



Max Winter dressed as a scavenger in 1902. Wikimedia Commons.

Life Outside: Max Winter, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and the Rise of Literary Reportage in Early Twentieth-century Vienna

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Abstract: This essay introduces Austrian journalist Max Winter who, as a pioneering figure in German-language literary reportage, anticipated the work of his more famous colleague Egon Erwin Kisch by nearly a decade. From 1895 to 1934, Winter chronicled Viennese life for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, a revered organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, with a particular eye for those corners obscured by fin-de-siècle Vienna's famed gilded image. In the service of more than 1,500 articles, Winter slept in homeless shelters, worked in warehouses, sat in prison, rummaged in the city's canals, and walked his way through Vienna's rapidly expanding, working-class suburbs. Because Winter spent nearly his entire journalistic career at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, this study first outlines the ways in which the newspaper's ideological conditions de-emphasized the classic literary-journalistic tradition of the feuilleton, creating space for work like Winter's to flourish. The close readings and stylistic analyses of key texts that follow show how Winter's engaged writing helped expand and reframe the *Arbeiter Zeitung's* socio-cultural coverage during the pivotal moment known as "Vienna 1900." In doing so, the study aims not only to demonstrate the aesthetic and ideological value of Winter's journalism, but also to position the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the city of Vienna as one point of origin for reportage, a genre which would become a dominant feature of interwar German-language journalism and literature.

Keywords: Max Winter – *Arbeiter-Zeitung* – Vienna – literary journalism – feuilleton – social reportage – reportage – cultural politics

On February 4, 1902, reporter Max Winter treated readers of Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Worker's newspaper) to a remarkable scene. "During a morning walk in suburban Vienna," he confides,

I once had a strange encounter. A man disappeared before my eyes down a canal manhole. He lifted the canal grate with the short handle of [a] rake . . . , climbed in the duct, and let it close again slowly, supported on his back. Through the canal's hole I could only see that the man had created light and then disappeared into the belly of the street as quickly as the previous procedure. From the lifting of the grate to the disappearing of the light, not a minute had passed.¹

Winter cannot contain his curiosity about this man and his mission. He seeks out a guide—a grizzled veteran of the canals called Specklmoriz—to lead him on a "*Strottgang*,"² a scavenging tour through the city's sprawling drainage system.

What follows this enticing hook is a rare portrait of impoverished city residents who make ends meet by hunting subterranean waters for sellable flotsam. Winter's article makes unseen people and unseen labor visible. And in a strikingly physical way, it also creates a counterpoint to fin-de-siècle Vienna's famed gilded image. The two men descend below the streets of the Rudolfsheim district, a short walk from one of the city's grandest façades, Schönbrunn Palace, the imperial summer residence. Above them, at the city's center, an even greater signifier of the city at the century's turn was under construction, the newly designed Ringstrasse. Along this fabled boulevard in 1902, Gustav Mahler conducted at the Hofoper, Gustav Klimt gilded the Secession's Beethoven Frieze, and Sigmund Freud lectured at the university. Coffeehouses filled with newspaper-reading literati and journalists who polished their verbal graces for the city's culture-loving public. Indeed, by revealing the "secret of underground Vienna,"³ Winter challenged the city's "symbolic body," which—as Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner have argued—was prone to distortion, "socially segregated and yet contradictorily homogenized by the aesthetic standards" and public discourses of the era.⁴

Few writers resisted this hegemony as successfully as Winter. "*Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien*" (Four hours in underground Vienna),⁵ was just one of his many investigations into invisible parts of the city. In service of his reporting, he slept in homeless shelters, worked in warehouses, sat in prison, and walked his way through the city's working-class suburbs. For his unique material and methods, he has been granted an elevated place in German-language press history as the father of *Sozialreportage*—socially engaged reportage—anticipating the form of journalism popularized a generation later by his more famous colleague, Egon Erwin Kisch. The socio-political value of

his work has been well documented in the German-language context, in the scholarly work of Stefan Riesenfellner, Hannes Haas, and others.⁶ This study adds to the existing research by examining the reporter's oeuvre in the context of literary journalism. Winter spent nearly his entire journalistic career at Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. For that reason, the study will first outline the ways in which ideological conditions at this socialist newspaper de-emphasized the classic literary-journalistic tradition of the *feuilleton*, creating space for Winter's work to flourish. Close readings and stylistic analysis of key texts will then establish how his work expanded city coverage during the pivotal historical and cultural moment known as "Vienna 1900."⁷ It will conclude with a summary of Winter's legacy and impact on later practitioners of literary reportage.

Reportage and Literary Journalism beyond the *Feuilleton*

Winter's scavenging tours received particular attention from famed critic Alfred Polgar, who reviewed Winter's volume of collected articles *Im dunkelsten Wien* (In darkest Vienna) in 1904. Polgar praised Winter's work for two reasons: its moving content and its refreshing style.

Max Winter has become a peerless specialist in the description of poorest proletariat existences . . . [He] narrates very quietly, aridly, simply, objectively . . . and yet with a powerful effect, which flows from personal experience into writing. As such it is a refreshingly unliterary book. An exciting and radicalizing book. A book, in which the stink of facts is not aesthetically distorted by a single drop of literary perfume.⁸

If "unliterary" seems like strange praise, it is worth keeping in mind that the journalism most associated with literary ambition at the century's turn was the *feuilleton*. Referring to both a newspaper departmentalization and a stylized journalistic form, the *feuilleton* offered readers material across a wide spectrum of rhetorical modalities and genres: criticism, travelogue, local slices of life, meditative essays, and other nonfictional small forms. First appearing in the Viennese liberal press in 1848, the *feuilleton* was a beloved part of the city's literary landscape—in Stefan Zweig's words, "a special holy of holies."⁹ The novelist, who came of age at the century's turn, remembers that one could not be "truly Viennese without a love for culture"¹⁰ and further, "[a]s Vienna saw it, an author writing in the *feuilleton* on the front page had his name carved in marble."¹¹ Still, the *feuilleton* was not without criticism. Many contemporary commentators, Karl Kraus loudest among them, perceived that the *feuilleton* was leading to a trivialization of an aesthetic writing style and lack of social engagement in journalism.¹² Even Polgar, himself an accomplished *feuilletonist*, complained that the style's "soft oiliness has become uncomfortably rancid."¹³

