

# German Gymnasts with Polish Backgrounds: the Fate of Alfred Flatow (1869–1942) and Gustav Flatow (1875–1945)

dr Mateusz Rozmiarek

University of Physical Education in Cracow, Poland

## Summary

This article presents biographical overviews and details of the sporting careers of cousins Alfred and Gustav Flatow, one of the greatest gymnasts in the history of modern era German sport, born in Danzig and Berent (nowadays-Gdańsk and Kościerzyna). At a young age, the athletes proved that – owing to their determination and hard work – it was possible to qualify for the national team and partake at the Olympic Games, and then show the world their extraordinary skills, thus demonstrating the German gymnastic power. Although they spent the last years of their lives in the Netherlands, where they emigrated, today they are considered to be the undisputed victims of the Nazi genocide among Jewish-German Olympic gymnasts. In recent years, in both Poland and Germany, they have been commemorated in different ways.

**Keywords:** Alfred Flatow, Gustav Flatow, gymnastics, Olympic Games, 1896 Summer Olympics, German Empire

## Introduction

In the years 1866-1871, several years unification process of German states followed, which, apart from the end of the existence of the North German Union, ended with the proclamation of the German Empire (also known as the German Reich) – a federal state being a constitutional monarchy, whose first chancellors were Otto von Bismarck (until 1890), Leo von Caprivi (until 1894) and Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (until 1900). The development of the sports movement in the country may be called dynamic. It was favoured by extensive historical traditions, as well as the progress of physical education and sport (Jurek 2016, p. 63). Rowing societies, sailing associations, cycling clubs, swimming associations and skating sections were regularly established (Grot, Gaj 1973, p. 70). In the 1870s, gymnastics sport associations associated with the ideology of the labour movement began their activity. This sport, originating from ancient Greece, allowed general developmental training, thanks to which athletes using various equipment could perform special gymnastic formations. In addition to its role, which is typically used to improve physical fitness, German pedagogues tried to arouse a sense of national or ethnic identity through gymnastics, which appeared, inter alia, in the educational theses of Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths as well as Friedrich Ludwig Jahn teaching thesis (Rozmiarek, Malchrowicz-Moško 2017). Its target effect was supposed to be the ideal of a versatile man in physical and moral terms, being an example of care for a healthy

and fit body (Zdebska 2010, pp. 30-31). Quite broad development of gymnastics was visible on the Polish lands belonging to the Kingdom of Prussia – a Member State covering two-thirds of the entire area of the German Empire, which within its borders, had many historically Polish cities and geographical lands. Particularly noteworthy was the activity of the local nests of the “Sokół” Gymnastic Society, which, in addition to the first branch created on December 10, 1884, in Inowrazlaw (now Inowrocław), about ten were founded within the following decade (Blecking 2019, p. 10). In addition to promoting physical vigour and enhancing national sense, an important role of the societies was also organising mass gymnastics shows and gatherings popularising the discipline and activities of the organisation (Ambroży 1999, p. 86).

Nineteen athletes in six different sporting disciplines represented the German Empire at the 1896 Summer Olympics. Eleven of them participated in numerous gymnastics competitions. Among them were also athletes of Jewish origin who were, moreover, related to each other, namely Alfred and Gustav Flatow, the most famous Olympic cousins of that time and multiple medalists, born in Danzig and Berent, cities located in Prussia over the period considered (nowadays Gdańsk and Kościerzyna, cities currently belonging to Poland). The main intention of the article is to cite biographical outlines and various forms of commemorating athletes among the most prominent gymnasts in the history of contemporary German sport and at the same time being unquestioned victims of Nazi genocide. Even though

their biographies deserve to be currently remembered, their memory has not been properly cultivated.

This text can also be considered as the second in a series of forgotten biographies of German gymnasts from the period of the beginnings of the Olympic movement since in the 17/2015 issue of the magazine "Studies in Sport Humanities" a description of another German Olympic multi-medalist athlete Hermann Weingärtner was published (Rozmiarek 2015).

