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The Morshyn spa resort as a health and leisure centre for the Jewish population of Galicia, 1878-1939

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ABSTRACT

From the time of their establishment to the outbreak of World War II, resorts on the territory of modern Ukraine and Poland were frequented by substantial segments of those countries' Jewish populations. The recreational activity of Jewish patients and the investments of Jewish entrepreneurs made a significant contribution to the development of resort infrastructure on the territory of present-day Ukraine. This study examines the spa resort of Morshyn, one of Ukraine's five leading health resorts and is the result of many years of research carried out by the authors.

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1. Introduction

Morshyn is a resort town in the Lviv region of Ukraine. It is among the country's five leading health resorts. In 2019 alone, 22,000 people underwent inpatient rehabilitation in the sanatoria of Morshyn, and over 35,000 were accommodated in hotels and apartments in the private sector. The resort was founded in 1878 and continued to develop under the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878–1915), the Polish Republic (1921–1939), Nazi Germany (1941–1942), the USSR (1940, 1944–1990), and Ukraine (since 1991). Each of these stages of development had its distinctive features, not least with regard to the ethnic composition of those who stayed at the resort.

Before World War II the region of Eastern Galicia where the resort is located had a multinational population. According to censuses, the proportion of Jews averaged 7% in 1880, 13.1% (618,751 people) in 1900, and 10.4% in the 1930s (Pearson 1983; Eberhardt 2015). At the same time, Jews comprised the majority of the population (between 51% and 67%) of the towns in the region: for example, in Lviv they represented 31.9% of the population (99,600 people) in 1900, 36% (77,000) in 1921, and 33% (110,000) in 1939.

Past research on such health resorts in Galicia as Krynytsya, Shchavnytsya and Rabka has not generally noted how registers and medical reports indicate that 30% to 50% of their vacationers between 1870 and 1939 identified themselves as Jews. For example, according to the report of Dr T. Stakhevych from the resort of Shchavnytsya, during the 1918 season 1,580 people were treated here, of whom 78% were Jews and 22% Christians

(Poles, Ukrainians and baptized Jews). In that year, in nearby Krynytsya, too, three out of five vacationers were Jews (*Ze zdrojowisk krajowych* 1918).

There has been little research concerning the activities and leisure plans of the Jews of Eastern Galicia in this period. The aim of the paper is to survey and analyse primary periodicals, archives and other scientific sources from the Austrian and Polish eras in order to identify the distinctive features, trends and statistics of service of the Jewish resort vacationers in Morshyn.

2. Previous scholarship

Scores of monographs and articles in scholarly journals have dealt with the life of the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe, including Eastern Galicia, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These have been summarized in a number of books in recent years (among them Haumann 2002; Hann & Magocsi 2005; Hundert 2008; Bartal & Polonsky 2009; Webber 2009; Motta 2013; Petrovsky-Shtern 2014; Kilcher & Safran 2016). However, the number of books, mainly memoirs, with information on the health and leisure activities of the Jews of this period is rather limited (for example: Meltzer 1974; Vishniac 1983; Hofbauer & Weidmann 1999; Schwara 1999; Hamerow 2001; Bajohr 2003; Wynne 2006; Margoshes 2008; Zadoff 2012). Martin Pollack collected material on the leisure and travel activities of the Jewish residents of the region (Pollack 2001), and Samuel Drix, a doctor resident at Morshyn, is the most substantial source for the life of the resort in this period (Drix 1994).

While both Ukrainian and Polish scholars have studied the history of Galician resorts, particularly that of Morshyn (Płonka-Syroka 2012; Nicieja 2013; Rutynskyi 2012, 2018) in general, it should be pointed out that this particular aspect of the topic is dealt with only very fragmentarily in the literature.

3. Methodological remarks

This study covers two great distinct eras in the development of the resort of Morshyn: the 'Austrian' (when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) and the 'Polish' (when it was part of the Republic of Poland). The starting point is the date of foundation of the resort, while the end-date is the outbreak of World War II and the beginning of the Holocaust in the region. We investigate the ethnic composition of Morshyn vacationers in these two periods. Various sources of information were used, including reports of the resort's activities, and scientific, memoir, and periodical literature.

The investigation of the dynamics of tourism and the study of changes in the geographical vectors of tourist flows involve the use of methods that allow us to assess their impact on the development of the destinations. In this study, both general and specially devised methods were used. In the analysis of the data statistical (including extrapolation-prognostic) methods described in the works on quantitative methods in tourism were employed (Baggio, Klobas 2017; Altinay, Paraskevas, Jang 2015).

4. The research

4.1. *Morshyn Spa: its location and aspects of its development between 1878 and 1939*

Morshyn Spa is situated in western Ukraine in the foothills of the Carpathians. The briny mineral water of the resort is an effective means of treating and preventing diseases of the gastrointestinal tract. It has a choleric, diuretic and anti-inflammatory effect, and helps cleanse the body and optimize the metabolism.