It is no accident, then, that an alternative developed within the city's socialist press,¹⁴ pioneered by an author whose conception of his work was far from belletristic. Winter considered himself, above all, a *Berichterstatter*, “a reporter,” and he spent most of his career chronicling working-class life for a newspaper that served as the official voice of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (SDAPO).¹⁵ Founded in 1889, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was more outspoken against the feuilleton than most. While concepts like culture (*Kultur*) and education (*Bildung*) were usefully employed by the SDAPO as ideological assets, the cultural agenda of the fin-de-siècle *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was, from the outset, ambivalent. The paper's staff, like many of its readers, came from the educated middle class, but the target audience included the city's workers. Chief editor Friedrich Austerlitz was reputed to save few column inches for high art or literary style, calling upon the paper's staff to write not for the “bourgeois literati” but rather for “the reading workers” who “want to be informed about an artwork and not about the critics' talent for intellectual flights of fancy” (*Geistreicherei*).¹⁶ The attitude was shared by SDAPO and newspaper founder Victor Adler, who, as Stefan Großmann recalls in his memoirs, offered the staff reporter a weekly feuilleton column as a bribe in exchange for the “actually useful” work of reporting on the commercial court.¹⁷

Under Austerlitz, tensions over the appropriateness of feuilleton content, style, and agenda mounted during the first decades of the twentieth century, and the feuilleton was ultimately eliminated as a daily rubric.¹⁸ Material once at home in the feuilleton was relegated instead to other sections of the paper, nestled in the back pages of news sections, and in travel, literary, and Sunday supplements. By the 1920s, the only real remaining division, designated by the *Strich*—the heavy black line placed between political and cultural content—was the separation of the serialized novel from the rest of the paper.¹⁹

Out of the feuilleton's multifaceted tradition, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* remained strongly interested in documenting local milieus through a combination of participatory observation and narrative style. Like feuilletonist Daniel Spitzer, who had walked the city's neighborhoods as a form of research for his column “Wiener Spaziergänge” (Viennese strolls) a decade earlier, writers like Winter spent a great deal of time out on the streets.²⁰ But instead of using observations for impressionistic, news-transcendent reflections, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* aimed to show the experiences of the working class in relation to larger social and economic structures. In this way, their approach also falls under the tradition of the reform-minded investigations of mid-nineteenth-century writers Bettina von Arnim and Georg Werth, as Tobias Eberwein and Hendrik Michael observe.²¹

Staff reporters experimented by pairing eyewitness reports with data and narrating their observations in the first-person voice, often accompanied by dialect-driven dialogue or description-rich scenes. Thus evolved this new journalistic form—soon called socially engaged reportage, or simply reportage—which held potential as a weapon against oppression, as Kisch later argued.²² The genre would not be theorized or fully realized in its modern iteration, described by Michael Haller as a factual, personally-colored report of experience, until after the First World War.²³ Yet the innovation was underway with a concrete goal. If the feuilleton, as John Hartsock suggests, “served a cultural need . . . to provide a space for what did not fit comfortably into the conventional news pages,” reportage emerged to fill a similar social need, to document people, places, and practices overlooked by these same sources.²⁴

The Culture of Vienna Reframed

Journalists affiliated with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* produced some outstanding examples of socially engaged reportage. Adler paved the way in 1888 with an exposé of the horrific working conditions at the Wienerberger brick-making company.²⁵ *Arbeiter-Zeitung* staff members Stefan Großmann and Emil Kläger followed in Adler’s footsteps with attention-garnering investigations of the Austrian prison system (1905) and the homeless of the Viennese canals (1908), respectively.²⁶ Working alongside these talented colleagues, Winter ultimately emerged as the genre’s primary innovator, due to his expansive and artful oeuvre.

Born near Budapest in 1870, Winter was raised in Vienna and started working as a journalist shortly after dropping out of the city’s university in 1893.²⁷ Two years later, Adler recruited him to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, where he remained until the newspaper was banned in 1934. During this remarkable thirty-nine-year tenure, Winter wrote more than 1,500 articles and fifteen books, which included the many multi-part investigations for which he is currently known.²⁸ Winter stands out for his singular productivity and, more importantly, for his insight into the potential of reportage beyond the coverage of proletariat misery. Though never veering from his fixed political standpoint, his journalism captured Viennese working-class life from a wide angle that included diverse social and cultural practices.

Some of Winter’s coverage even falls under the feuilletonistic territory of high art and, although such articles are relatively few, they hold interest because they exemplify the ways in which reportage covered cultural life differently than did the reviews, sketches, and correspondence traditionally found in the feuilleton. These pieces illustrate what might be called cultural exposé—they push past the presentation and analysis of art to address the

social implications of the work in question. The relationship between art and society is often depicted in negative terms, the interruption of artistic production by economic reality.

In “Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins: Ein Vierteljahr Aushilfsstatist in der Hofoper” (Reality from the world of illusion: A quarter of a year as an extra at the court opera), (1902), Winter sets up an interesting conflict between ‘art’ and ‘work’ while chronicling his behind-the-scenes adventures at the city’s revered opera house.²⁹

Already undercover as a certain “Herr Kratochwill,”³⁰ Winter embarks on further transformations as an extra in popular operas. He becomes a Brabant knight and a soldier, respectively, in Richard Wagner’s *Lohengrin* and *Rienzi*, a slave in Karl Goldmark’s *Königin von Saba* (Queen of Sheba), and finally only just misses the cut as a member of the crowd in Georges Bizet’s *Carmen*. Under subheadings like “Hinter dem Vorhang” (Behind the curtain), “Hinter der Szene” (Behind the scene), and “Die Illusion ist beim Teufel” (The illusion is ruined), Winter provides a wealth of details about the hidden corners of this cultural landmark—the chaos of changing rooms, the diversity of costumes and props, the feel of charcoal pencils, gum arabic, and imitation hair. The author finds some humor in the discomforts of such theatricalities. While rehearsing *Königin von Saba*, Winter confides to his readers,