## Materials and methods

Research on the history of physical culture in Germany and Poland have a long tradition, but the vast majority focus on the 20<sup>th</sup> century, less on the history of the German Reich and Polish lands (partitions) in the previous century. However, the contribution of not only German researchers is greatly underrated, especially from Diethelm Blecking (1987), but also of Polish scientists, such as Stanisław Zaborniak (2004) and earlier Ryszard Wroczyński (1979) or Zdzisław Grot, with whom Teresa Ziółkowska (1990) and Jerzy Gaj (1973) collaborated scientifically. The latter was also responsible for writing the book titled *History of Physical Culture in Poland During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, co-authored by Kajetan Hądzelek (1991). An equally important role in the subject discussed was played by researchers discussing the situation of physical culture in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but in many respects, referring to times before the beginning of the century. They include Bernard Woltmann (1980), Henryk Rechowicz (1997) and Tomasz Jurek (2002, 2013). In the Polish scientific literature, however, it is practically impossible to find comprehensive information on the life of the gymnasts, their sports achievements and their work. Single facts, often not fully verified, come only from press articles or popular websites. The same is true of English-language sources. Due to their aforementioned deficiency, the study of the biography of Alfred and Gustav Flatow is basically possible only on the basis of German-language sources, which are nonetheless often limited to the same terse data presented. One of the most interesting materials are two articles from 1987, by Hajo Bennett and Gerd Steins, published in the second issue of the *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports*, which presented, on sixteen pages in total, the sporting characteristics of the cousins' profiles (Bennett 1987; Steins 1987). Unfortunately, the more than thirty-year period that has passed since the publication of the texts means that they are not complete and need to be supplemented. A lot of important data can also be found on German websites devoted to the history of gymnastics or sport in general, though these usually provide only basic information and do not go deep into the lives of the athletes.

The study used a method of individual cases, which Jerzy Apanowicz pointed out in his monograph *Metologia ogólna* (2002). During the study, a content analysis technique was used, which Bernard Berelson described

as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of explicit content of informational communications" (Berelson 1952, p. 18).

The visit to the State Archive in Gdańsk did not bring any new data than those previously reproduced, although it drew attention to important press articles from "Dziennik Bałtycki". The research visit to Berlin on February 28-29, 2020 was aimed at seeking additional sources and verifying forms of commemorating athletes (including content described on memorial plaques devoted to gymnastics). This article is a résumé of the sports careers of the gymnasts. It provides a detailed analysis of their biographies, and supplements this information with all forms of commemoration of the German representatives made so far in Germany and Poland.

## Alfred Flatow – an Olympian from Danzig

Researchers do not know much about the life history of Alfred Flatow. His genealogy is perceived through his connections with Gustav Flatow, although he was merely his sideline relative in terms of family relationship. It is certain, however, that Alfred Flatow was born on October 3, 1869, in Danzig, which is confirmed by a certificate made available in a digitized form and available through the Israeli YadVashem Institute dedicated to Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The correctness of the data was confirmed on April 26, 2014 by T. Fazzini on the page of testimony YadVashem (*Page of Testimony...*). His grandparents were Hirsch Abraham Flatow and Johanna Flatow (née Selbiger), who had ten children. Nevertheless, the name of Alfred's father was not preserved, there is only information that the gymnast was not the son of Selig, Isidor, Nathan or Abraham. The athlete also had a second and third name: Joel and Samuel, albeit he is widely known only under his first name (*Alfred Joel Samuel...* 2019).

The preserved information about the gymnast refers almost exclusively to his participation in the Games of the I Olympiad in Athens in 1896. Be that as it may, it is known that he began his sports career in 1888, training athletics, weightlifting, and gymnastics, also teaching the latter since 1890, and his first international competition took place in 1895 at the Italian gymnastics festival (*Alfred Flatow: Bio, Stats...* 2019). From 1883 to 1894 he served in the 66<sup>th</sup> Prussian Infantry Regiment (Halbrook 2009, p. 116).

In 1896, at the Olympic Games, he won as many as four medals, two gold in the parallel bars and the horizontal bar team events, as well as one individual gold in the parallel bars and one individual silver in the horizontal bar (Falewicz 2004, p. 17; Porada 1980, pp. 234, 238). In addition to Alfred Flatow, the German team consisted of Konrad Böcker, Hermann Weingärtner, Gustav Flatow, Georg Hillmar, Fritz Hofmann, Fritz Manteuffel, Karl Neukirch, Richard Röstel, Gustav Schuft, and Carl Schuhmann (Mallon, Widlund

