

# A Society in Revolt or Under Analysis? Investigating the Dialogue Between 19th-Century Anarchists and Sociologists

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## Abstract

Anarchism has not had a noticeable impact upon sociology. The two traditions diverged in their interest in society and their relationship to it. This paper contrasts the practitioners or thinkers of one tradition against the other. The analysis shows some strong antagonisms, many instances of close analysis and critique of each other's perspectives, and a number of friendly and supportive relationships between anarchists and sociologists. Anarchists tended to admire the intellectual rigor of sociologists, but thought sociologists were insiders – mere reformers at best, reactionaries at worst – content to study society, but rarely to act for its improvement. Sociologists viewed anarchists with an even wider range of opinion, including considering them principled and admirable revolutionaries, slightly naïve utopians, or criminals and chaos-lovers bent on the destruction of social order. These factors contributed to the exclusion of anarchist ideas and anarchists themselves from the sociological canon.

## Keywords

anarchism, history, nineteenth century, social theory, sociologists, synthesis

## Introduction

Unlike Marxism and feminism – originally, two non-sociological traditions that have now greatly influenced sociology – anarchism has yet to leave a comparable mark upon the field of sociology. Marxism and feminism have contributed to sociology's theoretical modeling power, topical focus, and even methodology. Indeed, it would be difficult to conceive of academic courses on contemporary sociological theory, social stratification, the family, or gender without explicit reference to these traditions. Anarchism's contributions to social theory have not – even abstractly – found their way into such courses, although it is not difficult to imagine how such a synthesis could begin.

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Why have Marxism and feminism been brought into the sociological canon (despite their generally 'un-scientific' orientations), but not anarchism? The absence of anarchism within the sociology discipline is an issue worthy of attention and deserving of an answer.

This article argues that anarchism and sociology have a more complicated history than most would initially assume and that, more specifically, anarchism has been excluded from academic sociology, to the detriment of the latter. This thesis is explored by first considering the crisis and changes taking place within sociology, and the long-term context in which both anarchism and sociology have matured. To address this complicated history requires an in-depth exposition of how anarchists have viewed sociology and how sociologists have viewed anarchism. Despite the occasional compatibilities that emerge from this history, it is clear that professional sociology has held anarchism at 'arm's length', excluding its influence from the sociological canon. Much of this conflict seems to revolve around the nature and utility of the state: academic sociology and the state work to complement each other, while anarchism questions the very legitimacy of the state. This article concludes by rewriting the usual understanding of how anarchism and sociology relate to each other, suggesting a way forward for future theorizing and action.

I begin with the assumption that sociology can learn something important from anarchism. An anarchist-sociology theoretical synthesis could be as simple as incorporating anarchist thinkers into the sociological canon; for example, treating Mikhail Bakunin as a political sociologist, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as an organizational sociologist, or Peter Kropotkin as a socio-biologist. Or anarchist concepts could be wedded to sociological notions; for example, 'mutual aid' could be associated with Durkheim's understandings of solidarity or anarchist critiques of authority could appear alongside Weber's famous three-part typology. Anarchism and sociology could even be blended together into an anarchist-sociology that combines attributes from each tradition, creating something unique. Just as with Marxist or feminist sociology, an anarchist-sociology would not be strictly anarchist or strictly sociological, but instead greater than the sum of its parts.

As academic as all this sounds, the task of articulating an anarchist-sociology may have a rather pressing character, too. American sociology, in particular, has wracked itself with self-analysis and introspection over its professional mission (to serve 'science', to serve 'society', or to serve itself?). Much of this recent debate has fallen under the auspices of 'public sociology' (see Burawoy, 2005; Clawson et al., 2007), but also under other guises, like 'liberation sociology' (Feagin and Vera, 2008). In all of these debates, many point out that not only should sociology aim to achieve a better, more just and egalitarian, and freer society, but that much of the discipline has *always* aimed to achieve this (e.g. Feagin and Vera, 2008). Consequently, the appeal of Marxism and feminism to sociologists is evident: both traditions are critical social philosophies that also share activist sensibilities. Here also lies the true relevance of anarchism to the discipline of sociology: anarchism is a radical praxis that was and still is an active force for social change. However, academia has resisted the incorporation of anarchism more strenuously than for Marxism and feminism.<sup>1</sup> It is an appropriate moment in sociology's history to consider not only the substantial leaps in anarchist thinking in recent decades, but also the relevance of anarchism's activist-intellectual past (the focus of this article).