If someone had told me a half a year ago, that I would casually let somebody smear my face with a thick gum arabic, I would have doubted his or my sanity. . . . The queen, to whom I had carelessly given myself as a slave, won’t have it any other way. Whoever wants to serve her must have a full beard. . . . I sigh audibly when I’m able to leave her service forever half an hour later. Only now do I notice that the only plausibly Arab thing about me is the gum *Arabic*. The tearing off of my beard is a right painful procedure. The desert tan and the shoe cream on the beard are easier. I only need to rub my face with lard and everything melts away.³¹

The charm of the theater is complicated by economic realities. Most visible is the plight of the extras. Though a necessary staging element for the mass scenes of popular operas, the participation and pay of an extra is never guaranteed, even after taking part in rehearsals. Winter narrates his experience, caught in the “Salon der Zurückgewiesenen” (Salon of the rejected),³² visiting rehearsals and waiting for hours in the hope of earning one *Krone* (crown), only to be turned away at the last minute. His hope and disappointment over the casting process is depicted as just one small part of a much larger struggle.

Beyond the plight of the extra, the discontent of the opera’s full-time performers—musicians, singers, and dancers—tarnishes the operatic glory.

While taking a break between scenes of *Lohengrin*, Winter notices a knight in finery dining on cheap *Olmützer* cheese, a contradictory sight that surprises the reporter. Later, in the opera canteen, Winter orders his own modest meal of beer, sausage, and bread, the cost of which leaves him with only 48 Heller, a little less than half of his daily wage. He starts to calculate: “Roundtrip on the tram or commuter train 40 Heller, concierge tip 20 Heller, evening meal 52 Heller, and I find myself with a deficit of twelve Heller, which has accrued despite all the budget limits. Now I understood the Brabant nobleman and his cheap dinner.”³³

Winter can't help but notice other tensions as he finishes his meal. “The ballet dancers whisper amongst themselves, probably once again about the *pension funds*, which they, the members of the chorus, the musicians, and the stagehands have been terribly worried about for weeks. I can't hear what they are saying but on their faces I can detect that they are speaking about serious things.”³⁴

Winter pursued a similar strategy in “Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater” (Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater).³⁵ A new staging of Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* provides Winter's point of entry as a stagehand, needed for the construction of newly designed backdrops. Here too, Winter is less interested in the abstract analysis of artistic production than in the process of hands-on staging. With near childlike awe, he observes the inner workings of the theater, and describes—literally—its construction. The play tells the story of marksman Wilhelm Tell's uprising against the tyrannical rule of Habsburg governor Hermann Gessler and the struggle for Swiss independence against the Habsburg Empire in the fourteenth century. Opening with the onset of a mighty thunderstorm on the mountainous banks of Lake Lucerne, the crew must build a sweeping Alpine panorama complete with massive water features. At times, Winter struggles to capture in words the magic of the special effects. “First we unload the ‘new water,’ carefully, as was needed,” he writes.

Four fantastical wire frameworks, the upper corners of which had a wave shape, like a water wheel, are right away mounted horizontally onto an iron axis. This framework is covered in a stiff blue-green net, strewn with glittering disks. The axis was to be lifted by handles, and after a specific set of instructions, one time fast, another time slow, so that the wrinkled, covered wire frame should create the illusion of wildly moving water. How great the effect turned out, the critics confirmed after the opening night.³⁶

Through the interaction of actors, directors, and stagehands, the revolutionary elements of Schiller's play are easier to detect. The article reaches an emotional climax when a stagehand, tools in grip, gives an impromptu recital of Tell's line, “You will no longer harm the country!” seemingly speaking out

against the then-current Habsburg authoritarianism.³⁷

These articles introduce tense encounters that demonstrate both an intimacy and an estrangement of the working classes in relation to the city's eminent cultural spaces. The basic familiarity with canonical works that Winter assumes of his readers, and portrays in his characterization of workers, is worthy of reflection. Winter's social critique takes for granted reader knowledge not only of classics—like Wagner and Schiller—but also of contemporary composers like Karl Goldmark, whose work was included among a familiar repertoire of the fin-de-siècle Viennese opera. Scenes like the stagehand reciting Schiller from memory do similar work. In this way, parts of Winter's oeuvre reflect the left-leaning cultural politics of the era; they share an orientation towards high culture, in which classical authors and existing cultural paradigms are appropriated for the liberation of the working class.³⁸

A Kaleidoscope of City Life and Its Social Margins

The bulk of Winter's writing forges new ground and widens the scope of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung's* sociocultural coverage to “life outside,” by orienting readers beyond the narrow circumscription of Ringstrasse, in Winter's words, “On the streets, in factories, in houses and apartments, on sports fields and playgrounds, in courtrooms, in the taverns, in police and rescue stations, in hospitals, orphanages, and poorhouses, in prisons.”³⁹

His reporting takes a humble route through Leopoldstadt, Favoriten, Ottakring, Floridsdorf, and Brigittenau, working-class districts which wind concentrically around Vienna's fashionable center. Though rarely explored at length in publications of record (or, for that matter, in high-modern literature), these outer districts featured prominently in popular discourse about Vienna, a discourse that would have been familiar to early twentieth century readers through word of mouth, folk songs, and the boulevard press.⁴⁰

The suburbs filled a central trope in the city's cultural imagination as an unpredictable landscape of pleasure, deviance, crime, and poverty.⁴¹ Prominent landmarks include the still-famous wine taverns of western Vienna and, to the east, Leopoldstadt's large public park, the Prater. Filled with sprawling meadows, beer gardens, and an amusement park, the Prater was a place of indulgence by day that morphed into an “urban no-man's-land of small crime” by night.⁴² Leopoldstadt's identity was further complicated by its large immigrant quarter, known for its orthodox Jewish and eastern European communities. Industrial quarters like Ottakring, where housing shortages, homelessness, and unemployment were perennial, had their own notorious identities.