1998, pp. 70–74). It should be noted that gold medals are retroactively assigned by the International Olympic Committee because they were not awarded at the inaugural 1896 Summer Olympics<sup>1</sup>. Instead, the winners were given an Olympic diploma, a silver medal and an olive branch, runners-up received an Olympic diploma, a copper medal and a laurel branch, while subsequent places received only commemorative decorations (Coubertin 1897). What is more, athletes partaking in team events were not awarded, therefore only individual achievements of Alfred Flatow were formally recognized (Schneider 1991). At the Olympics, the gymnast also tried his hand at events such as the pommel horse, the rings, and the vault, but he did not score enough points to enter the podium (*Alfred Flatow: Bio, Stats...* 2019). There are no detailed results showing the individual number of points scored by athletes, although having knowledge about the number of trophies won by the Olympian, and also taking the fact that he participated (alike his cousin Gustav) in as many as seven out of eight gymnastic competitions into account, his leading role not only in the composition of the German Reich representation during the First Olympics, but also in the whole gymnastic environment, should be considered.

After the Olympic Games, the historical record of the gymnast stops until 1903, when Alfred Flatow helped to establish the historic Jewish sports organization Jewish Gymnastics Club (German: Judische Turnerschaft), which was a pioneering association of athletes of Jewish origin in Europe (Sinai 2016). Around this time, he also began to write books, of which, among others, *Der Weitsprung*, *Der Hochsprung*, *Kunstturnen*, and *Die Praxis des Barrenturnens*, published in 1909–1912, were preserved (Steins 2017). Pedagogical activity in the form of publishing further items related to the technique of gymnastics training meant that at that time, the competitor was one of the leading authors. Thanks to this, his knowledge on professional training in gymnastics and training in the field of competitions was made accessible to all those interested in training. Apart from writing activity, it is also known that he had a small bicycle store in Berlin and lived in seclusion in the districts of Schöneberg and later in Kreuzberg (*154. Kiezspaziergang...* 2014). After retiring, he took the position of assistant supervisor of gymnastics at the Berlin Gymnastics Federation, in which he was responsible for gymnastic training methods (Sinai 2016). In 1933 he was forced – due to his Jewish origin – to resign from his membership in the club, in which he had been active for the last 46 years (*Alfred Flatow: Bio, Stats...* 2019). In 1936, together with his cousin Gustav, he was invited as former Olympic champion to the Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin, where they were special guests. Two years later, because of the rising backlash against Jewish citizens in Germany, he fled to the Netherlands, where Gustav had already lived for five years. Initially, Alfred assumed

that he was too old to move and postponed his decision for a long time, but the situation in the German Reich forced him to have a change of heart (Condron 2015). It is likely that the pogrom of Jews in the Nazi Third Reich, initiated by the state authorities on the night of November 9–10, 1938, and known as the Night of Broken Glass, was the biggest impulse to change his mind. Alfred Flatow, although he avoided a serious punishment, was temporarily arrested for possessing weapons (Sinai 2016). The arrest report stated that he had, among others, a dagger, a revolver with twenty-two bullets and two pocket pistols (Halbrook 2009, p. 116). Yet, the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940 and its subsequent occupation meant more repression. On October 3, 1942, despite the intervention of Christian Busch, who was an influential figure in the gymnastic clerical circles, and who was informed about Flatow's detention by Carl Schuhmann, Alfred was deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where he died of hunger and exhaustion on December 28, 1942, at the age of 73 (Taylor 2004, p. 108; Schaffer, Smith 2000, pp. 60–62).

## Family genealogy and career of Gustav Flatow

The oldest sources referring to the history of the other of the described sportsmen date back to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Gustav Flatow's great-grandparents – Abraham and Maria with their children – settled in Berent. Their son Hirsch Abraham Flatow, a baker by profession, had married Joanna Selbiger before moving. They had ten children. One of them was Selig, born in Kashubia on April 19, 1832. In his adult life he was a wealthy merchant and lived in the very center of the city, next to the Market Square. In 1859 he married Baer Caspari's daughter, Rebecca, who – born in 1838 – was six years younger than him. Over the next twenty years, they had twelve children: seven sons (except for Gustav, born on January 7, 1875, there was Albert, Eduard, Hugo, Leo, Berthold, and Julius Carl) and five daughters (Agnes, Amalia, Marie, Margaretha and Wanda). Gustav, who was also given the middle name Felix, began training gymnastics at the age of seven. His parents attached great importance not only to shaping their children's physical fitness, but also to an appropriate level of education. Even though Berent was a relatively good place to live, in the early 1890s, together with many other families with Jewish roots, the Flatow family decided to leave the town and move to Berlin, where living conditions were at a much higher level. Unfortunately, two daughters did not live to that moment (Marie died at the age of 7, Agnes at the age of 24) and were buried at the cemetery in Berent (Wysiecka 2017).