According to Kivisto (2011), the placement of certain theories or thinkers within the sociological canon over the span of the discipline's history is based on a variety of factors. The 'canon' itself is a social construction that changes over time and inclusion within it can occur in a haphazard fashion. Yet, 'it is clear that influential and well-positioned sociological elites play a key role in making these determinations, acting as brokers' (Kivisto, 2011: xx). For a long time in sociology's history, the role of 'professional sociology' or 'pure sociology' has reigned supreme. An almost studious avoidance of the political consequences of sociological knowledge dominates the agendas

of social research and college teaching alike. Not all sociologists were apolitical, but most had a pro-system and pro-state orientation. A minority of prominent critical voices can be found in the early years of sociology, but their words and political conclusions are usually muffled or ignored (Du Bois and Wright, 2008). It is crucial to confront contention and to give critics and gadflies their fair say. In this respect, one of sociology's most important, immediate and intimate traditions is anarchism.

At earlier periods in their respective histories, the philosophy of anarchism and the discipline of sociology have had strong repulsion, cross-fertilization, respect and critique, and overlap. Anarchists and sociologists spent intense periods of interaction and undoubtedly influenced each other. Although anarchism and sociology have not arisen from exactly the same root origins, they have influenced each other sporadically and via a few central 'blood ties' – individuals for whom the boundaries between anarchist and sociologist were not as rigid. The purpose of this paper is to explore these historical connections and to tease out the cause for their contemporary mutual avoidance.

For well over a century, anarchists have been routinely portrayed by mass media – this was a particularly potent frame in the US – as violent deviants who crave chaos (e.g. Hong, 1992; McLeod and Detenber, 1999). Curiously, this portrayal does not match the view most anarchists have of themselves. Instead, anarchists have generally claimed to prioritize self-management, solidarity, decentralization, and anti-authoritarianism (Ward, 1996) and have not been vocal advocates of chaos, terrorism, or violence any more than adherents of a wide range of other philosophies (including republicanism, fascism, socialism, neo-liberalism, etc.). At heart, anarchism is a radical social philosophy and a political movement against the state, capitalism, party-led socialism, patriarchy, White supremacy, and other hierarchical institutions. Anarchists' self-perception has only rarely penetrated into official narratives about anarchism, whether in the media, popular opinion, or academia. But, what of sociologists, who share a common interest with anarchists in 'society'? Do sociologists see anarchists more accurately, and if so, what is their history together?

A history of the interaction of anarchism and sociology must be incomplete. Some anarchists and sociologists were undoubtedly good friends, while others surely cursed each other under their breath, but never did so on paper or within earshot of anyone else. Still, a distinct picture emerges from the written historical record: anarchists and sociologists have had more serious things to say to and about each other than previously assumed by scholars of either tradition. This paper makes the case for the need to direct more attention toward these two groups of social thinkers and their mutual evolution.

Before unearthing an 'anarchist-sociology' history, it is crucial to pause in order to place them in their appropriate contexts. From the perspective of its adherents, anarchism is a radical philosophy with an orientation towards prefiguration and social transformation. To its practitioners, sociology is an expansive science, with a preference towards critical thinking about society. Sociology's focus on the amelioration of social problems was removed from the discipline (and transplanted to the newly formed field of social work) by the early 1900s, and it became more conservative and reformist (see Dale and Kalob, 2006). Needless to say, while both anarchism and sociology were and are concerned with 'society', the former is a philosophy and social movement premised upon revolutionary praxis, while the latter is best characterized as an academic discipline that has a scientific and institutionalized epistemology and ontology. However, this 'objective' summary of each tradition overlooks incredible amounts of subjectivity originating from one or the other. A given anarchist's (or sociologist's) perceptions of the other are just as likely to be inaccurate as accurate, uninformed as informed, conventional as unconventional, or even boring as opposed to interesting in respect to this paper's central question.<sup>2</sup>