By featuring the people who worked and lived in these areas—the curbside vendors, bartenders, small shop owners, factory workers, police officers,

Die Stunden im unterirdischen Wien. Ein „Streiktag“ durch Wiener Frauen.

Wären diese Frauenparagang im unterirdischen Wien heute ein merkwürdiges Schauspiel... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Ein Scherz.

Der Witzler, Witzler! Was man früher zum Scherz... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Der Mannung ist schwer.

Der Speckmacher ist schwer, der Speckmacher ist... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Arbeiter-Zeitung.

Der Speckmacher... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Ein Streiktag.

Ein Streiktag... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Die Arbeiter.

Die Arbeiter... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

Die Arbeiter.

Die Arbeiter... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art... Die Arbeit und das Geld, auch feine geistliche Art...

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A copy of the original publication of "Vier Stunden," Arbeiter-Zeitung, 1902

and a number of drivers, but also the street rchins, homeless men, prostitutes, and petty criminals... Winter's articles mirrored the heterogeneity of this rapidly growing city. In fact, Winter's lasting legacy stems from repeat visits to vulnerable, hidden communities, like those who's homeless took e fuge. Sociologist Roland Girlet explains that Wint's articles helped define and put into the public record the social and subcultural elements of this group, which had otherwise been successfully suppressed in official com-

munal discourse.⁴³ “Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien” is a case in point; Winter not only reveals the practices of a secret “guild” of canal scavengers, he portrays his guide, Specklmoriz, as a generous, hard-working man rather than a shadowy figure to be feared.⁴⁴

A slightly different form of concealment surrounded sites of pleasure, which, unlike other parts of the suburbs, did enjoy feuilletonistic coverage. The Prater is the best example, celebrated in the press by literary figures like Adalbert Stifter, Daniel Spitzer, Felix Salten, and Peter Altenberg.⁴⁵ The park held fascination due to its broad mix of people and amusements—from the Hauptallee, an ancient, elegant promenade of the aristocracy, to the mass thrills of dance halls and mechanized rides like the enormous Ferris wheel, the city’s most visible symbol of modernity, erected in 1897.⁴⁶ The allure was not simply recreational; it was unmistakably erotic and ultimately profitable, due to widespread prostitution in the area. This fact is acknowledged in contemporary accounts both public and private, though largely from a sanitized or sentimental bourgeois point of view.⁴⁷

Winter’s articles are an effective counterpoint here as well. “The city’s open secrets ought to be spilled,” he claims in the first line of “Leopoldstädter Nächte” (Leopoldstadt nights) (1903), a piece that chronicles a nocturnal visit to the infamous neighborhood.⁴⁸

Whoever wants to explore them must wade through the dregs of the city. . . . Its place of accumulation is the area around the Praterstern. Its elements are: the gigolos and the secret prostitutes in all forms, the gamblers and cardsharps, some from the lowest ranks of the proletariat, whose fate has thrown them in with these circles, out of which there is hardly an honest escape, and many valets and cab drivers reduced to living from tips, then as a second group the choir of ‘order’: the police agents and informers, to whom the role of traitor has fallen, and finally the fishers in the muck: the hostel warders and hoteliers . . . spirits-peddlers and procurers. Into their pockets the Guilders roll.⁴⁹

With the goal to put on record the widespread gambling and prostitution around the Prater, Winter poses as a worker who recently returned from Hungary. He joins a guide, a certain “weißer Karl” (white Karl)⁵⁰ and his associates on a night on the town, starting in the bars and underground gambling clubs around the Praterstern intersection, eventually moving into the park, and ending the night at a low-rent hostel.

To the extent that the Prater is a playground after midnight, it is so for off-duty soldiers, gamblers, and so-called *Strizzis*, flashy young men who live off the earnings of their female companions. They relax by drinking, playing cards, and otherwise indulging in disorderly behavior. The boundaries

between work and play are less clear for the women in the area. This fact emerges from a conversation with “Steirische Mali,” a young singer and occasional prostitute who is only able to “chatter” at length to Winter “about her ‘marriage’ and her business secrets” in the absence of her man.⁵¹ Outside his company, Mali seems unburdened by the heady mix of gambling, singing, and other undisclosed conquests. The trouble is her “Lange” (the tall one), who is both violently jealous and insistent that she walk the streets.

Winter does not begrudge her fun but rather saves disapproval for other “fishers in the muck”—the hotel and café owners who make money off the hedonism and misfortune.⁵² The dirtiest secret exposed in “Leopoldstädter Nächte” is the size of the profit that Karl Offenhuber, a civil servant at the municipal gasworks and owner of the Hotel Garni, earns from the filthy and overcrowded hostel where Winter overnights.⁵³ In this way, “Leopoldstädter Nächte,” like Winter’s coverage of the city’s high-cultural landmarks, recognizes disparity while also revealing a striking level of integration in ostensibly segregated spaces. Taken as a whole, readers of Winter’s oeuvre come away with a sense of Vienna as an expansive city often burdened by complex and evolving social, cultural, and economic configurations.

Literary Strategy and Research Methods in Winter’s Reportage

Winter’s ability to broaden the idea of Vienna owes much to his innovation on the page, the nature of which Alfred Polgar identifies as having emerged early in Winter’s career. Circling back to Polgar’s review, the critic points favorably to Winter’s narrative approach, a careful “telling” (*erzählen*) of personal experiences and observations, easily distinguished from the straightforward exposition of the local beat reporter.⁵⁴ It is worth noting again that Polgar praises this narrative reporting above another popular instantiation of the literary: an aestheticized use of language, seen in both the “literary perfume” of the feuilleton and the polemical “‘red’ drastics” of other socially-engaged reporting.⁵⁵ This narrative quality makes it possible to situate Winter as an early practitioner of a specifically literary reportage, a variant of literary journalism that uses a novelist’s eye for form to render first-person, immersive, and often undercover reporting.⁵⁶