When the family arrived in Berlin in 1890, they lived at 12a Magazinstrasse. The move allowed the children of Rebecca and Selig to intensify their professional development. Gustav attended the Sophien-Realgymnasium

<sup>1</sup> Gold medals for event winners at the Olympic Games were introduced in 1904.

at Weinmeisterstrasse. After graduating from secondary school, he completed a three-year merchant training with Edmund Leon in a factory producing, among others, sailor's clothes for children, and then at the age of eighteen he got permanent employment. At the same time, he was accepted as a member of the Berliner Gymnastics Club of 1850, which also included his brothers Eduard and Hugo. Eduard also pursued his medical career and did an internship in medicine (Wysiecka 2017). Another brother of Gustav, Leo, obtained the qualifications of a dental technician and opened his own dental office. Probably as one of the few in the family, he survived World War II with the help of non-Jewish friends, and then moved with his wife and children to the United States<sup>2</sup>.

In his childhood, Gustav Flatow, like his siblings, was brought up in the spirit of sportsmanship, and strongly encouraged to train gymnastics. He additionally performed a wide range of athletic exercises to help him achieve better gymnastic effects. He trained throwing, wrestling, weightlifting, jumping, and running. His first professional gymnastic performance was participation in the German Gymnastics Competition, a national event held in Breslau in 1894, during which he took the 17<sup>th</sup> place (Green 2014). His skills, in particular his talent for exercising on gymnastic apparatus, were quickly noticed by Fritz Hofmann, a Berlin athlete born in 1871, who was one of the pillars of the national gymnastics team of the German Empire. It was thanks to him that Gustav Flatow was included in the national team and had the opportunity to partake in the Games of the I Olympiad in Athens in 1896. He competed, similarly as his cousin Alfred, for Olympic medals in all gymnastic competitions, except for rope climbing (i.e. the horizontal bar, the parallel bars, the pommel horse, the rings, the vault, as well as the parallel bars and the horizontal bar team events). He did not manage to end in a podium finish in individual events, but he won two Olympic championship titles with the Germany national team. Interestingly, Gustav was also an active cyclist, and during the Games he most likely also served as a pace maker in some of the track cycling events (*Gustav Flatow: Bio, Stats...* 2019). Owing to the fact that athletes taking part in team events were not awarded, Gustav Flatow did not formally receive any award for his successful performance (Schneider 1991).

Regular training and many years of passion for gymnastics allowed Gustav Flatow to keep fit for the next three years, until 1899, when he took over the factory from Edmund Leon. However, this did not prevent him from participating in the Games of the II Olympiad in Paris in 1900, during which he wanted to get his first individual Olympic award. Unfortunately, because of the fact that the hosts of the Games changed the nature of gymnastics competitions by introducing only one, men's all-around event, especially popular among

French athletes and military men, it soon turned out that it would be extremely difficult to win a medal. Finally, in men's individual all-around, which was contested on July 29–30, 1900, he took 102<sup>nd</sup> place, with the final score of only 204 points (*Gustav Flatow: Bio, Stats...* 2019).

In the following years, the German gymnast decided to devote himself entirely to his work in the textile industry and his family. Five years after the 1900 Summer Olympics, he married Margarete Lamm, with whom he had two children, a daughter Anni Amalie born in 1908 and a son Stefan born eight years later (Green 2014). At the beginning of 1917, during the World War I, he was called up for military service. The end of the conflict was extremely profitable for him in economic terms, thanks to which he expanded his company, and in 1925 he bought shares in the Dutch clothing company Brandel from Rotterdam. Despite his attachment to his country of residence, in 1933, due to Adolf Hitler's rise to power, he decided to flee to the Netherlands. He returned to the territory of the German Reich only once, in 1936, when he and his cousin Alfred were special guests at the Games of the XI Olympiad in Berlin. He used this stay to meet his siblings who still lived there for the last time (Wysiecka 2017).