Morshyn Spa was founded in 1878 by the entrepreneur Boniface Stiller. The water from its mineral springs began to be used for mineral (salt) baths, and peat mud (for mud baths and other applications) in 1880. Thus, in 1880 Morshyn officially acquired the status of a balneological mud resort. At the same time, the owner of Morshyn began the production of briquettes of therapeutic Glauber's Morshyn salt, which was in competition with the more expensive Carlsbad salt. During the 1883 season, the Morshyn resort for the first time hosted more than a thousand visitors. The proportion of those from overseas was 11%: these were mostly Poles and Jews from the Russian Empire.

Boniface Stiller bequeathed the ownership of the resort to the Society of Galician Doctors. From 1883 onwards, Morshyn began to supply pharmacies in the major cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the capitals of other European countries not with only briquettes of salt and mud, but also bottled Morshyn mineral water. The resort and its natural healing facilities gained a reputation among the population of Galicia and the surrounding areas. Its affordable prices opened the door of Morshyn to the Jewish intelligentsia.

Between 1890 and 1919 the industrial facilities for the manufacture of health products from Morshyn's resources were owned by the Lviv entrepreneur Jan Pepes-Poratynsky (1876–1941) He was a Jew or, to be more precise, he self-identified as a Pole of Jewish descent ('son of Jacob and grandson of Solomon Pepes'). Thanks to his father's wealth, he received the best possible education, and by 1904 was regarded as one of the richest businessmen in Galicia. It comes as no surprise that J. Pepes, like other famous Galician Jews (businessmen and writers, for example), adopted a Polish surname (in this case Poratynsky) and called himself a Pole of Jewish descent. Under chauvinistic pressure, such a price for public recognition was gladly paid by many people. (Landau-Czajka 2006).

The heart of the resort comprised the premises of the New Baths (Figure 1). These consisted of two spacious halls for hydrotherapy and several rooms for salt and mud baths.

In the early twentieth century, Morshyn was readily compared in brochures to the popular European resorts; it was called the 'Spa of Galicia' and 'Galician Carlsbad'. But the steady development of the resort was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I.

At this time there were 200 guests in the main buildings and 2,200 using the mineral baths. The last guests left Morshyn in late August, after the war had already begun, panicked by the news that the Russian army had invaded Galicia. On 4 September 1914, Morshyn, along with the entire region, became a part of the Russian Empire. Military action bypassed the resort, but the occupying forces looted the vacationers on a large scale and staged nightly pogroms of the local Jews. According to eyewitnesses, the Russians' favorite activity was to ask well-dressed passers-by: 'What time is it?' When the



Figure 1. Vacationers in front of the new Morshyn Baths, 1910. Postcard from the private archive of the author M. Rutynskyi.

unfortunate took out his gold watch, they snatched it from his hands, hit the Jew in the face and fled. The Jew Naphtali Ziegel, for example, gave the following account of the occupation of Stryi: 'The Russians' first step was to check out the abandoned apartments of refugees. In the first weeks we had a very "active" lower-ranking soldier in our house. He began collecting bedlinen, furs, clothes and all kinds of household items that were easily transportable. He packed everything in boxes and sent it all back home to Russia. (...) During the Russian occupation, the city was neglected and extremely dirty. The officers and the soldiers alike were interested only in alcohol and thievery.' (Naphtali Ziegel 1962): 66.

In 1915, the outskirts of Morshyn became the scene of military action. The resort fell into complete decline. The Society of Galician Doctors had no funds to rebuild it. After the war it was therefore decided that the resort should be let to the 'Polish Resorts' joint-stock company. The second (Polish) period of development of the resort of Morshyn had begun.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Morshyn enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. Investors took an interest in the resort. The industrial production of medical briquettes of Morshyn salt and mud and bottled mineral water increased threefold compared to the pre-war level. Through the sales offices of the Polish Resorts joint-stock company, Morshyn water, salt and mud were exported to more than thirty countries around the world, including Great Britain and the United States.

As a result of the boom in investment and construction, Morshyn's architecture underwent a substantial change. The pastoral landscape of the private resort complex of B. Stiller's time became a thing of the past and gave way to modern industrial buildings

with two four-storey resort cottages modeled on the finest resort buildings of this kind in Austria, Germany, and the Czechoslovak Republic. More than twenty resort villas formed the architectural core of the Morshyn resort. The hotel and resort complexes known as 'Europe', 'Italy', 'Patria', 'Wawel', 'Orion', and 'White Yard', with their central water and power supply, stood out for their sophistication and style.

A notable aspect of the development was specialization of the accommodation according to ethno-religious criteria. 'Catholics only' villas were the first to emerge, thanks to the anti-Semitic sentiments of some of the vacationers from Poland. (Bajohr 2003). As a result, villas and boarding houses soon sprang up in Morshyn with Yiddish-speaking staff and offering kosher cuisine. Unsurprisingly, therefore, at that time the proportion of those of Jewish nationality coming to Morshyn from Warsaw for rehabilitation exceeded vacationers of Polish nationality by 50%. Accommodation with Ukrainian-speaking staff was available at the resort no later than the period 1934 to 1938.