Winter might have balked at the word “literary,” but this description otherwise aligns with his reporting principles, which he summarized in a 1914 article for the *Volkstimme* (People’s voice) as “überall eindringen” (push your way into everything).⁵⁷ This immersive approach involved both observation and an attempt to “simulate” the experience of his subjects, as Riesenfellner points out.⁵⁸ The examples discussed in the previous section provide useful illustrations. Winter crawls through canals looking for coins alongside scav-

engers, auditions for bit parts at the Hofoper with other extras, and sleeps off a night's excess on greasy sheets among drunks at a Leopoldstadt hostel. Just how authentic did Winter believe these simulations to be? In addition to evoking precision, the time stamps embedded in many titles (e.g., "Four hours in underground Vienna") suggest his awareness of the impossibility of fully capturing the experience of others, especially those surviving under extreme conditions. Riesenfellner suggests instead that Winter's immersion was "a tribute," a self-conscious method of research that still "attempts to experience the subjective spheres of [the] de-classé."⁵⁹

Winter's particular brand of immersion includes two features that, by many accounts, he pioneered in the German-language press.⁶⁰ The first is the use of an undercover persona to enable a deeper degree of access to marginalized communities than official visits might allow. His adventures in Leopoldstadt and at the Hofoper, for instance, were possible because of a false name and cover story. One of the few widely available photos of the reporter offers a sense of how seriously Winter took the undercover process. The image (which opens this essay, p. 62), captures him fully postured in the role of a canal scavenger—his sloping posture and dejected expression match his rumpled clothes, rope belt, and misshapen hat—and gives viewers a sense of the reporter's talent for acting. For those frequent situations in which a cover was not enough to guarantee access, Winter also made use of a guide or fixer. An insider, the guide or fixer additionally demonstrated new skills and explained the meaning behind unfamiliar practices, as is the case with Specklmoriz in "Vier Stunden," and "weißer Karl" in "Leopoldstädter Nächte."

Winter's narrative turn is closely bound to these immersive reporting methods, visible in the reporter's elevated attention to narrative voice, mood, and temporal order, to borrow basic categories from Gérard Genette's narratological toolbox.⁶¹ Voice and mood do the most to distinguish Winter's reportage from the work of his contemporaries. He is present in his articles as a narrator and as a participating character who observes, interacts, and comments on his surroundings. Considering the privileged claim to epistemological validity that eyewitness held in the early twentieth-century, German-speaking world, this may seem unsurprising.⁶² But at the century's turn, a developed narrating persona was more likely found in fiction than in the journalism of Vienna's leading newspapers. Reportages by Adler and Großmann are a useful reference point. Adler personally investigated working conditions for his ground-breaking piece on Wienerberger bricklayers, yet composed the article as an expository report.⁶³ Großmann used the first person in his prison series⁶⁴ to explain access but devoted little energy to developing this narrator into a distinctive character who plays an active part in the reported storyline.

A chronological reading of Winter's work indicates that he grew into this ahomodiegetic narrative style over time. In one of his earliest articles, "Im Zeichen der roten Laterne. Ein Tag bei der Rettungsgesellschaft" (Under the red lantern. One day with the emergency services) (1896),⁶⁵ Winter refers to himself only once, indirectly and in passing as part of a first-person plural, a striking contrast to the fully embodied "sedentary writer" who sweats and shakes under the "physical plague" of canal scavenging six years later in "Vier Stunden."⁶⁶ It is notable that such detailed accounts of subjective experience tend to happen in coordination with a protracted introduction, in which Winter explains his interest in and access to the subject of his investigation. In other words, the accounts are situated as part of what Chris Wilson refers to as a "second-order narrative," a story of the reporting imbedded in the report itself. Winter's self-placement invites readers to accept the text's authenticity and to remain aware of the research process.⁶⁷

Winter incorporates other voices to similar ends. On the printed page, Winter's sources converse with him at length and in their own dialect. They appear as individuals with distinct names, backgrounds, and stories to tell. This transcription of informal spoken language, an import from late nineteenth-century Naturalist fiction, is another departure from both contemporary news presentation and the elevated prose of the feuilleton; it enlivens Winter's texts, enhances their referentiality, and signals an openness to shared narrative control absent in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung's* more polemicized reporting. Because Winter addresses his readers in standard German and speaks to the subjects of his reportage in the dialect, the technique also proves organizationally useful, a textual marker that reveals the seams between the story and the reporting.

The same is true of narrative order. Winter restricts his narratives to the boundaries of his own experience, and thus his preferred story structure is episodic, a feuilletonistic blend, in fact, of idiosyncratic temporal and spatial frames unlike the event-centered structure of the conventional news report or the plot-driven narratives of most fictional prose. "Leopoldstädter Nächte" employs this strategy in a straightforward manner; the story progresses from one drinking or gambling establishment to another over the course of an evening, ending in a hostel in the small hours of the morning. In contrast, Winter's scavenging tour with Specklmoriz is organized in good part around the canal's shape, creating a meaningful but only partial reconstruction of Winter's four-hour experience underground.

Winter tended to further fracture his narratives with what might be called a discursive climax. This break in the story typically occurs three quarters into an article, and makes room for detailed descriptions, occasional commentary

and, above all, informational digression. Winter's exposé on the Hofoper, for instance, presents detailed information on incomes and pensions; likewise, his piece on the Burgtheater gives a comparative breakdown of income based on occupation.⁶⁸ Such details support the overall veracity of a piece. Hannes Haas also suggests that early practitioners of reportage, like Winter, imported research-driven digression from the practices of emergent social science for their ideological usefulness.⁶⁹ Digression makes visible broad social and economic concerns otherwise only implicit in individual situation and serves to foster a form of empathy necessary for widescale reform. Literary antecedents, then, served as just one source of methodological inspiration, and aesthetic cohesion remained a secondary concern after social action.

Winter's Legacy

Winter's stylistic experimentation illustrated early the kind of insight the narrative mode offers reporting-driven journalism. It also indicates where the advantages of the literary stop short. His careful, simultaneous creation and exposure of aesthetic artifice within reporting—through playfulness with voice and point of view, as well as cross-modal mingling of story and statistics—produced entertaining and empathy-arousing texts that nevertheless manage to evade the critical closure of objective newsgathering and sensationalized social reportage.