Dutch cities, including Rotterdam, were bombed in 1940 by German military aircraft. This caused the necessity of another relocation of Gustav Flatow with his family, this time to the small town of Driebergen. This decision turned out to be only a temporary safety buffer for in January 1941 the obligation to register people of Jewish origin was introduced throughout the country, and a year and a half later their deportations, officially named "departure to work" (German: Arbeitseinsatz), began. Although Gustav, as an Olympic champion, had a writ of protection, which put him in a privileged position and protected him against the first wave of deportation, as the following months passed, the document became practically useless. Forced to hide with the whole family, on New Year's Eve in 1943, he was captured by German soldiers and transported with his wife and son to the Westerbork transit camp, and then transported to the ghetto in Theresienstadt on February 25, 1944. His daughter, who managed to escape during the roundup, was later found and shot dead in May 1944. In the German ghetto, Gustav Flatow was assigned to a privileged category of inmates, which resulted in slightly increased food rations and relatively better treatment. Still, the Olympic champion from Athens died of starvation and exhaustion on January 29, 1945. At the time of his death, he weighed only 20 kilograms (Wajer 2016). Initially, he was buried in the trenches of the Theresienstadt Small Fortress in a mass grave, and after several years his body was transferred to a single grave in the cemetery. His wife and son managed to survive World War II and return to Rotterdam. Even though Margarete died soon, Stefan made his own life, founded a company and began trading in tobacco products (Wysiecka 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Information from the commentary of Irena Sills, granddaughter of Leo Flatow, posted on [www.geni.com](http://www.geni.com) under the genealogical profile of Eduard Flatow, brother of Leo.

## Commemoration of Alfred and Gustav

In the 1980s, steps were taken to commemorate both German gymnasts in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1987, the German Gymnastics Association established a medal named after the cousins dedicated to “Remembrance of the Persecution of Jews in the German Federation of Gymnasts from 1933 to 1945”, which is awarded to the best German gymnasts presenting comprehensive skills in their sport discipline (in 2017 a second edition of the book dedicated to the medals, *Die Flatow-Medaille. In Erinnerung an Alfred Flatow und Gustav Felix Flatow*, was published) (Steins 2017). In 1992, one of the high schools with a sports profile in the Köpenick district of Berlin was named after Alfred and Gustav Flatow (German: Flatow-Oberschule). In another district of Berlin-Kreuzberg, gymnasts are commemorated by a sports hall and a commemorative plaque (*Flatow-Sporthalle...* 2019). The board has the inscription: “During the first modern Summer Olympic Games in 1896, those who won gymnastics and discriminated against by the German Gymnastic Association, the Berliners Alfred and Gustav Felix Flatow were deported by the Nazis to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where they died of starvation” (*Memorial plaque 1*). On February 21, 1997, the Reichssportsfeldstrasse street, situated next to the Olympic stadium in Berlin, was renamed to Flatowallee in honor of the cousins. Interestingly, since the 1980s, the change of the name chosen by the Nazis was discussed, and after the initial agreement in 1995, there were protests of residents and numerous complaints that brought the proceedings to a standstill for 21 months (*154. Kiezspaziergang...* 2014). In 1998, thanks to the dedication of the German postal service, a collector’s set of four Olympic postage stamps (one of which was devoted to the remembrance of the cousins), which officially was to commemorate the 100 years of the modern Olympic Games (*Alfred Flatow*, 2019), was brought out. Another form of remembrance of the Flatow family are Stolpersteine (or “Stolperstein memorials”, “stumbling blocks”) laid by sculptor Günter Demnig. In 2011, a Stolperstein dedicated to Gustav was unveiled on the building at Schlüterstrasse 49, where the Flatows lived in Berlin. It says: “Gustav Felix Flatow (1875-1945) lived in this house from 1914 to 1933. At the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, he won with a German gymnastics team on a parallel bars and the horizontal bar. In 1933, he had to emigrate with his family because of his Jewish origin, he was arrested in the Netherlands and died in Theresienstadt concentration camp” (*Memorial plaque 2*).

However, the situation related to commemorating the gymnasts looks quite different in Poland. It was not until 2015 in Kościerzyna, Gustav’s birthplace, that on the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of birth and 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of death, a commemorative plaque was unveiled on the wall of the building in which he was born (Wysiecka 2017).

Yet in Gdańsk the other cousin was not commemorated in any way for a long time, which was mentioned, among others, in “DziennikBałtycki” in 2013 (Trupinda 2013). It changed on September 29, 2018, when the “One hundred medals for one hundred years of the Independence” gala was held in Ergo Arena in Gdańsk, during which one hundred people from the world of sports (coaches, activists, referees, scientists, teachers and sport journalists) were honored with “For merits for Gdańsk sport” medals. Many awards were given posthumously, including one for Alfred Flatow (*Stomedali...* 2018).