The first modern villa, the 'Varshavyanka', was built by a Jewish entrepreneur, Samuel Freilich, in the mid-1920s. Before 1935, the 'Mühlrad' was considered the most luxurious boarding house for Jews in Morshyn. It provided guests with full board with kosher cuisine, organized Jewish art evenings and provided a number of other services (transfers, excursions, and so forth). The Morshyn boarding houses 'Sigall', 'Frimeta', 'Record', 'Rokach' with select kosher cuisine, offering family celebrations and author's evenings by well-known representatives of the artistic intelligentsia, were also popular among the Jewish community of Warsaw and Lviv.

In the 1930s, vast new engineering projects were implemented in Morshyn: a balneological hospital, a mud hospital and an inhaler unit were built. Additionally, in 1935, a four-storey 'Resort House' (the modern 'Marble Palace' sanatorium), and several dozen art deco boarding houses, restaurants, coffee houses and patisseries were built.

4.2. Morshyn as a center of rehabilitation for the Jewish population of Western Ukraine between 1878 and 1939

Galician Jews were treated at Morshyn from the very beginning of the resort's establishment. In the 1880s, its infrastructure consisted of boarding houses for Christians called 'Under the Star' and 'Under the Anchor'. Wealthy Jewish vacationers were accommodated in the 'Jewish Boarding House', while the poorer vacationers rented rooms in the houses of Ukrainians in Morshyn. The village's state inn was rented by E. Eckstein, a Jew from Stryi, and adapted to provide food and leisure services for the vacationers.

From 1907 onwards, the capacity and occupancy of the private accommodation available exceeded that in the remainder of the resort. And the gap continued to grow every year. At the same time, the official statistics took into account only the guests in the central boarding houses, whose personal data were entered into the register. The Society of Galician Doctors (Towarzystwo Lekarzy Galicyjskich) recorded only the resort fees and the costs of treatment, accommodation and food in the central restaurant of the small proportion of the guests who had the status of 'patients'. Hence it is incorrect to claim that the resort served only between 50 and 180 visitors. Hundreds of guests with the status of 'vacationers' made use of the baths and the leisure infrastructure, consulted doctors privately, and participated in evening entertainments, for example.

It should be noted that between 100 and 150 inpatient vacationers came to Morshyn for a 4- to-6-week period in the summer. As the accommodation available was not sufficient to cater for everyone, another 400 to 600 people rented accommodation in the neighbouring towns of Stryi and Bolekhiv. They travelled to Morshyn by train, a journey of 20 minutes, in order to take a bath every morning. Although Stryi was destroyed by fire in 1886, thanks to a generous gift of 100,000 francs from the Jewish patron Baron Maurice de Hirsch of Paris and charitable contributions from Baron Popper from the village of Veldizh, as well as donations by the Lviv Jewish Kahal, Stryi was rebuilt in just a few years to European standards. This town became an attractive tourist centre with new three-storey buildings of apartments for resort guests, showcases for the fashion salons of the Jewish entrepreneurs Lieberman, Rosenfeld, Licht and others, spacious synagogues and new leisure facilities. Thus, according to the Stryi local newspaper, during this period two-thirds of Morshyn vacationers who did not require inpatient care preferred to rent an apartment in nearby Stryi. The Jewish hoteliers' 'Under Three Crowns', 'Hotel Schwamma', 'Zum Hirschen', 'Zum schwarzen Adler', 'Drei Kronen', and the Yuri Grossman Patisserie on the Market Square in Stryi were the meeting places of Jewish vacationers from the Austrian and Russian empires.

From the date of foundation of the resort until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, vacationers of Jewish nationality (both Zionist and Polonized) comprised the largest proportion of vacationers in Morshyn. Unfortunately, our only sources of information about them are the memoirs of natives of Galicia (Mordechai Ehrenpreis 1953; Kudish, Rozenberg, Rotfeld 1962; Yitzhak Siegelman 2014; and others), and rare as well as incomplete collections of Jewish newspapers (Stryi – 'Yidish Folk-Stimme'; Stanislawow – 'Stanislauer Zeitung', 'Der Yidisher Arbeiter' and 'Yidische Stimme'; Kolomyia – 'Die Neie Zeit'; Zolochiv – 'Dos Freie Vort', and others). For example, we know from the press about such famous vacationers and visitors to Morshyn as:

