ETHEL LEGINSKA: PIANIST, FEMINIST, CONDUCTOR EXTRAORDINAIRE, AND COMPOSER

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Ethel Leginska (1886-1970) was widely acclaimed as a concert pianist and, later, as a conductor at a time when women were considered by some to be no fitting match for men as concert pianists, and it was preposterous to think a woman could take up the baton for a major orchestra. However, very little seems to have been said about her as a composer, and her compositions have been basically overlooked for close scrutiny.

Leginska studied composition in the United States with Rubin Goldmark and Ernest Bloch fairly early in her career; before 1920. Most of her output dates to the 1910s and 1920s, and a considerable amount remains unpublished. There are orchestral works, chamber works, operas, songs for solo voice with piano and solo voice with chamber orchestra, and piano solo compositions. Most of Leginska’s works are short piano pieces and songs with piano accompaniment.

This paper intends to provide a survey of Leginska’s life and her varied, illustrious career, with emphasis on her development and output as a composer. Biographical and factual material for this paper will be gathered largely from reference materials, books about women in music, and magazine and newspaper articles about Ethel Leginska. Efforts will be made to collect samples of her compositions, primarily for the piano and vocal/piano works. This will be done in accordance with copyright laws. Obtaining these samples for scrutiny may lead to performance of a piano piece and/or song during presentation of the paper.

The study of Ethel Leginska’s works should shed some light on her individuality and her emotional character if not her level of skill in composition. Optimally this presentation will lead to the inclusion of her works in piano music collections and songbooks and to an ongoing search for her unpublished works in hopes of getting them published. Greater exposure of her name may eventually lead to a definitive biography.
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ETHEL LEGINSKA: PIANIST, COMPOSER, CONDUCTOR EXTRAORDINAIRE, AND COMPOSER

PART ONE: HER LIFE AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Ethel Leginska was born Ethel Liggins on April 13, 1886 in Hull, Yorkshire, England, to Thomas and Annie Peck Liggins. She demonstrated a marked interest in music at a very early age; at only two years old she haunted the organ grinder on the street. Her father took her to the opera and marveled that she did not go to sleep during the long performances. Her mother decided that her daughter should not go to regular school but be trained in what she liked most. A Royal Academy teacher in Hull who shared Annie Liggin’s views taught young Ethel in piano and theory according to her needs. About her training as a child, Leginska wrote:

How I ever got an education I don’t know, for of schooling I have had none. Of course, I have read enormously and have mastered three languages by self-study - have traveled and met all manner of interesting people. My mother did not intend that I should develop after the conventional pattern - and I did not.

. . . . While it was easy for me to learn to play the Mozart Fantasie, the Beethoven C Minor Concerto, and the Italian Concerto of Bach, before I was nine - this was because I had a real and deep love for music, and had a music lesson every day for a long time, and no regular schooling to interrupt or divert my training. Instead, my mother would often walk with me, book in hand, when I was walking some distance, and she would teach me on the way.  

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1 Leginska, Ethel, "Individualism in Piano Study," in Great Men and Famous Musicians on the Art of Music, ed. James
A child prodigy at the piano, Leginska made her first public appearance at age six. The surname "Leginska" was given her by Lady Maud Warrender while she was a child, because she believed a Polish-sounding name would boost her career as a musician. Leginska attracted the interest of Mary Emma Wilson, wife of ship-owning magnate Arthur Wilson of Hull. Their patronage allowed her to attend the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt, where she studied piano under James Kwast, and composition under Iwan Knorr and Bernhard Sekles. The conservatory, founded in 1878, was where Clara Wieck


4 Carol Neuls-Bates, "Leginska, Ethel," in Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary, vol. IV: The Modern Period, eds. Barbara Sichermann, Carol Hurd Green, Ilene Kantrov, and Harriette Walker; and Cohen, ed., "Leginska." The Who is Who entry states that Leginska was at Hoch Conservatory, "Graduate 1896." It is unclear if "Graduate 1896" is supposed to mean she actually graduated that year, because she would have been only ten years of age. It seems more logical that she commenced her studies at the conservatory in 1896.

James Kwast was highly esteemed by both his colleagues and students, one of his piano students being Percy Grainger. Iwan Armand Knorr became Hoch Conservatory’s director in 1908. Bernhard Sekles studied with Knorr before becoming a professor of theory. He was also director of the conservatory 1923-33. See Slonimsky, ed., s.v. "Kwast, James," "Knorr, Iwan (Otto Armand)," and "Sekles, Bernhard."
Schumann had served as head of the piano department until her retirement in 1892. The Wilsons probably sent Leginska there because Clara Schumann had become much-beloved in England after nineteen British Isles tours, drawing many English students to Frankfurt to study piano with her. The conservatory probably still carried quite a reputation with the English for a while after her retirement.\(^5\)

Leginska (Figure 1) continued her piano study in 1900 at age fourteen with Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna, remaining with him for three years. Leschetizky (Figure 2) was one of the world’s greatest piano teachers, with an unparalleled number of students who went on to become great concert artists. "Not to have had Leschetizky’s stamp of approval was almost a stigma."\(^6\) Representing the Romantic school of piano, Leschetizky was noted primarily for his insistence upon


big, beautiful, singing tone; or lots of sound without banging. Leginska was one of the few students Leschetizky taught for no fee.\textsuperscript{7} She made her formal debut as a concert

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., 277-79, 283; also Leginska, "Piano Study," 157; and William Armstrong, "Points on Piano Study as Told by Ethel Leginska," Musician 23 (August 1918): 533.
pianist in London at age sixteen, as soloist with the Queen’s Hall Orchestra under the baton of Sir Henry Wood.