## Summary

There is no doubt that the names of Alfred and Gustav Flatow have permanently etched into the sporting history books, not only of Berlin and all of Germany, but also of the two currently Polish cities where they were born – Gdańsk and Kościerzyna. It was the national team of the German Empire with them on board that initiated a series of successes for German athletes at the inaugural Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. Their skills and abilities were admired by crowds, and their life attitude in the pursuit of self-realization and sports fulfillment was certainly a role model for many. Both athletes showed love for sport at every step, while maintaining the spirit of patriotism, which was reflected in the attitude that puts respect and attachment to values in the first place. Gustav’s engagement in successive training and participation in the 1900 Summer Olympics in Paris, as well as the extraordinary coaching work of Alfred and his activity within the Jewish Gymnastics Club and the Berlin Gymnastics Federation, combined with many years of research and popularising work, causes these cousins to play a greatly significant role in the development of propagating gymnastics in the region of the German Reich. While in the last years of their lives, due to political commotion, their paths with the German Empire diverged, this situation was determined solely by safety reasons and the desire to save family members. The athletes showed extraordinary courage. It is therefore extremely important that the memory of them be as widely spread as possible. Although in recent years the Germans have done a lot to promote it, the representatives of local government in Poland could intensify their activities and take further steps to preserve it in the following years. It is true that the activities of Olympic athletes in the gymnastic environment on the Polish soil, compared to the German Reich, is incomparably smaller, since already as teenagers they went to Berlin with their families, however, their place of birth is considered as well as the political aspect of warming relations with neighbouring countries, for which they should be honoured. Last year’s success of the “One hundred medals for one hundred years of the Independence” gala demonstrated that it is definitely possible.