Current readers of reportage will recognize these strategies as defining techniques of the genre. They may more specifically notice traces of Winter in the work of famed German-language immersion journalists Egon Erwin Kisch and—many years later—Günter Wallraff, who based their reporting in good part on undercover research. The connection between Winter and Kisch—the journalist credited with defining reportage as a literary genre—is particularly interesting. Born in the then Austro-Hungarian city of Prague in 1885, Kisch, in all likelihood, came of age reading the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and his early reporting offered similarly socially engaged stories on the lives of Prague's poor and working class. It is easy to imagine the two journalists crossed paths directly in Vienna after the First World War, even if not on the friendliest terms, as Kisch was involved in the 1918 failed Communist takeover of the Austrian government, of which Winter was a representative. No research to date has explicitly established the nature of their connection; still, Riesenfellner, Haller, and others believe Winter served as a model for Kisch's early work.⁷⁰

While Kisch and the reportage genre rose to prominence in the interwar years with the artistic energies of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity), Winter concentrated on political engagement.⁷¹ Representing the Social Democratic

Party, the journalist held both elected and appointed office at the city and federal level—including a three-year stint as Vienna’s vice-mayor—from 1911 until the party’s ban, in the wake of the brief Austrian Civil War, in February 1934. Winter managed to flee the city and, like many of his comrades, ended up in Hollywood, California, stringing together a modest income by writing feuilletons and short reports for subscribing European newspapers.⁷² He died of complications following surgery in July 1937, alone and impoverished but not yet forgotten. His funeral at the Matzleinsdorfer Cemetery in Vienna three months later drew a crowd of thousands, even under heavy police presence.⁷³ During the Anschluss, however, his books were removed from the city’s libraries. Further, Helmut Strutzmann notes, by the end of World War II, Winter’s advocacy on behalf of the working class had been systematically erased from the city’s memory.⁷⁴

It seems fitting that Winter’s rediscovery in the 1980s was driven by scholars interested in Austrian social history, who studied Winter’s oeuvre and anthologized it for general audiences. Ultimately, journalism’s ability to transcend the fragment of history it records has much to do with narrative style. And this study has explicitly connected Winter’s innovations in reportage with his value as a chronicler of the deeply mythologized moment known as “Vienna 1900.” Few places have been more closely associated with modernism and modernity, though traditionally refracted in the discourse around fin-de-siècle Vienna, through the intellectual and artistic production of the city’s cultural elite. Published over nearly three decades by the prominent daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Winter’s vast oeuvre offered in his own time, and still today, a powerful counterbalance—a detailed and wide-ranging articulation of the problems of modernity taken from the voices and practices of “life outside.”

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Notes

¹ Winter, “Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien” [Four hours in underground Vienna], 30. Edit added. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Original quote: “Während eines Morgenspazierganges im vorortlichen Wien hatte ich einmal eine merkwürdige Begegnung. Ein Mann verschwand vor meinen Augen in einem Einstiegsloch des Kanals. Er hob, den kurzen Stiel einer Harke, . . . das Kanalgitter, stellte es auf, stieg in den Schacht und schloss es wieder, indem er es, mit dem Rücken stützend, langsam niedergleiten ließ. Drunten war er. Durch das Kanalloch sah ich nur noch, dass der Mann unten Licht machte und dann so rasch im Bauch der Straße verschwand, als sich der ganze übrige Vorgang abgespielt hatte. Vom Heben des Gitters bis zum Verschwinden des Lichtes da unten war keine Minute vergangen.”

² Winter, 31.

³ Winter, 30.

⁴ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 26.

⁵ Winter, “Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien” [Four hours in underground Vienna], 30–47.

⁶ The existing critical literature on Winter is largely the work of three scholars: Stefan Riesenfellner, author of *Der Sozialreporter: Max Winter im alten Österreich* [The social reporter: Max Winter in old Austria] and editor of *Arbeitswelt um 1900: Texte zur Alltagsgeschichte von Max Winter* [The work world around 1900: Texts on the history of everyday life by Max Winter]; Hannes Haas, author of “Journalistische Inspektionsreisen. Der Sozialreporter Max Winter im Waldviertel” [Journalistic inspection travels. The social reporter Max Winter in the Waldviertel], and Miriam Houska, author of “Journalismus der Sinne und des Sinns: Max Winters Wahrnehmung und Vermittlung des Wiener Elends in Sozialreportagen der ‘Arbeiter-Zeitung’ 1896 bis 1910” [Journalism of meaning and senses: Max Winter’s perception and communication of Viennese hardship in the social reportage of the Arbeiter Zeitung 1896 to 1910]. Only one text in English offers an analysis of Winter’s work, Carol Poore’s *The Bonds of Labor: German Journeys to the Working World, 1890–1990*.

⁷ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 26.

⁸ Polgar, “Im dunkelsten Wien” [In darkest Vienna], 196–97. Original quote: “Max Winter ist ein unnachahmlicher Spezialist im Beschreiben armseligster proletarischer Existenzen geworden. . . . Von all’ diesen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen erzählt er sehr ruhig, trocken, einfach, objektiv, ohne ‘rote’ Drastik, mit Verzicht auf Pointen und effektvolle Kapitelschlüsse. Und doch mit der starken Wirkung, die hier aus persönlichem Erleben in die Schriftstellerei fließt. So ist es ein erfrischend unliterarisches Buch geworden. Ein packendes und aufrevoltierendes Buch. Ein Buch, in welchem der Gestank der Tatsachen durch keinen Tropfen literarischen Parfums ästhetisch verfälscht ist.”

⁹ Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 123.

¹⁰ Zweig, 41.

¹¹ Zweig, 123. Zweig writes at length about the popularity of the Viennese feuilleton. On its differences, as a form, to reportage, see Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary journalism], 18–129.

¹² Karl Kraus's *Heine und die Folgen* [Heine and the consequences] is devoted to criticizing the negative influence of the feuilleton on Viennese press and culture, echoed later by Robert Musil who writes that Vienna's "fin-de-siècle culture is characterized by an esprit de finesse that degenerated more and more into feuilletonism." Musil, "Der Anschluss an Deutschland" [Annexation to Germany], 1040.