Leginska came to the United States in 1912, and studied harmony with Rubin Goldmark in New York City. She was already well-known in England and Europe when she made her United States debut at New York’s Aeolian Hall January 20, 1913 in a solo recital. As Leginska continued concertizing in New York, her playing style came to be noted "as one of intensity, of nervous energy, of great delicacy, often of brilliancy, and sweeping power." Her temperament was regarded as a "smoldering fire." Leginska soon became a big favorite with the public, drawing large audiences to her recitals. Her greatest success came in the 1916-17 season, when she reached a plateau of critical acclaim. She was praised for her demanding programs and innovations, an example of which was the performance of a long and very difficult recital at Carnegie Hall without an intermission.

Leginska was also sometimes criticized for her individualistic interpretations of classical music. Indeed, she did have ideas regarding interpretation that may seem novel. In one interview she remarked, "Piano playing is so

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9 New York Times, 1 April 1916, 11.

10 Ibid.; also 3 November 1916, 11; and Neuls-Bates, "Leginska."
much like acting." In another interview she related that she used extra-musical sensory experiences like hearing the tolling of a train’s engine bell and its after-vibrations, then applying their effect to playing Godowsky’s Angelus. She had also learned to take a piece of music and make a story out of it, a concept she had applied as a child.

In 1907 Leginska married Roy Emerson Whittern (Figure 3) in England. Whittern (1884-1958) was an American pianist from Cleveland who had also studied in Vienna under Leschetizky, in 1904, and later with Leschetizky pupil Artur Schnabel.

Figure 3. Emerson Whithorne, music editor and composer. Married to Leginska ten years, separated for seven of them.

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Whittern served as Leginska’s concert manager in Germany through 1909. He later became a composer and had his surname legally changed to Whithorne, the original family name of his paternal grand-father. Whithorne and Leginska had only one child, a son named Cedric, born in 1908. They separated shortly thereafter, around 1910. Leginska filed for divorce in May 1917; her husband stated that this was actually the third divorce suit she had filed against him. The first was filed in England but had not gone to trial, and the second was brought to court in New York, but it was later dismissed because her attorneys submitted a statement that they had no evidence to substantiate the charges she had made against Whithorne.

In the 1917 suit, Leginska named actress Martha Hedman in the charges against her husband for alienating his affections toward her. Whithorne claimed that the charges were totally unfounded because he had not lived with his wife for five years and had only known the actress for three years. He felt Leginska was maliciously pursuing him because he simply refused to live with her. In turn, he filed a counter-suit, charging her with misconduct with Oliver Denton of the Hotel Grenoble, which he alleged had been occurring in Europe as well as the United States since 1909. The divorce

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14 New York Times, 26 May 1917, 10; and 21 June, 24.
proceedings also included a bitter custody battle over Cedric. In the proceedings, Leginska claimed her husband deserted her; to try to win custody of her son, she offered to give up her concert career and teach piano only, claiming that she could earn three hundred dollars a week through teaching alone. Nevertheless, in the winter of 1917-18, custody was granted to Whithorne's parents.15

Though Leginska may not have been actively involved in the feminist movement, she was definitely of a feminist bent. She certainly must have advanced the cause with her words as well as her example. Between 1915 and 1920 Leginska gave numerous interviews to newspapers and magazines, speaking her mind regarding the obstacles that professional women face. One obstacle that she commented on was the expectation that women give up their schooling and careers upon marriage to make a home for their husbands and children, thereby leaving women dependent on their husbands. Leginska felt that a woman should be able to continue pursuing her previous interests while married and raising children, and not be totally absorbed in her home life. She also felt that excessive concern with looks and fashion was a frivolity that stood in the way of women's advancement. She claimed:

Most women consider that their duty in life is to please men and, with this object in view, they waste hours every day caring for their complexions, their figures,

15 Ammer, Unsung, 109; Neuls-Bates, "Leginska."
Leginska reasoned that traditional off-the-shoulder evening gowns were a handicap to women performers, because they were uncomfortable and offered little protection against the chill in concert halls, which were unheated in her day, not to mention such attire was a distraction from the performance itself (Figure 4). She felt it was unfair that professional

Figure 4. Pianist Elley Ney (also a Leschetizky pupil) in evening gown for performance.
Leginska believed gowns left a woman chilly, were uncomfortable, and distracted attention away from a performance.

men could wear uniforms, which take the focus away from outward appearance, yet women did not have the same privilege. Therefore, in 1915 she experimented with concert attire, until she arrived at a common-sense "uniform" which became her trademark: a loose-fitting black velvet waistcoat, a trim black skirt, a white man-tailored silk shirt with soft collar, and a brocaded silk vest (Figures 5 & 6). The outfit appeared

Figures 5 and 6. Two early versions of Leginska's self-styled performance attire, both from 1915.
to be a woman's answer to the tuxedo. "There is no such thing as sex in music or art," Leginska carped. Of her revolutionary attire, she wryly commented, "It's always the same and always comfortable, so I can forget my appearance and concentrate on my art." 18

Leginska also spoke of the need for women to be able to strike out in new directions, and called for women to have the courage to pursue their careers and not sacrifice themselves to tradition:

When I was a child I remember how often my question, "Why may I not do this or that?" was answered, "Because it isn't proper for little girls."

... Because women haven't done something in the past is supposed to be reason enough why they shouldn't do it in the future. ...

We are told our place is in the home and so there we stay. We are called the weaker sex and so become yet weaker, ... We are told that it is our destiny to sacrifice ourselves, to have no will of our own; ... and all these things scare us and weaken us and make us more than ever followers of custom and tradition.