- Dr Philipp Fruchtmann (burgomaster and head of the Jewish community of Stryi, its ambassador to the Galician Sejm);
- Dr Juliusz Wurzel (lawyer and formal head of Jewish political organizations in Stryi);
- Dr Isaac Aaron Bernfeld (1854–1930), (teacher of the Jewish religion at the Stryi gymnasium);
- Rabbis from Stryi (Shalom Hacohen Jolles, Shraga Feivel Hertz), Turka (Israel Moshkovich), Borshchiv (Shlomo Hertz), Skala Podilska (Israel Seidman), Bolekhiv, Zhydachiv Chortkiv, and other towns and villages of the region;
- Dr Moshe Lipschitz (head of the Stryi branch of the aliyah society 'Eretz Israel');
- Dr Helena Rosenman and Rachel Katz (pioneers of the struggle for Jewish women's rights; founders of the Society of Jewish Women in Stryi, the charitable societies 'Ezrat Nashim' and 'Kreuzer Verein' (for the collection of symbolic donations of one-kreutzer coins for the poor and orphans); organizers of the Jewish Girls' Shelter, the kindergarten 'Orphanage for Jewish Girls' ('Ochronka dla Dziewczat Zydowskich'); organizers of the Yiddish-speaking private school 'Safa Brura', the Self-Help Fund, which, among other things, provided funds for treatment in Morshyn for low-income activists in the emancipation movement);
- pioneering organizers of the tourist and holiday-resort movement of Jewish working youth belonging to the youth divisions of 'Poalei Zion Youth' of the Galician Jewish

'Union of Young Workers and Traders' from Lviv, Brody, Ternopil, Stryi, Bolekhiv, Stanislawow and Kolomyia;

- leaders of the county centres of the Jewish national and cultural societies 'Ahva', 'Ze'irei Zion', 'Mizrahi', among others.

From among the notable regular clients of the resort we can identify the spiritual and social leader of the region, the Stryi rabbi Shalom Yishai Jolles, and the leader of the Zionist movement of the Jews of Podillya, Dr Israel Waldmann from Ternopil, who in 1918 was Minister of Jewish Affairs in the government of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic.

In the period 1902 to 1914, some of the most affluent representatives of the Jewish vacationers of Morshyn included such members of the Galician merchant class as:

- Lviv residents Lippe Upperman, Saul Birnbaum and his daughters Rosa and Clara, Teresa and Samuel Horowitz, Philip and Berta Sandauer, Fanny Kleiner, Rachel and Rosa Merkel, Moshe and Deborah Poltorak;

- Stanislawow residents Leon and Sabina Halberstam, Saul, Joseph, Nellie, Sophie, and Fanny Halpern, Samuel and Annette Landau;

- Ternopil residents Betty Reitman and Herman Kagan;

- Stryi residents Abraham Apfelgruen, Baruch Schorr, Leibush Pickholz, Ernestina Rosner, and others;

- Bianca Bloch, Marie Blumenfeld and Hirsch Kapelyush from Brody, Joseph Domberger from Drohobych, Leib Baron from Kolomyia, the couple Abraham and Frimmy Schuster, foresters and landowners from Skole district, and others;

- lawyers from merchant clans: Maximilian Blumenfeld and his family (from Stanislawow) and Samuel Wagner with his wife (from Brody), among others.

During the 1909 to 1914 seasons, Morshyn's boarding and guest houses in the nearby towns of Stryi and Bolekhiv hosted between 50 and 300 foreign tourists: elegant Jews from Odessa and other cities of Ukraine carrying imperial Russian passports. One of the reasons for their stay was the relocation of families to safe recreation centres, away from summer outbreaks of epidemics, brought to the Black Sea cities by ships from Asia and spread by vermin from the ports.

Young men and women became acquainted while promenading on Sundays in Morshyn, while their parents eyed up their wealth to check whether they would make a suitable match. For example, in July 1914, a romantic story resonated in Morshyn. This was the promising encounter between Dr Leon Rosenzweig-Zeisler, a professor at the Przemyśl *Gymnasium*, and Caroline Mondstein, a native of Stryi. Though not beautiful, she was the only daughter of a wealthy Stryi merchant. In August 1927, another romantic story resonated even more. Hippolyte Gibbs, a military doctor of the artillery regiment stationed in Stryi, met Leah Mayer, another native of Stryi and the daughter of the owner of the town's 'Edison' cinema. The resort romance ended happily on 20 January 1928: a luxurious wedding ceremony took place in Lviv at the main Jewish venue 'Golden Rose' followed by a dazzling party in the elite Lviv hotel 'George' (many Christians at that time 'discovered their Jewish roots' and willingly agreed to host parties after wedding ceremonies in the synagogue, especially when there was a fine dowry).

Of the doctors in the resort, the majority were Jews. The most famous of them were I. Kiczales, Y. Lippel, and Y. Lyuv. They worked part-time gratis at the Stryi Jewish Hospital

for the Poor, ran extensive private practices, and were well-respected by the Jewish population. In the summer, they went to Morshyn as often as 2 to 4 times a week to privately advise patients and monitor their health.