¹³ Polgar, "Das Wiener Feuilleton" [The Viennese feuilleton], 205.

¹⁴ Eberwein describes the origins of reportage as tracing to the early nineteenth century and Heinrich Heine's work, which demonstrates the genre's characteristic features: "atmosphere, precision, subjectivity and simultaneity." The turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, however, is widely acknowledged as the primary era of reportage development. Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 114–15. Hendrik Michael points out that the origins of German-language reportage can be closely traced to the development of the feuilleton in the daily press. Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse* [Social reportage as a genre of the mass press], 38.

¹⁵ Winter, "Die Lokalredaktion II" [The local section], 1.

¹⁶ Pelinka and Scheuch, *100 Jahre AZ* [100 years of the AZ], 34. Original quote: "Wir schreiben nicht mit dem Schielblick auf den bürgerlichen Literaten, sondern für unsere Arbeiterleser, und die wollen über das Werke informiert werden und nicht über die Begabung des Kritikers zur irrlichernden Geistreichei."

¹⁷ Großmann, *Ich war begeistert* [I was enthusiastic], 98–99.

¹⁸ Holmes, "The Feuilleton of the Viennese *Arbeiter Zeitung*: 1918–1934," 105.

¹⁹ Holmes, 106.

²⁰ Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 121. See also Gaug, "Chronicles of Vienna: Urban Memory in Daniel Spitzer's *Wiener Spaziergänge*," 19–28.

²¹ Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 125; Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse*, 50–51.

²² Kisch, "Reportage als Kunstform und als Kampfform" [Reportage as an art form and a combat form], 48. Contemporary scholarship is on the same page. Riesenfellner argues that the function of Sozialreportage is "Information, Orientierung, Aufklärung" [information, orientation, enlightenment], *Der Sozialreporter*, 3.

²³ Haller, *Die Reportage. Ein Handbuch für Journalisten* [Reportage, A handbook for journalists], 5.

²⁴ Hartsock, "The 'Elasticity' of Literary Reportage," 99.

²⁵ Adler, "Die Arbeiterkammern und die Arbeiter" [The trade unions and the workers] was published in a short-lived socialist weekly Adler founded prior to *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, called *Gleichheit* (1886–89), and is reprinted in Adler, *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe* [Victor Adler's essays, speeches and letters], 155–214.

²⁶ Großmann, *Österreichische Strafanstalten* [Austrian prisons]; Kläger, *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens* [Through Viennese quarters of misery and crime].

²⁷ Biographical information on Winter's life and works can be found in Haas's "Editorische Notiz" [Editorial note], in Winter, *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, 9–27.

²⁸ Two of these books, Winter, *Das goldene Wiener Herz* [The golden Viennese heart], 1905, and Winter, *Im unterirdischen Wien* [In underground Vienna], 1905, were contributions to Hans Ostwald's fifty-title series "Großstadt Dokumente" [Urban documents], a vast and ambitious project that sought to document the urban experience. See Ostwald, ed. *Im Sittenspiegel der Grossstadt*. Winter also wrote children's stories and plays, as well as a novel called *Die lebende Mumie: Ein Blick in das Jahr 2025* [The living mummy: a look into the year 2025], 1929, imagining a future socialist utopia.

²⁹ Winter, "Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins" [Reality from the world of illusion], 228–50.

³⁰ Winter, 232.

³¹ Winter, 244–45. Original quote: "Wenn mir einer vor einem halben Jahre gesagt hätte, dass ich es mir ruhig gefallen lassen werde, dass mir jemand mein Gesicht mit dickflüssigem Gummi arabicum einschmiert, so wäre ich an seinem oder vielleicht auch an meinem Verstande irre geworden. . . . Anders tut's die Königin einmal nicht, zu deren Sklaven mich herzugeben ich unvorsichtig genug war. Wer ihr dienen will, muss einen Vollbart haben. . . . ich atme ordentlich auf, als ich eine halbe Stunde später ihren Dienst auf immer verlassen kann. Jetzt erst merke ich, dass das einzige Echte, was ich vom Araber an mir hatte, der Gummi *arabicum* ist. Das Ausraufen meines Bartes ist eine recht schmerzliche Prozedur. Besser geht es mit dem Wüstenbraun und der Schuhwichse auf dem Barte. Ich brauche mir mein Gesicht nur mit—Schmalz einreiben, und alles geht herunter."

³² Winter, "Im Salon der Zurückgewiesenen" [In the salon of the rejected], 241–48.

³³ Winter, 235. Original quote: "Da beginne ich zu rechnen: Zweimal Tramway oder Stadtbahn 40 Heller, Hausbesorger 20 Heller, Nachtmahl 52 Heller, und ich finde bereits ein Defizit von zwölf Hellern, das bei aller Beschränkung der Ausgaben auflaufen musste. Jetzt begreife ich auch den Edlen von Brabant und sein billiges Nachtmahl."

³⁴ Winter, 236. Original quote: "Die Ballettherren tuscheln untereinander, wahrscheinlich wieder einmal über den *Pensionsfonds*, der ihnen, den Chorherren, den Musikern und Theaterarbeitern seit Wochen die größten Sorgen macht. Was sie reden, kann ich nicht hören, aber von ihren Mienen lese ich es ab, dass es ernste Dinge sind, von denen sie sprechen." (italics in original)

³⁵ Winter, "Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater" [Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater], 194–219.

³⁶ Winter, 200. Original quote: "Zuerst laden wir das 'neue Wasser' ab, vorsichtig, wie es sich gehört. Auf eine Eisenachse sind der Länge nach vier phantastische Drahtgerüste, deren obere Kante Wellenform hat, gleich Radschaukeln montiert. Diese Gerüste sind von einem blaugrünen, mit glitzernden Plättchen beworfenen steifen Netz umkleidet. Die Asche wird in Gabeln gehoben, und nach bestimmten

Gesetzen ruckweise, bald schnell, bald langsam gedreht, so dass die faltig umkleideten Drahtgerüste die Illusion wild bewegten Wassers hervorbringen sollen. Wie sehr sie diese Wirkung erzeugen, bestätigte die Kritik nach der ersten Aufführung.”