... If only we women would sometimes rebel! Break loose from tradition and go our own way! ... We will never be original, do great work, until we get some courage and daring, and trust our own way instead of the eternal beaten paths on which we are always asked to poke along. If we could learn from the men to get away from the fear of which our neighbors, ..., will say, that will be one of our biggest steps toward freedom. 19

Leginska easily attracted publicity, yet she also demonstrated a knack for self-promotion. In 1916, for


18 Minneapolis Journal, 11 October 1915; see also Brower, "Men's Equals," 19.

19 Duluth Herald, 17 February 1917.
example, after she caught her finger in a door, she submitted the X-ray picture of her bruised finger to *Musical America*, which duly published it.\textsuperscript{20} She came to be compared favorably with the legendary nineteenth-century pianist Teresa Carreño (Figure 7), and eventually she was duly dubbed the "Paderewski of women pianists" (Figure 8).\textsuperscript{21} She had such a profound influence on her young female piano pupils that they started copying her dress and wearing bobbed hair like her, attending her recitals dressed as such. Leginska appeared as a pianist

\textsuperscript{20} Ammer, *Unsung*, 110.

\textsuperscript{21} Neuls-Bates, "Leginska"; also *Musical Courier*, July 1919, quoted in Ammer, *Unsung*, 110 and n. 54. Teresa Carreño (1853-1917), noted as the greatest pianist of her sex, made her United States (New York) debut in 1862 at age eight. A native of Venezuela, she was a grandniece of Simon Bolívar. Louis Moreau Gottschalk heard her play and offered to teach her when he was not on tour. She had the honor of playing for two presidents at the White House; for Abraham Lincoln as a child and for Woodrow Wilson some fifty-five years later. She was offered lessons free of charge by Liszt but refused the offer. She did accept Anton Rubinstein’s offer to teach her. Rubinstein called her "his sunshine" and became, to her, her true guide and mentor. Carreño also composed and studied voice, making her debut as an operatic soprano in Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* in New York in 1876. Despite favorable reviews, she soon abandoned operatic singing and returned full-time to the piano, believing her voice was simply not good enough.

When Carreño made her German debut (as a pianist) in 1889, critics raved over her flamboyant, passionate playing, which was unconventional for Germans, and her dramatic, fiery temperament. In Europe she was given many labels, such as the "female Rubenstein," "Lioness of the piano," and "goddess of the pianoforte." She was also compared to Paderewski. See Ammer, *Unsung*, 44-50.
Figure 7. Pianist Teresa Carreño.

Figure 8. Pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski.
on a regular basis in New York every season through 1919 (see Figure 9), when she announced that she would take off from concertizing for a season to devote herself to composition and teaching. 22

Figure 9. Ethel Leginska at the piano, around 1919.

Leginska began composing songs and piano pieces around 1914. In the summer of 1918 she studied composition with Ernest Bloch in New York. The body of works that followed is substantial, though not very large, and most of it dates from the time of her studies with Bloch through the early twenties. She experimented with many media and genres, composing songs, piano pieces, a symphonic poem, symphonic sketches, a fantasy for piano and orchestra, a string quartet, and other chamber music. After 1930 Leginska composed at least three operas.

Her compositions are modern in their rhythmic interest and tonality, and it is noteworthy that many of her works, including her operas, were performed by major groups and companies in her own time, a time when very few women's works or even American works were given such exposure.23

In the early twenties, Leginska lived up to her call for women to have the courage to strike out in new directions by deciding to take up orchestral conducting, a musical career that was definitely considered "men's work." In 1923 she studied in London with Eugene Goossens, who conducted at Covent Garden, and Robert Heger in Munich.24 In 1924 she guest-conducted the Paris Conservatory Orchestra, the Munich Konzertverein, the London Symphony, and the Berlin Philharmonic, all of which were all-male orchestras. She drew on contacts made while she had been a pianist in Europe, depending on her reputation as a fine pianist to secure most of her conducting engagements by agreeing to perform as soloist in programmed concerti.

Leginska made her United States conducting debut with the New York Symphony Orchestra January 9, 1925 at Carnegie Hall, making her the first woman on Carnegie Hall's podium.25


concert was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience, and early that evening a large wreath, surmounted on each side with the American and British flags, was placed on the stage. Despite all the excitement, the performance received a poor review. Nevertheless, Leginska followed with conducting engagements in the spring with the Boston People's Symphony Orchestra and that summer with the Cleveland Orchestra. In August she led a triumphant performance with the Los Angeles Symphony at the Hollywood Bowl, a concert attended by thirty thousand people. Leginska was a novelty to audiences and the press, and skepticism about her abilities abounded in concert reviews. However, the legitimacy of her work eventually won over critics, who proclaimed that a new field had opened up to women. In the following year, 1926, she conducted members of the New York Philharmonic (see Figure 10), followed by an engagement with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. Leginska takes credit as the first woman in music history to conduct many of the world's leading orchestras, also taking credit as the first woman to conduct leading symphony orchestras here in the United States.


28 Ethel Leginska was not the first woman in the United States to gain recognition as an orchestral conductor, however. Caroline B. Nichols, who founded the Boston Lady
The establishment of Leginska’s conducting career also marked the drawing to a close of her career as a concert pianist. However, it was not just a desire to pave her way

Fadette Orchestra in 1888, was the group’s conductor until they disbanded 1920. Emma Roberto Steiner conducted light opera companies touring during the turn of the century, and is considered the first American woman to conduct opera. See Mize, "Leginska"; Neuls-Bates, "Women’s Orchestras," 355, 357; and Frederique Petrides, "Women in Orchestras: Famous and Brilliant Conductors of the Fair Sex," Etude 56 (July 1938): 429.
through a new field that spurned her abandonment of the recital stage, it was for the sake of her sanity. By 1926, Ethel Leginska had suffered three nervous breakdowns brought on by the rigors of life as a touring concert artist. She had her first mental breakdown in 1909, while she was still a Continental celebrity. She disappeared just before a scheduled appearance in London, in panic over sudden disorientation and memory loss. She was always known by friends and close associates to be of an extremely nervous, high-strung nature, indicating that she was in a very delicate condition.