From 1911 onwards, the summer scientific meetings of members of the Stryi section of the Society of Galician Doctors (of whom 38% were Jews) were held at the resort (Figure 2). More than 60 Jewish doctors' families from Lviv traditionally spent their summer vacations in Morshyn. Prominent representatives of the Society of Galician Doctors who recuperated here with their families included its vice president, Dr. Solomon Ruff (usually under the Polish version of his name, Stanislaw Ruff (14.11.-1872-3/4.07.1941)), Joseph Birkenfeld, Adolf Rosenfeld and Solomon Rappaport (from Ternopil), Oziash Rappaport (from Verkhne Synyovydne), Elias Blustein and Moses Mondstein (from Stanislawow), Isaac Blumenthal (from Bolekhiv), Leon Blumenblatt (from Tysmenytsia), Rubin Nadel (from Kalush), Isidor Rares and Jakub Gerscher (from Husiatyn), Jakub Friedberg (from Brody), as well as Lviv residents Oswald Zion and Leopold Schellenberg (members of the presidium of the East Galician Medical Chamber), Joseph Spielman (Rector of the Lviv Veterinary Academy), presidents of the Lviv Medical Society (Emil Wexler, Jakub Magl), doctors Wilhelm Pisek (director of the Jewish Hospital in Lviv), Israel Fels, Anthony Blumenfeld, Samuel Meisels, Jakub



Figure 2. Participants of the Congress of Doctors of the Stryi county with their families in Morshyn, on 27 August 1911. Photo from the private archive of the author M. Rutynskyi.

Zilberstein, Jakub Clarfeld, Lazar Lutherstein, Jakub Moskovic, Marek Reichenstein, Abraham Roth, Frederick Fruchtman, and others.

Another regular contingent of vacationers comprised doctors' widows and their children. They received their husband's pension and often financial assistance from Morshyn's Stiller Foundation, or from other charitable medical foundations. In addition, they enjoyed benefits and seasonal discounts on full board and medical care in Morshyn. Between 1908 and 1914, frequent Jewish widow vacationers included those who came from Lviv, Stanislawow, Ternopil, Krakow, Przemyśl, Drohobych, and Brody: Maria Bertglef, Josepha Hoffmann, Nettie Brauner, Nettie Rosenol, Fanny Corngrun, Fanny Rosenfeld, Rosalie Herold, Sarah Rosenechl, Sophia Raab, and many others.

During the Polish period (1920–1939), as far as we can glean from memoirs, many Jewish citizens from the poorer social classes (employees, petty officials, merchants, workers) liked to choose Morshyn for their summer vacations for between one and three weeks, to benefit from the curative qualities of the mineral water as well as the tolerant attitude to Jewish vacationers. It was relatively rare for government officials to spend time at the resort (though there were examples of such: the mayor of Zolochiv and member of Parliament Joseph Gold; former mayor of Kamianets-Podilskyi Edmund Fahrenholtz; and head of Sniatyn County Salomon Moses).

In the first postwar years (1920–1926), members of doctors' and educators' families from the cities of Ukraine accounted for a significant share of Morshyn's guests. Here they were protected from summer epidemics that afflicted the state of 'the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat', as well as from the terror of the seizure of property from the Jewish population of Ukraine by the 'Red occupiers'.

An analysis of the ethnic composition of vacationers in Morshyn having inpatient rehabilitation for at least four weeks in the late 1920s and early 1930s gave the following results (Figure 4). There is nothing untypical about these figures.¹

The economic crisis of 1929–1933 reduced the proportion of Jewish vacationers in Morshyn by a factor of five in 1929. Hence in the seasons from 1929 to 1931 the number of Jewish vacationers in Morshyn was minimal, while the proportion of better-off Christian vacationers increased rapidly. However, after 1932 the global economic crisis prompted a growing cohort of wealthy Jewish vacationers to reorient from expensive Czechoslovak and Yugoslav resorts to domestic centres, including choosing the budget Morshyn resort for their treatment (Figures 3, 5; Table 1).

based on the annual reports of the Executive Council of the Society of Galician Doctors

The ratio of permanent vacationers in Morshyn by gender remained at an average of 60 to 40 percent in favour of women.

A similar situation prevailed in the neighbouring resorts of Central and Southern Poland. For example, in 1934 there were 2,718 Jews and 1,814 Christians registered as regular vacationers in Iwonicz-Zdroj, while in Shchavnytsya, the ratio of Jews to Christians was 67 to 33 per cent.

The following statistic is noteworthy: the average annual growth in the number of Jewish vacationers in Morshyn between 1933 and 1939 was significantly higher than the growth in the number of Christian vacationers. For example, in 1934 the number of Jewish vacationers grew by 200%, while Christian vacationers grew by only 85%; in 1938, these figures were 131% and 126%, respectively. The main reason for this phenomenon should be sought in the difference between the levels of average family income, and the cost of



Figure 3. Photos from the private archive of the author M. Rutynskiy. On the left: typical women at the resort, members of the wealthy mixed Ukrainian-Jewish Rothenberg family of Ostroh, early 1920s. On the right: Jews from Lviv: Henrik Schwartz with his son, daughter-in-law and granddaughter; resort photo, late 1930s.

