of Chicago Past and Present."

64. In April 2000, Aaron Galleries of Chicago, Illinois, held an exhibit titled *Remembering Rudolph Ingerle*. An accompanying catalogue titled *Ingerle* was printed and contains information on Ingerle as well as images of his work.