On the evening of January 26, 1925, Leginska was scheduled to appear at Carnegie Hall as pianist, but she wandered off while her secretary, also her friend and piano student, was searching for a taxi to take them both to the concert. At the time of this second mental collapse, Leginska was overburdened with the piano as well as with composition and preparation for imminent conducting engagements. Her disappearance sparked widespread concern for her, and a nationwide search was undertaken. She was found after the space of nearly one week. Her location was kept secret for several days, but it was eventually reported that Leginska had wandered far into downtown Manhattan on foot and stayed at the house of friends for two days before being persuaded to stay with other friends just outside of Boston.

29 Neuls-Bates, "Leginska."
She returned to concertizing by February 23, 1925, only a month after her breakdown and disappearance. While in Tampa, Florida for a March recital, Leginska received advice from physicians that she needed an appendectomy. She said that she would "try to find time for it" in the summer. Fortunately for her, the physicians must have been mistaken in their diagnosis, because she might have died before completing her return trip to New York if she had acute appendicitis.

Leginska's temperamental "smoldering fire" had another flare-up, albeit brief, during her performance at the Englewood Conservatory that same month. As is expected to happen at concerts and recitals, some people in the audience were coughing. Leginska suddenly stopped playing, rose from the piano bench, and lectured the audience, saying, "If you can't control yourselves, please don't stay here." With that, fifteen people immediately got up and left, upon which she sat back down and began again.

Leginska suffered her third nervous breakdown in Evansville, Indiana, when she failed again to appear for a recital on January 20, 1926. Evidence of the third imminent collapse manifested itself that afternoon with another fit of temperamentalisrn, when she remarked upon arriving in

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30 *New York Times*, 27 January 1925, 1; 28 January, 1; 29 January, 4; 2 February, 1; 3 February, 25; and 23 February, 36.


Evansville, "I don't want to ride in your old yellow cabs. I won't play the piano tonight. I want my symphony orchestra." Upon going to the concert hall to practice, she remarked, "I don't like this old barn. I won't play the piano in this old building." A friend and patron in Buffalo found out she had gone to Chicago, and asked her by phone to come to her house. Physicians who examined Leginska there advised her to abandon her concert tour and rest for a year. Shortly afterward she bought a little house just outside Boston, and in April she officially announced her permanent retirement from the concert stage as a pianist, with plans to devote the rest of her life to orchestral conducting and composing. She stated:

The public will soon forget me as a pianist and I shall be glad. No one knows how I have suffered for the past seventeen years every time I have been obliged to face an audience. I have no regrets. Concert playing may be spectacular, but the great art is in composing and conducting. I am never frightened when I conduct.\footnote{Ibid., 21 January 1926, 7.}

In the 1920s, America's musical life expanded greatly. Many new symphony orchestras were established, including orchestras that were made up entirely of women. Women's orchestras were founded because standard symphony orchestras did not and would not hire women. Women founded and directed these groups because they provided the employment and expertise women musicians could not otherwise get. This was a bold move forward by American women hoping to gain recognition

\footnote{Ibid., 22 April, 23; see also 31 January, sec. 1, 7; and Neuls-Bates, "Leginska."}
as legitimate orchestral musicians, who hoped this would lead in turn to mixed orchestras in which the players were selected on the basis of ability only.  

Ethel Leginska also jumped on the orchestra-founding bandwagon. In 1926 she founded the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra out of the former People's Symphony Orchestra in response to unfair treatment of the players by the directors and greater popular demand for more orchestral concerts. The new orchestra, of which Leginska made herself permanent conductor, consisted of one hundred members, all of whom were men except the harpist and the pianist. The purpose of the orchestra was to provide classical music to the masses at very low ticket prices; twenty-five cents admission and fifty cents and up for seats. Leginska led the Boston Philharmonic at its debut on October 24, 1926, and received excellent reviews in Boston.

The orchestra lasted only one season, however. Leginska went on to conduct the Boston Woman's Symphony Orchestra for four seasons, from its founding in 1926 (not by Leginska) to its dissolution in 1930. This orchestra, made up of sixty-five women, frequently performed works by women composers. The Boston Woman's Symphony made two extensive tours of the eastern United States in 1928 and 1929. Leginska and her orchestra were first greeted with derision in many cities, but many audience members came away from concerts impressed.

convinced that women instrumentalists and a woman conductor were well up to the task of interpreting and executing symphonic repertoire. In the 1928 tour this ensemble gave fifty-five concerts over a span of forty-three days in thirty-eight cities. By 1930 it had given more than two hundred concerts in twenty-one states. On the program presented January 29, 1930, a few men performed in the orchestra, which had been newly renamed Leginska's Woman's Symphony Orchestra. Leginska explained that when not enough local women could be found to fill empty chairs, she could not afford to recruit women from outside Boston, so she substituted local men instead. This concert turned out to be the orchestra's last, probably as a result of a lack of sufficient funds to continue.36

While Leginska held the directorship of the Boston Woman's Symphony Orchestra, she also directed, from 1927 to 1929, the Woman's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago, founded in 1924 (see Figures 11, 12 & 13). Her tenure with the Chicago orchestra was very successful, winning much praise for the group. Musical Courier gave a glowing review to Leginska's first appearance with the ensemble as guest conductor in the spring of 1927, remarking that "she well deserves the appellation of 'super-woman' and by her conducting she brought

Figure 11. Autographed photo of Leginska. Figure 12. Leginska in 1928.
Second Season 1927-28 Third Concert

The Womans Symphony Orchestra of Chicago

ETHEL LEGINSKA Conductor

Goodman Theatre, February 5, 1928 8:15 p. m.

Management BERTHA OTT, Inc.

Figure 13. Another silhouette drawing of Leginska, on a concert program for Chicago.
us to the highest pitch of enthusiasm." Leginska had put the group on the "musical map" of America, and, claimed the reviewer, Chicago needed an orchestra such as the Woman's Symphony to present works by American composers on a regular basis, which the Chicago Symphony could not be expected to do considering its crammed schedule.