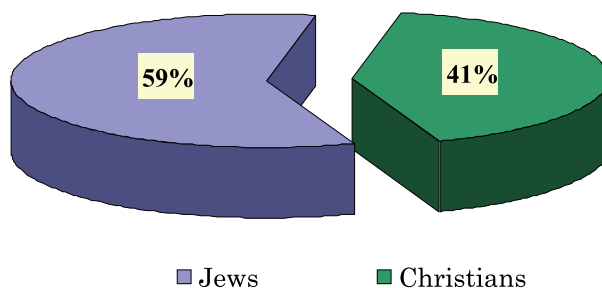


Figure 4. The ethnic composition of Morshyn visitors registered as inpatient vacationers in 1927–1928. Calculated by the authors on the basis of reports by the resort's head doctor.

spending leisure time at the resort for the citizens of large cities of the middle and wealthy classes of both religions.

In the context of a policy of closed borders, expensive passports and transfers, and various formal barriers to crossing borders, the proportion of foreign vacationers in Morshyn in the interwar period never exceeded 1% of the number of regular vacationers. In 1935, for the first time, two citizens of the British Mandate of Palestine (settler colonists from Brody) were treated in Morshyn.



Figure 5. A typical resort photo showing the most respected representatives (teachers) of the most numerous cohort of the Galician resort vacationers between the wars, posing on a bench near the pump room. (In the middle, with a cup of mineral water, sits Rabbi Ben Zion Galberstam, with his students on the extreme left and right. Summer 1929, during treatment in Truskavets, a resort near Morshyn.) Source: NAC.

Table 1. Denominational composition of Morshyn inpatient vacationers from 1932 to 1935.

Number of vacationers who were	1932	1933	1934	1935
Christians	1247	2274	1934	2557
Jews	484	683	1367	1810

Vacationers in the 1920s and 1930s included many prominent Jews of Galicia: lawyers, artists, doctors, naturalists, engineers and architects. In particular:

- Martin Selzer – founder and first president (1919–1928) of the Society for the Promotion of Hygiene among the Jews of Galicia;
- Isaac Aaron Bernfeld – Hebrew teacher, journalist, translator, author of the first Hebrew- Polish dictionary, active member of a number of Jewish societies;
- Dr. Abraham Apfelgruen, president of the Mizrahi Organization in Stryi between 1919 and 1925, one of the most respected Zionists in Galicia;
- Dr. Abraham Auerbach, president from 1925 of the Mizrahi Organization in Stryi, one of the leaders of the Zionist movement in Galicia;
- Jacob Waldman, president of the Stryi Jewish Craft Society ‘Yad Charuzim’, one of the organizers of the sports and tourist movement among Jewish youth. His brother, Dr Abram Waldman, worked at the Stryi State General Hospital. In the 1930s he

moved to the luxury boarding house 'Mundusia' to serve highly regarded Jewish vacationers at the Morshyn resort.

- Abraham Insler (head of the Stryi Kahal) and several other representatives of the self-government of Jewish communities from the towns of eastern Galicia;
- Jewish educators, including Dr Moshe Aaron Wohlmüt, Dr Moshe Zechariah Goldberg, Dr Azriel Eisenstein, Dr Abraham Levin, Dr Shlomo Garfunkel, Dr Shlomo Goldberg, Dr Mordechai Kaufmann, and Dr Norbert Schiff;
- the charismatic, emancipated Rachel Katz, president of the Stryi branch of WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organisation), member of the presidium of the Jewish National Council in the government of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, wife of the owner of the bus line monopoly between Stryi and Morshyn;
- Stryi doctor Samuel Neumann (? – 1945, killed in a battle between a group of UPA officers and Russian NKVD), therapist, champion of the poor, fighter against fascism in the ranks of the UPA, awarded the Order of the Silver Cross;
- representatives of the intellectual elite (more than a hundred rabbis from the towns of Eastern Galicia served in Morshyn between 1921 and 1939: from Stryi in particular came the famous rabbi-scholar Eliezer Ben Shlomo Ladier (20.02.1874–07.10.1932), Eliezer Ladier, Asher Frankel, Shmuel Klein [who in 1939 was deported to Siberia with his son], Shmuel Friedler);
- lecturers and organizers of literary evenings and recitals for the resort vacationers from the Stryi Hebrew Language Society 'HaShomrim': Zvi Gelernter, Moshe Eisenstein, Isaac Silberschlag, Nathan Kudisch, Aaron Meller, Joshua Oberlaender, Ben-David Schwartz, Abraham Schwarzberg, Isaac Schorr, Joseph Schuster, Jonah Friedler, among others.