³⁷ Winter, 217. Original quote: “. . . *Du wirst dem Lande nicht mehr schaden!*” (italics in the original)

³⁸ Trommler, “Working-class Culture and Modern Mass Culture before World War I,” 62.

³⁹ Winter, “Die Lokalredaktion II” [The local section II], 1.

⁴⁰ For background on the tropes and transmission of popular culture in early twentieth century Vienna, see Zapke, “Zwischen Vergnügen und politischem Ernst” [Between pleasure and political seriousness], 58–59; Hödl, “Jews in Viennese Popular Culture around 1900 as Research Topic,” 13–43; Seibel, *Visions of Vienna: Narrating the City in 1920s and 1930s Cinema*.

⁴¹ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 31.

⁴² Maderthaner and Musner, 30.

⁴³ Girtler, “Kontinuität und Wandel in der ‘Kultur der Armut’ der obdachlosen Nichtsesshaften Wiens” [Continuity and change in the ‘culture of poverty’ of homeless Vienna], 274–75.

⁴⁴ Winter, “Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien” [Four hours in underground Vienna], 31.

⁴⁵ For background on Stifter’s and Salten’s contributions to the literature of the Prater, see Girtler, *Streifzug durch den Wiener Würstelprater* [A stroll through the Viennese Würstelprater], 15–16, and Samols, “Capturing Difference,” 55–76. See also Stifter and Schumacher, *Wien und die Wiener* [Vienna and the Viennese]; Salten and Mayer, *Würstelprater*; Altenberg and Schäfer, *Sonnenuntergang im Prater* [Sunset in the Prater].

⁴⁶ Samols, “Capturing Difference,” 57–61.

⁴⁷ Zweig dedicates several pages of his memoir *The World of Yesterday* to explaining the sexual practices, and hypocrisies, of Viennese society, 89–113. Fritz Lang also comments on the Prater as a place of sexual desire in the early twentieth century. See McGilligan, *Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast*, 15, 115.

⁴⁸ Winter, “Leopoldstädter Nächte [Leopoldstadt nights],” 67.

⁴⁹ Winter, 67. Original quote: “Wer sie erforschen will, muss den Bodensatz der Großstadt durchwaten. . . . Seine Ablagerungsstätte ist die Gegend um den Praterstern. Seine Elemente sind: der Strizzi und die geheime Prostituierte in allen ihren Abstufungen, die Hasardeure und Falschspieler, einige auf niederster Stufe stehende Arbeiter, die ihr Verhängnis in diesen Kreis geworfen hat, aus dem es kaum ein ehrliches Entrinnen gibt, und etliche, zu bloßen Trinkgeldmenschen herabgesunkene Marqueure, Einspänner, Fiaker; dann als zweite Gruppe das Chor der ‘Ordnung’: die Polizeiagenten, Konfidanten und ‘Zünder,’ denen die Rolle der Verräter zufällt, und endlich die Fischer in Schlamm: die Herbergsväter und Hoteliers, die Kaffeesieder und Wirte, . . . die Branntweinschänker und Kuppler. In ihre Taschen rollt der Gulden.”

⁵⁰ Winter, 68.

⁵¹ Winter, 72–73.

⁵² Winter, 67.

⁵³ Winter, 96.

⁵⁴ Polgar, “Im dunkelsten Wien,” 197.

⁵⁵ Polgar, 196, 197.

⁵⁶ On the specific traits of reportage, see Haller, *Die Reportage: Theorie und Praxis des Erzähljournalismus*; on the development of a specifically literary reportage, see Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 118–29; Hartssock discusses the conceptual overlap between narrative literary journalism and reportage in his chapter, “The ‘Elasticity’ of Literary Reportage,” in *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 82–123.

⁵⁷ Winter, “Die Lokalredaktion II,” 1.

⁵⁸ Riesenfellner, *Der Sozialreporter*, 148.

⁵⁹ Riesenfellner, 185. Original quote: “Das Rollenspiel ist also ein Tribut an die Methode der Recherche, die auch subjektive Sphären jener Deklassierten nachzuempfinden versucht.”

⁶⁰ Riesenfellner, 148. In addition to Winter, journalists in Berlin practiced forms of socially engaged reporting for newspapers like the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, starting in the 1890s. Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse*, 50–52.

⁶¹ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, “Voice,” 212–62; “Mood,” 161–211; and “Order,” 33–85.

⁶² Hartssock, “The ‘Elasticity’ of Literary Reportage,” 98.

⁶³ Adler, “Die Arbeiterkammern und die Arbeiter,” 155–214.

⁶⁴ Großmann, *Österreichische Strafanstalten* [Austrian prisons].

⁶⁵ Winter, “Im Zeichen der roten Laterne,” 97–106.

⁶⁶ Winter, “Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien” [Four hours in underground Vienna], 31.

⁶⁷ Wilson, “Immersion Journalism and the Second-order Narrative,” 347. (italics in the original)

⁶⁸ Winter, “Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater” [Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater], 210; “Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins” [Reality from the world of illusion], 247–48.

⁶⁹ Haas, “Der k.u.k.–Muckraker Max Winter oder Über den Gestank der Tatsachen” [The imperial-and-royal muckraker Max Winter or about the stink of facts], 20.

⁷⁰ Haller, *Die Reportage: Theorie und Praxis des Erzähljournalismus*, 49; Riesenfellner, *Der Sozialreporter*, 148.

⁷¹ Winter’s advocacy did not stop at the level of government service. He was also involved in welfare and education programming for women and children, work that earned him the moniker “socialist of the heart,” Strutzmann, “Ein Sozialist des Herzens” [A socialist of the heart], 7. He founded the popular women’s magazine, *Die Unzufriedene* [The discontented], launched a series of affordable classic books, and established a nationwide network of children’s libraries. Haas, “Max Winter,” 9–10.

⁷² Haas, “Max Winter,” 10.

⁷³ Haas, 10.

⁷⁴ Strutzmann, “Ein Sozialist des Herzens,” 23.

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