While in Chicago, Leginska studied operatic conducting with Gennaro Papi, who at that time conducted the Chicago Civic Opera. Returning to Boston in 1929, she founded and made herself director of the Boston English Opera Company. The company presented English versions of Carmen, Madame Butterfly, and Cavalleria Rusticana. Ever ambitious, Leginska returned again to Europe for the opportunity to guest-conduct at several leading opera houses.

Upon returning to the United States again in 1931, Leginska was chosen by Charles L. Wagner to conduct his English-translation revival of Franz von Suppé's German-


38 Ibid.; see also Neuls-Bates, "Women's Orchestras," 351, 357; and idem, "Leginska."

39 Mize, ed., "Leginska." Maestro Papi assisted Arturo Toscanini at the Metropolitan Opera, going on to conduct there 1916-26. He was with the Chicago Civic Opera 1925-32, before being reengaged with the Met in 1933, where he remained until his death in 1941. See Slonimsky, ed., s.v. "Papi, Gennaro."

language operetta *Boccaccio* on Broadway. Wagner's production sported an all-American cast, and besides nodding to a woman to take the baton, he selected a male tenor to play the hero, who is of course male, in a role previously filled by sopranos in tights (Figure 14). The production's entire run was a rousing success.41 Thereafter, in the 1932-33 season,

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Leginska served as regular conductor of the Montreal Opera Company. As an operatic conductor, she led performances of other standard repertoire such as *Eugene Onegin*, *Tosca*, *Rigoletto*, *Louise*, *Thaïs*, and *Werther*, taking credit as the first woman to conduct grand opera.  

Leginska founded another orchestra of women in 1932, basing it in New York. She named it the National Women's Symphony Orchestra. She led the orchestra in its premiere concert March 12, 1932 at Carnegie Hall (Figure 15). This was reported to be the first female orchestra led by a woman to perform in Carnegie Hall. Unfortunately, this group also disbanded shortly thereafter. Leginska continued guest-conducting, leading both the Dallas Symphony Orchestra and the Philharmonic Orchestra of Havana in celebrated performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

The climax of Leginska's conducting career, however, came with the opportunity to conduct the world premiere of her second opera, *Gale*. The Chicago Civic Opera Company gave the opening performance of her single-act opera on November 23, 1935 at the Chicago Opera House. The cast for the production was all-American, and the principal performers were young newcomers to the opera stage. *Gale* is considered to be the

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44 "Coast Studio," 19.
Figure 15. Photo in New York Times accompanying announcement of upcoming premiere of the new National Women's Symphony Orchestra in 1932, which Leginska founded and directed.
first opera composed by a woman that was conducted by the composer herself in an important opera house (Figure 16). 45

Figure 16. Leginska in the pit in Chicago (1935), directing her opera Gale.

As the 1930s progressed, however, Ethel Leginska’s novelty as a conductor faded, and her age was working against her. The important engagements were no longer coming, and the headlines were no longer trumpeting her activities. Therefore, after teaching piano in London and Paris in the late thirties, she settled down permanently in Los Angeles in 1940, and opened a piano studio, devoting herself full-time to teaching the young. 46 Nevertheless, she could not pass up the opportunity for organizing and directing an orchestra. She started the Leginska Little Symphony Orchestra as a means for her young pupils to play concerti on her own programs, with

46 "Coast Studio," 19.
Leginska conducting her own orchestra. In 1943, with concert manager Mary Holloway, she started "New Ventures in Music," a concert series that regularly presented her most talented pupils with the Little Symphony Orchestra in recital and concert programs before the public.

Leginska remained active in Los Angeles as a highly respected teacher through the 1950s. In 1957, at age seventy-one, she conducted the premiere of her first opera, The Rose and the Ring, composed a quarter of a century earlier. She continued to compose, producing a suite for piano and more opera. On February 26, 1970, Ethel Leginska died of a stroke at age eighty-three, ending a long, multi-faceted musical career that involved establishing many firsts and blazing many trails for women who would pursue careers in music.47

PART TWO: DISCUSSION OF LEGINSKA’S COMPOSITIONS

As was stated previously, Ethel Leginska composed works in various genres. Many of these works are still unpublished, and the only known published works are songs and piano pieces. It is not known how many works still exist in manuscript form or copies, nor whether the existing copies could be accessed for perusal. In Leginska’s lifetime, women composers were not taken seriously as a general rule, meaning many publishers flatly rejected women’s manuscripts without any further scrutiny than seeing a woman’s autograph. The only recorded composition of hers is the programmatic suite for piano, *Three Victorian Portraits*, a late work dating to 1959.

Appendix A contains a list of all of Leginska’s known compositions, classified by genre, published and unpublished. Not all these works can be specifically mentioned or discussed in the context of this narrative, therefore this list will serve as a summation of her works. For the large works performed in public, the specifics of their premieres, if such information is available, are listed in a table as Appendix B.

Leginska did not begin composing music as a child, but was already a veteran concert artist of around thirty years old when she first took a serious interest in composition. Of her earliest efforts is the song *In a Garden*. A friend,
Metropolitan Opera tenor Rafael Diaz, eventually performed the song over one hundred times in recital, because it was so well received by audiences. Seeking to compose on a more serious level, she studied composition over the summer of 1918 with Ernest Bloch, whose talent she greatly admired. After only two months of lessons with Bloch, Leginska composed at least five songs, a piano piece, and part of the string quartet. The songs were The Gallows Tree, Forgotten, Sorrow, At Dawn, and I Have a Rendezvous with Death.\textsuperscript{48} The first piano composition is The Gargoyles of Notre Dame, as confirmed by Leginska’s reference to it in June 1919 as a piece she wrote "last year."\textsuperscript{49} She did not compose any sacred music or music for religious services, however.\textsuperscript{50}