It should be noted that women, mostly the mothers and daughters of shopkeepers and merchants, outnumbered male vacationers by almost two-to-one. (This is quite natural, because male Jews' main business activities took place during the summer season). However, what the resort shops recall are the industrialists and merchants (buyers, wholesalers, owners of warehouses, shops, restaurants and taverns, sales agents, distributors and people from related areas of business) in their luxurious Parisian suits. They usually accompanied their mothers, mothers-in-law and other women on their way to and from the resort, because it was safer: many kinds of swindlers and thieves, as well as aggressive anti-Semites roamed the stations and trains.

Hundreds of Jewish children enjoyed rehabilitation in Morshyn every summer. The Jewish Tourist Society (Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze) organized excursions and health summer camps for Jewish children between 1933 and 1939. Children from the nearby Jewish shelters of the 'Beit Yaakov' Society also visited Morshyn every summer.

4.3. Leisure activities of Jewish resort vacationers in Morshyn

The leisure infrastructure of the resort developed only gradually. In Morshyn between 1900 and 1917 there were two bowling alleys, a tennis court, a swing for adults, boats that could be taken, with the ladies, in the forest pond, a playground with gymnastic equipment, seasonal kiosks selling sweets, sodas and fruit run by the Stryi Jewish merchants Bleiberg and Samet.

The resort was the scene of many reunions. Excursions were organized to the picturesque mountain areas of Bubnyshche, Rozgirche, Bolekhiv, and many more.

Between 1880 and 1910, a brass band visited Morshyn by train from Stryi every weekend. The musicians took over the gazebo and entertained the resort vacationers with brisk marches and light melodies. On fine Sunday evenings in August, open-air dances were held in the square, which resounded to waltzes and polonaises.

Every morning, fresh newspapers (including Yiddish newspapers) were delivered by rail. Vacationers had at their disposal a library and a reading room, where in their free time they could browse German and Polish books, read the latest news from Stryi, Lviv, Cracow, Warsaw and Vienna in all the languages spoken in Galicia.

For cultural entertainment, vacationers traditionally took the train to the nearby town of Stryi, which offered exciting cultural and artistic programs for guests from Morshyn (almost two-thirds of whose regular vacationers were Jews), with the participation of famous stars of the stage, organized by J. Meisels, M. Lipschutz, A. Goldberg and J. Damm: members of the Presidium of the Stryi Jewish Civic Casino and Society 'Admat Israel'. Before the war, vacationers would gather en masse in Stryi for movie premieres. During the summer vacation representatives of the Jewish *beau monde* could often be encountered in the evenings at the 'Viennese coffee house', owned by Jewish businessman Joseph Rosenberg. It had a hall with billiards, a gambling den, an intimate corner with Cuban cigars and French cognacs for smokers and drinkers, and a dance area.

In the 1910s, as club football competitions and the tradition of going to a stadium to support their team became more popular, crowds of vacationers from Morshyn would occasionally gather in Stryi for organized interregional and interethnic matches between teams from Stryi – Jewish 'Hakoah', Ukrainian 'Skala', Polish 'Pogon' – and rivals from other towns.

According to the press, between mid-July and the first ten days of August the resort of Morshyn resembled a veritable anthill. In addition to the regular resort vacationers, whole trains of weekend vacationers from Stanislawow, Stryi and Lviv came here every weekend: organized groups of tourists, especially young people (members of the Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian scout organizations, music, choir, sports and tourist clubs); as well as groups of ordinary private visitors.

Through the summers of the 1920s and 1930s musical events with dances at the resort were mostly provided by amateur klezmer ensembles. Professional Jewish theatrical groups and fashionable pop stars from Warsaw, Poznan, Cracow and Lviv did not include Morshyn in their itineraries. Their summer tour schedules were filled with performances in Krynytsya, Ciechocinek, Rabka and other large resorts, where thousands of wealthy connoisseurs of Jewish arts would gather. Rather, in summer, actors of the Stryi Jewish Theater 'migrated' from Stryi to Morshyn. The grateful resort audience welcomed Yiddish plays on the impromptu open-air stage, performed by amateur actors of the likes of Rachel Altshuler, Haya Behr, Mordechai Langer, Etka Wagner, Elijah and Miriam Hauptmann, Shimon Eckstein, Hannah and Sally Leibovitch, and others.

Engaging cultural events at the resort were regularly organized by the Jewish intelligentsia: members of the Stryi societies 'Agudas Achim', 'Chewra Kadisza halmojes', 'Chesed Weemeth', 'Gmilus Chendim', 'Ischrei Leiw', 'Safa Brura', 'Schulim Weemeth', 'Chewra Kadischa', 'Yad Charuzim', 'Gomlei Chesed', several Stryi Jewish Women's Societies ('Enrath Nushim', 'Jewish Women's Circle' ['Ognisko Kobiet Żydowskich'],

'Miriam'), 'Zion', the Society for the promotion of the Jewish colonization of Palestine, theatrical and gymnastic circles of the Jewish school, the Jewish Educational Society 'Ibrijah', the Jewish Student Society 'Emunah', and so on. Announcements and advertisements about such events were frequently displayed in the columns of Galician Jewish newspapers.