## References

154. *Kiezspariergang: Vom S-Bahnbof Olympiastadion zum Friedhof Heerstraße* (11.10.2014), www.berlin.de (access: September 27, 2019).
- Alfred Flatow, www.jewishsports.net (access: September 27, 2019).
- Alfred Flatow: *Bio, Stats, and Results*, www.sports-reference.com (access: September 27, 2019).
- Alfred Joel Samuel Flatow, www.geni.com (access: September 27, 2019).
- Ambroży, D. (1999), *Z powszechnych i polskich dziejów gimnastyki*, [in:] Lipiec, J. (ed.), *Sport – Olimpizm – Wartości*, Fall, Kraków, pp. 83-90.
- Apanowicz, J. (2002), *Metodologia ogólna*, Bernardinum, Gdynia.
- Berelson, B. (1952), *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Free Press, Glencoe.
- Bernett, H. (1987), Alfred Flatow – Vom Olympiasieger zum Reichsfeind, *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 1, 2, pp. 94-102.
- Blecking, D. (1987), *Die Geschichte der nationalpolnischen Turnorganisation "Sokol" im Deutschen Reich 1884-1939*, Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, Dortmund.
- Blecking, D. (2019), *German-Polish relationships in the field of sport from the long century to the present day – an overview*, *Physical Education, Sport and Health Culture in Modern Society*, 4(48), pp. 9-13.
- Condron, F. (2015), *I Olympiad: Athens 1896*, 2, Warwick Press Inc, New York.
- Coubertin, P. (1897), The Olympic Games of 1896. *The Century Magazine*, 53, 1, New York.
- Falewicz, R. (2004), *Historia igrzysk olimpijskich*, Kurpisz, Poznań.
- Flatow-Sporthalle, Kreuzberg, www.berlingeschichte.de (access: September 27, 2019).
- Gaj, J., Hądzulek, K. (1991), *Dzieje kultury fizycznej w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku*, AWF, Poznań.
- Green, D.B. (07.01.2014), *1875: Olympic Gold-winning Gymnast is Born*, www.aaetz.com (access: September 27, 2019).
- Grot, Z., Gaj, J. (1973), *Zarys dziejów kultury fizycznej w Wielkopolsce*, PWN, Warszawa- Poznań.
- Grot, Z., Ziółkowska, T. (eds.) (1990), *Dzieje kultury fizycznej do roku 1918*, PWN, Warszawa-Poznań.
- Gustav Flatow: Bio, Stats, and Results*, www.sports-reference.com (access: September 26, 2019).
- Halbrook, S.P. (14.04.2009), Arms in the Hands of Jews are a Danger to Public Safety: Nazism, Firearm Registration, and the Night of the Broken Glass, *Halbrook Macro Final*, 3(29), pp. 109-141.
- Jurek, T. (2002), *Kultura fizyczna mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, AWF, Poznań.
- Jurek, T. (2016), *Od zapomnienia i wrogości do równouprawnienia i współpracy. Z badań nad historią kultury fizycznej w Polsce i w Niemczech w XX wieku*, [in:] Wojtaszyn, D., Stępiński, W., Eider J. (eds.), *Historia polskiego i niemieckiego sportu w XIX i XX wieku. Idee, ludzie, polityka i kultura*, Nauka i Innowacje, Poznań.
- Jurek, T. (2013), *Polonijna kultura fizyczna w Niemczech (1918-1939)*, Polskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Kultury Fizycznej, Warszawa-Gorzów Wielkopolski.
- Mallon, B., Widlund, T. (1998), *1896 Olympic Games – Results for All Competitors in All Events with Commentary*, McFarland & Company, Jefferson (North Carolina)- London.
- Memorial plaque 1*, A memorial plaque in the Berlin-Kreuzberg district.
- Memorial plaque 2*, A memorial plaque on the building where the Flatow family lived in Berlin (Schlüterstrasse 49).
- Page of Testimony: Alfred Flatow*, item ID: 11043210, Jad Waszem.
- Porada, Z. (1980), *Starożytne i nowożytne igrzyska olimpijskie*, KAW, Kraków.
- Rechowicz, H. (1997), *Sport na Górnym Śląsku do 1939 roku*, AWF, Katowice.
- Rozmiarek, M. (2015), The life and nonconformist views of a sport of Hermann Weingärtner (1864–1919), *Studies in Sport Humanities*, 17, pp. 40–44.
- Rozmiarek, M., Malchrowicz-Moško, E. (2017), *Sport jako narzędzie integracji i rozbudzania tożsamości narodowej na przykładzie myśli Friedricha Ludwiga Jabna*, [in:] Dziubiński, Z., Jankowski, K.W. (eds.), *Kultura fizyczna a osobność*, SA-LOS, Warszawa, pp. 352-362.
- Schaffer, K., Smith, S. (2000), *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics, and the Games*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick (New Jersey).
- Schneider, J. (11.05.1991), Eine Familie im Dienste des Sports, *Märkische Oderzeitung*.
- Sinai, A. (04.05.2016), Sinai Says: Honoring the Tragic Legacy of Fallen Flatow Cousins, *The Jerusalem Post*.
- Steins, G. (1987), Gustav Felix Flatow. Ein vergessener Olympiasieger, *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 1, 2, pp. 103-110.
- Steins G. (2017), *Die Flatow-Medaille. In Erinnerung an Alfred Flatow und Gustav Felix Flatow*, Sportmuseum Verlag, Berlin.
- Sto medali na sto lat niepodległej. Najlepsi gdańscy sportowcy i ludzie sportu ubonorowani* (03.10.2018), www.gdansk.pl (access: September 27, 2019).
- Taylor, P. (2004), *Jews and the Olympic Games: The Clash Between Sport and Politics – With a Complete Review of Jewish Olympic Medalists*, Sussex Academic Press, Eastborne.
- Trupinda, J. (28.07.2013), Z pomorskich kronik sportowych. Alfred Flatow – zapomniany olimpijczyk z Gdańska, *Dziennik Bałtycki*.
- Wajer, M. (04.08.2016), Olimpijczyk urodzony w Kościerzynie, *Dziennik Bałtycki*.
- Woltmann, B. (1980), *Polska kultura fizyczna na wschodnim pograniczu niemieckim (1919- 1939)*, AWF, Poznań.
- Wroczyński, R. (1979), *Powszechno dzieje wychowania fizycznego i sportu*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk.
- Wysiecka, I. (06.07.2017), Gustaw Felix Flatow. Mistrz olimpijski z Kościerzyny, *Magazyn Kaszuby*.
- Zaborniak, S. (2004), *Lekkoatletyka na ziemiach polskich w latach 1867-1918*, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Rzeszów.
- Zdebska, H. (2010), *Gimnastyka sportowa jako dyscyplina olimpijska*, [in:] Ambroży, T., Ambroży, D. (eds.), *Tradycyjne i nowoczesne formy gimnastyki oraz tańca w perspektywie kultury fizycznej*, European Association for Security, Kraków, pp. 30-43.