One trait that is prevalent in Leginska’s works is that most were inspired by literature, and they all are programmatic. It may be because of her background in the Romantic tradition, but it may also be due to a personal love of literature. Leginska’s Six Nursery Rhymes are Mother Goose rhymes set to music. The Gargoyles of Notre Dame received its inspiration from Victor Hugo’s novel The Hunchback of Notre

\begin{footnotes}
\item[48] "Leginska, Composer," 42.
\item[49] Peeler, "Outdoor Life," 13.
\item[50] Leginska was Protestant and expressed a belief in God; however, she did not give evidence of being a very religious person. See Mize, ed., "Leginska"; and Armstrong, "Piano Study," 533.
\end{footnotes}
The Scherzo after Tagore received its inspiration from a poem by Nobel-Prize-winning Indian poet and author, Rabindranath Tagore. Each of the four movements of the string quartet is also based on a poem by Tagore. The Two Short Pieces are also known as Two Short Poems for orchestra, and are probably based on two poems. Quatre sujets barbares is a four-movement orchestral suite inspired by the life and paintings of artist Paul Gauguin. From a Life, for thirteen instruments, suggests from its title to be a biographical or autobiographical sketch, but there is no indication of exactly whose life it is illustrating musically. That it does illustrate someone's life indeed is suggested by a critic's implication that the middle movement, the "Lento dolentissimo," depicts the "hard knocks of life."

Leginska's first opera, The Rose and the Ring, is an opera buffa based on William Makepeace Thackeray's story for children by the same title. Gale is a folk opera adapted by


52 Tagore (1861-1941) won the Nobel Prize for literature for Song Offerings (1910), a collection of poems. He was knighted in 1915, but he renounced the honor four years later in protest against British actions in Punjab. Besides poetry he wrote novels, short stories, and plays. Tagore was also an accomplished composer, musician, singer, actor and painter, and he wrote a number of experimental dance dramas late in his life. See Gautam Dasgupta, "Tagore, Sir Rabindranath," in Grolier's Academic American Encyclopedia, online ed. (Grolier Electronic Publishing, 1993, updated quarterly).

53 New York Times, 1 July 1925, 16.

54 Ibid., 10 January 1922, 15.
Mrs. C. A. Dawson-Scott from her novel titled *The Haunting*. Mrs. Dawson-Scott’s story originally came from nineteenth-century Cornish legend. On the following page is a synopsis of the plot, taken from the opera’s libretto (Figure 17). *Joan of Arc* is based on the novel on Joan of Arc’s life by Mark Twain, *Recollections of Joan of Arc*.

What can be said about Leginska as a composer in a stylistic sense? First of all, Leginska wanted to be regarded as a totally modern composer, who departed from conventional practices. She stated that Bloch did not inhibit any such tendencies of hers while she was studying with him. When she brought out her chamber work *From a Life*, it was characterized as "a new exploration of the unsounded universe," containing fragments in opposing keys against muted harmonies. The *Fantasie* for piano and orchestra was characterized as a "nervous, noisy" work, later noted for its "fascinating discords, and modern rhythms." Right after mentioning her completion of *Quatre sujets barbares*, Leginska commented that modern classical composers had learned much from jazz, because of its rich rhythm and variety. This implies that she herself had learned something from jazz, and had even borrowed from

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57 Ibid.; also *Boston Herald*, as quoted in Ammer, *Unsung*, 111.
SYNOPSIS

A tale of two brothers living in a harbor town of Cornwall; the elder, Gale, a highly respected citizen given to helping his fellow-townsmen. The younger, Pascoe, a gay, light-hearted sailor, is selfish and unscrupulous.

The story opens with the traditional old "Hobby-Horse" Festival which is revived every May-day. The maidens of the town dance around the May-pole and join the youths in singing the folk-songs especially dedicated to this celebration. Jenifer, the Queen of the May, awaits with rather an anxious heart, the arrival of her lover, Pascoe. Also her mother (Morwenna) and Gale look forward to Pascoe's return home from the sea trip which they suppose to be his last as they now expect him to turn farmer and marry Jenifer.

Pascoe comes but with quite different plans for his future. His love is no longer for Jenifer but for a more demure maiden overseas. He has returned only to claim the gold which, through the clever direction of Gale, has been amassed through his trading. Gale has shown himself somewhat of a miser in his gloating over this same gold—gold which he considers his. In his rage over Pascoe's contemplated thievery, as well as his betrayal of Jenifer (whom he, Gale, also desired) he slays Pascoe and hides the body in a cave under the house.

In his dying moments, Pascoe has told Gale that he will return and he does so, first as an insatiate shape, later as one that moves. Gradually horror fills Gale's soul. He feels his reason tottering and as he rushes in desperation to seek shelter from his growing madness in the arms of his love, Morwenna, he is halted by the ghost of Pascoe. Gale follows the ghost of Pascoe to the pool where the body was thrown. As the ghost of Pascoe points to the pool, Gale throws himself into its depths.

CHARACTERS

GALE CORYTON - - - Baritone
PASCOE, his brother - - - Tenor
MORWENNA - - - Mezzo-Soprano
ANKERS - - - Mezzo-Soprano
JENIFER - - - - Soprano
FARMER SOWDEN - - - Bass
its idiom for her own use.\textsuperscript{58}

In her programmatic piano suite, \textit{Three Victorian Portraits}, Leginska made much use of the augmented second in the first portrait, "Nostalgic Waltz." It was argued that such a device hardly seemed Victorian; it breaks traditional music-writing practice when used melodically. The second portrait, "Dirge," contains chromaticism in the context of a minor tonality. The third and last portrait, "Heroic Impromptu," contains constantly shifting harmonic patterns.\textsuperscript{59}

A closer look at some of Leginska's published works may help determine what is characteristic of her style. The pieces the author obtained, all from the Library of Congress, were: the songs \textit{At Dawn}, \textit{Bird Voices of Spring}, \textit{The Frozen Heart}, and \textit{The Gallows Tree}, all published at the same time; the song \textit{In a Garden}; and the solo piano pieces \textit{Cradle Song}, \textit{The Gargoyles of Notre Dame}, and \textit{Scherzo After Tagore}. The common thread that ties her works is heavy chromaticism and a dissonant quality. Leginska tends to avoid tonicization by avoiding authentic cadences, including authentic cadences at endings. She writes many pieces without a key signature, putting all the accidentals in the score.