Leisure and entertainment in 1920s and 1930s Morshyn was provided by: a) twice-daily concerts of classical music; b) evening concerts, literary evenings, dances and balls in the large hall of the Kurhaus, or in the open air near the pump room (Figure 6); c) a small hall of the Kurhaus with a Viennese piano for guests' individual use; d) croquet and tennis



Figure 6. The main pump room and the central part of the resort park in high season, in 1937 (that season, Jews accounted for 38% of resort vacationers). Source: private collection of the author M. Rutynskyi.



Figure 7. Students and teachers from the Jewish school in Stryi, who often performed before audiences in Morshyn; archival photo from 1938.

courts; e) a football pitch; f) a bowling club; g) benches and hammocks for individual relaxation in the resort park.

Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish amateur groups from Stryi and Stanislawow regularly performed in Morshyn (Figure 7). Vacationers were delighted by the following performances in Morshyn:

- performances by Stryi's Yiddish Theatre and producer Aaron Hauptman, artistic directors of Yiddish plays by Moshe Katz and Berl Stern, amateur actors Mordechai and Etka Wagner, Elijah Hauptmann, Shiman Eckstein, Hannah Leibovitch, Haya Behr, and others;
- musicians and performers from the Jewish People's House ('Beit Ha'am') in Stryi;
- Jewish composer Joseph Kofler, professor at the Lviv Conservatory;
- 'pop' star, the Jewish virtuoso violinist Adele Bauminger;
- the Jewish orchestra 'Poalei Zion Stryi', under the direction of Joseph Altbauer;
- members of various Jewish cultural and artistic societies: 'Makkabia' ('Yehuda Hamacabi'), 'Betar', 'Ivriya', 'Emuna', 'Hebronia', 'Hehalutz', 'Hitahdut', 'Keren Hayesod', 'Kadima', 'Poalei Zion'. Ukrainian amateur theatrical and choral groups also took an active part in summer programs at Morshyn resort;
- Jewish writer and humorist Dr. Isaac Schorr from Lviv;
- young talented people from the private Jewish school 'Safa Brura' from Bolekhiv;
- organized groups of the patriotic organization of Jewish youth 'Betar', where the future soldiers/defenders of Israel were trained, as well as scouts from the Jewish organizations 'Gordonia', 'Busselia' and 'HeHalutz Hatzair';

- young athletes of the Jewish Scout Society 'Hashomer Hatzair' (from the Hebrew 'Young Guard'), and the youth of the Jewish Gymnastic Societies 'Hakoah I' and 'Hakoah II' led by Gershon Zipper, Abraham Insler and Emil Schmorak, who organized performances of teams as well as amateur sports tournaments among the resort vacationers.

5. Conclusions

In the period 1880 to 1930 Jews comprised the majority of vacationers in Morshyn. Until the end of the 1920s, at weekends during the June-September period, they generally made up more than two-thirds of all guests, due to young people and elderly families who arrived, to take the waters or for a weekend walk, travelling by rail from various towns in Galicia. And only after 1930 did the proportion of longer-term Christian vacationers in Morshyn exceed 50%.

World War II marked the end of the second (Polish) stage in the resort's history. Its last days are described in the memoirs of the Jew Samuel Drix, a doctor at the Morshyn resort between 1935 and 1939. Drix, a young doctor originally from Lviv, described his seasonal summer spa resort practice as follows: 'I spent . . . the other half of the year as an assistant to Professor Wegierko in the spa clinic in Morshyn Zdroj. (. . .) Here we treated patients as well as conducting medical research' (Drix 1994: 9). The outbreak of war found his family, as well as the families of 30 other Jewish doctors in the region, on vacation in Morshyn. Numerous Jewish doctors and resort vacationers were spared forced evacuation. About the first days following the declaration of war Drix wrote: 'On the third or fourth day the Russians began to evacuate their officers and to send their people east. Out of the local population only medical doctors were to be evacuated, but without their families. There were thirty Jewish doctors in Morshyn. (. . .) We managed to return to Morshyn without much difficulty and found our families and friends there all safe and sound.' (Drix 1994: 6, 19).

A new stage in the development of the resort began in the decades of the planned construction of communism in the USSR. However, as a result of the Holocaust and the forced relocation of the Polish and Ukrainian populations after World War II, the ethnic composition of vacationers at Morshyn changed radically. In the USSR era, Russians represented more than 50% of vacationers. Between 1991 and today, most of those at the resort (between 73% and 79%) have been Ukrainians. In the years between 2014 and 2019, the proportion of Jews in Ukraine among inpatient resort vacationers in Morshyn was between 1.4% and 2.1%.

Note

1. From the mid-nineteenth century until World War I, as well as in the first interwar decade of the twentieth century, Jews comprised the dominant contingent of financially sound consumers of the services in leading resorts Europe-wide.

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