Leginska makes very frequent use of augmented triads (Examples 1a-c). She uses the melodic augmented second, and

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{New York Times}, 1 July 1925, 16.

\textsuperscript{59} "Joanna Hodges.....Pianist," \textit{Musical America} 79, no. 13 (1 December 1959): 34.
Examples la-c. Leginska's use of augmented triads.

a. In a Garden, beginning. Triad C-flat - E - G, all positions:

b. The Frozen Heart, Triad A-flat - C - E-natural, first inversion. Empty fifth plus tenth over bass in left hand:

she also uses cross-relations (Examples 2a-d). Another very common device is the empty fifth placed in between octaves (Examples 3a, b); sometimes they are placed between sevenths, ninths, and tenths (see 2b, 1b). The empty fifth can be used to negate a sense of major versus minor tonality. It may also be used to aurally symbolize loneliness, emptiness, or loss, as expressed in *The Frozen Heart* or *At Dawn*. It is also common as a folk idiom, and its drone is characteristic of the sound of bagpipes. The use of the empty fifth for folk flavor occurs in *The Gallows Tree*, an old ballad set to music, where the accompaniment is rich with the empty fifth set between octaves and tenths, as seen in Example 2c.

Examples 2a, b. *At Dawn*. Use of the melodic augmented second and cross-relations.

a. Beginning. Examples of both augmented seconds and cross-relations:

![Score Example]

*Andantino*

She only knew the birth and death of
b. Cross-relations. Empty fifth between seventh, octave, ninth, and tenth:

morn a hope, at night A hope unsatisfied.

c. The Gallows Tree. Use of the melodic augmented second in the melody as well as in grace notes:

slack that rope, O slack that rope, O slack it for a while!

d. Cradle Song for piano, beginning. Use of cross-relations:
Examples 3a, b. The Frozen Heart. Use of the empty fifth between octaves.

a.

Lonely through life's empty days I wander;

b.

Till I find, where forest shades are darkest,
Leginska also experiments with polytonality. It was stated earlier that From a Life included use of "opposing keys." The Gargoyles of Notre Dame is written mostly in two key signatures; it begins in E-flat minor (six flats) in the right hand and D minor (one flat) in the left. It soon switches over to E-flat minor in both hands. It then switches to E-flat minor in the right hand and A minor (no accidentals) in the left hand. The piece concludes with both hands in E-flat minor, ending on the notes A-natural and C-natural despite the six-flat key signature (see Example 4).

Example 4. The Gargoyles of Notre Dame, ending. Notice the lack of a final cadence:

![Example 4. The Gargoyles of Notre Dame, ending. Notice the lack of a final cadence.](image)

Contributing to the tonal vagueness of this piece are use of the whole-tone scale, the empty fifth between octaves, and parallel fifths in a pentatonic context (Examples 5a-d). Regarding tonal vagueness, Leginska once made an announcement that she was completing a symphonic fantasy. In response to
Examples 5a-d. The Gargoyles of Notre Dame.
a-c. Three occurrences of the whole-tone scale:

a.

\[ \text{Example Image} \]

b. Whole-tone scale accompanied by empty fifths and octaves:

\[ \text{Example Image} \]

c.

\[ \text{Example Image} \]
d. Gargoyles. Pentatonic scale in parallel fifths, parallel fifths and octaves, accompanied by empty fifths and octaves:

the question of what key it was in, she glibly remarked, "We [emphasis added by author] do not bother with tonalities. We are much too modern to have a key for our compositions."\(^60\)

Her treatment of tonality is quite daring; however, none of the works acquired by the author is definitively atonal.

\(^60\) *New York Times*, 16 April 1925, 15. It appears Leginska had no qualms about aligning herself with the male composers of "New Music" active during the first half of this century.
Another feature of Gargoyles that is very modern is its rhythm. Leginska makes very frequent changes in the meter, changing the time signatures thirty-seven times in a piece only seventy-three measures long! The meters 5-4, 5-8, and 5-16 are also incorporated.

Gargoyles, composed in 1918 and published in 1920, can be described as an Impressionistic piece, for it is concerned with leaving an impression, like a vision in the mists or a scene taken from a dream, of the story or theme behind it. This is Leginska’s own description of Gargoyles’ theme:

You know Victor Hugo’s wonderful book [The Hunchback of Notre Dame]? Well, this is an imaging of the Chimera, in the moonlight, with the sounds of the city, or rather the feeling back of the sounds, drifting up to them. There is the spirit in the air of many bells, of all the bells that ring in Paris and that have rung; there are the tragedies, the comedies that those stone figures have seen, all condensed into their philosophical sneer. . . .

There they are, those strange, outré creatures, brooding in the moonlight. Suddenly the fancy comes to them to dance. They pirouette, heavily, making coarse jokes perhaps, the while. The moonlight wonders at them. Finally they tire, and one by one they go back to their places. Perhaps one gets off again for a little last wiggle. Then it’s all over and the moonlight broods again.61 (see Figure 18)

Leginska added distinctive sound effects to impress the ideas she had in mind. There is the tolling of Notre Dame’s bell in the "foreground," seen in Example 6. The pedal is applied liberally and often sustained for long phrases, sustaining the vibrations much like the vibrations that hang in the air for a few seconds with each peal of a real bell.

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Example 6. Gargoyles of Notre Dame. Tolling of Notre Dame Cathedral’s bell in foreground:
In the dance section, the tempo changes from Andante to Allegretto. It is characterized mainly by black, or flatted notes played against white, or natural notes (Example 7). This direct clashing of sound enhances the bizarreness of the unfolding scene. The climax of the creatures' dance is manifested approximately halfway through this section by a whole-tone scale passage running swiftly upward into rapid chromatic turns executed in parallel major seconds (Example 8). Since the whole-tone and chromatic scales each divide the octave equally, they serve to further muddy whatever sense of key the listener may have developed.

After the return to brooding in the moonlight, a short motive of black keys against white keys interrupts the stillness briefly, representing one gargoyle's last little wiggle. If the excerpts taken from Gargoyles are observed carefully, it will also be noticed that there is a great deal of syncopation throughout this work as a whole.

The Scherzo After Tagore is a very good example of a showcase piece for technical prowess. A very fast piece, this work is also characterized by frequent changes in meter. Its most obvious difficulty is the glissando in octaves, which must be executed with only one hand (Example 9). This piece is also full of rapid-fire repeated notes, including an E-flat which must be repeated for a duration of thirty measures in a complex rhythmic sequence (Example 10). 62

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62 During the presentation of this paper, the author sang two songs, In a Garden and The Frozen Heart, to further
Example 7. Gargoyles of Notre Dame, beginning of gargoyles' dance. Pentatonic in right hand, all black keys, against all natural (white) keys in left hand:

Illustrate some of Leginska's characteristic devices, such as shown in Examples 1a-c and 3a and b. John Murdock assisted her on the piano.
Example 8. Gargoyles, climax of gargoyles' dance:
Examples 9 and 10. Excerpts from Scherzo After Tagore.

Example 9. Octave glissando, to be executed by right hand:

Example 10. Rhythmic sequence of repeated E-flat that continues in piece for thirty (30) measures:
Ethel Leginska received most of her recognition and publicity for being a brilliant pianist, a free thinker, then as an orchestral and operatic conductor. This would be more than enough for a life’s work to many. She was a woman beyond her time. However, this wasn’t enough for her, and despite tremendous pressure on her mental well-being, she took on the enormous job of creator, also securing public performance of her compositions. Unfortunately, her large works have sunk into obscurity, never having been published. Seeking out manuscripts of her orchestral works and her operas would certainly make a worthwhile future task.
APPENDIX A
COMPOSITIONS BY ETHEL LEGINSKA

VOCAL

Songs for solo voice and piano:

Kalte
I Have a Rendezvous With Death
Sorrow

Four Songs (1919):

At Dawn
Bird Voices of Spring
The Frozen Heart
The Gallows Tree

In a Garden (1928, for low, medium and high voices)
- Words and music by Ethel Leginska

Songs for vocal solo with orchestra/ensemble:

Six Nursery Rhymes (1925)
- for soprano "ad lib" and piano or chamber orchestra
  Jack and Jill
  Three Mice
  Sleep Baby Sleep
  Georgy Porgy
  Little Boy Blue
  Old King Cole

PIANO

Solo:

The Gargoyles of Notre Dame (1920)
Scherzo After Tagore (1920)
At Night
Cradle Song (1922)
Dance of a Little Clown
Dance of a Puppet (1924)
Three Victorian Portraits (1959)
- a suite (for piano) in three movements:
  "Nostalgic Waltz"
  "A Dirge"
  "Heroic Impromptu"

Piano and orchestra:

Fantasie
(COMPOSITIONS, cont.)

**ORCHESTRAL**

*Beyond the Fields We Know*
  - symphonic poem
*Two Short Pieces/Poems*
*Quatre sujets barbares*
  - suite after life of French painter Paul Gauguin

**CHAMBER**

*String Quartet*
  - after four poems by Tagore

*From a Life*
  - for thirteen instruments
  - movements:
    "Allegro energico"
    "Lento dolentissimo"
    "Vivace"

*Triptych for Eleven Solo Instruments*

**OPERA**

*The Rose and the Ring*
*Gale*
*Joan of Arc*
(The Haunting)
  - it is not clear whether this last work is really new; The Haunting is also given as an alternate title for Gale*

*Not all of Leginska’s works are published. For published works, the year of publication is given, if the information is available. Sources: [Four songs by Ethel Leginska] (New York: G. Schirmer, 1919): At Dawn, words by Arthur Symons; Bird Voices of Spring, words by C. S. Whittern; The Frozen Heart, words by Otto Julius Bierbaum, English version by Frederick H. Martens; and The Gallows Tree, words from an old ballad. In a Garden (New York: Associated Music Publishers Inc., 1928); The Gargoyles of Notre Dame and Scherzo After Tagore (New York: Composers’ Music Corporation, 1920); and (Cincinnati: John Church Co.): Cradle Song (1922), Dance of a Puppet (1924), and Six Nursery Rhymes (1925). All sheet music referenced courtesy of Library of
## APPENDIX B

### PREMIERES OF ETHEL LEGINSKA’S MAJOR WORKS

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<td>String Quartet (on 4 poems by Tagore)</td>
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<td>From a Life (for 13 instruments)</td>
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<td>1-9-22</td>
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<td>Beyond the Fields We Know</td>
<td>symphonic poem</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2-12-22</td>
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<td>Two Short Pieces</td>
<td>orchestral</td>
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<td>Replicas of Notre Dame gargoyle featured on cover of catalog for Design Toscano of Chicago, Arlington Heights, IL.</td>
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"Transcribed from piano rolls recorded by Miss Leginska."

*Famous Pianists, from series Famous Voices of the Past.*

This is a recording of Romantic works performed by pianists of the Romantic tradition.


Leginska’s only recorded composition is included on this LP with Charles Haubiel’s *Metamorphoses* for piano.

The Library of Congress also holds many 78 rpms of Leginska playing Romantic works by various composers such as Schubert, Liszt, Rachmaninoff, MacDowell, Arensky, Leschetizky, and Moszkowski.