Even given their different social spaces (the frontiers of radical change versus the academy), both anarchism and sociology still emerged at roughly the same time period in Enlightenment-era Europe. All the accompanying phenomena and events of that time impacted anarchism and sociology (albeit differently), including classical liberalism, the democratic revolutions (especially the French Revolution), positivism, Darwinism, and the rise of industrialism out of feudalism (see Purkis, 2004; Ritzer, 2008). Although separate, anarchism and sociology developed during the same era of change. The most recent developments in sociology – the incorporation of Marxism and feminism – are constructive developments for a critical sociology, since they complement the desire of many sociologists for praxis and an activist orientation. Crucially, the qualities that made Marx and feminist theory (e.g. Boyers, 2000) attractive to Left-leaning sociologists are also present in anarchism.<sup>3</sup>

This paper considers individuals who lived – but did not necessarily work exclusively – during the 19th century. This time period includes the early decades of each tradition (before anarchism was suppressed by the First Red Scare of 1919 and sociology became institutionalized). Many of the thinkers included herein wrote mainly in the 20th century, even up to and beyond World War I, although they were all born during the 19th century. Having lived during the 19th century not only establishes for a bounded time period, but also helps to encapsulate a particular era.<sup>4</sup> See the Appendix for greater description of this paper's methodology.

The central analysis of the paper is focused upon a direct comparison between the two traditions: first, the anarchists' perceptions and interpretations of sociology, then the sociologists' view of anarchism. Based on these historical relationships, the reasons for the absence of anarchist theory and anarchists themselves from the sociological canon become readily apparent. Consequently, this paper demonstrates the potential for linking anarchism with sociology in diverse and fruitful ways; for example, the reinvigoration of radical practice, in which sociologically-minded anarchists and anarchist-inclined social scientists can engage in their shared goals of interpreting and transforming societies.

## **The Many Interactions of Anarchists and Sociologists**

The mutual appraisals of anarchists and sociologists reflect a variety of opinion, ranging from hostility and critique to favorability. In some instances, anarchists and sociologists saw the other with open hostility, considering the others and their ideas to be either incompatible with their own or reprehensible. Many more, however, sought to engage in serious (and likely fair) critique of the other, seeing many things worthy of discussion. Some ideas of the other were agreeable, but others not. In a few instances, there was warm appreciation and favorable conclusions drawn about the other. In these cases, common ground or agreement was reached, and personal relationships even developed. The wide spectrum of opinion and interaction is readily apparent from the following examples. A noticeable ambiguity or sloppiness is sometimes apparent from both anarchists and sociologists, who sometimes conflate – for the anarchists – 'sociology' with socialism or mere social analysis or – for the sociologists – who variably use 'anarchism' to refer to a movement, an attitude, or disorder. These patterns of subjectivity are themselves revealing and will be discussed later.

### *The Anarchists Talk About Sociology*

The main characteristics of sociology that repelled anarchists were related to what anarchists perceived as sociology's core assumptions. For example, Peter Kropotkin (2007 [1892]) argued that

sociology treats the state as a given, assuming that there is no world outside it (or at least one worth knowing about). As such, something that is in fact socially constructed – like the all-pervasive and seemingly irreplaceable state – do not deserve such an easy critique from sociologists, but instead warrant a strenuous challenge. Thus, Bakunin (1950), a collectivist and ‘father of anarchism’, associated sociology with Marx and Engels (as did later sociologists, too), who Bakunin concluded did not see any inherent problems with the state (see Thomas, 1980).<sup>5</sup> Such criticisms underline an essential critique of state power, and the anarchists saw academia in general and sociology in particular as helping the state to exercise that power (c.f. Martin, 1998).

Likewise, Alexander Berkman felt that sociologists tended to disregard the opinions and ideas of non-intellectuals. ‘Learned men have written big books, many of them, on sociology, psychology, and many other “ologies”, to tell you what you want, but no two of those books ever agree. And yet I think that you know very well without them what you want’ (2003 [1929]: 2). Of particular concern for Berkman was the tendency for individuals to get lost in sociology’s analysis and for this to result in the normalization of the suffering of some individuals in society:

And they have at last come to the conclusion that you, my friend, don’t count at all. What’s important, they say, is not you, but ‘the whole’, all the people together. This ‘whole’ they call ‘society’, ‘the commonwealth’, or ‘the State’, and the wisecracks have actually decided that it makes no difference if you, the individual, are miserable so long as ‘society’ is all right. Somehow they forget to explain how ‘society’ or ‘the whole’ can be all right if the single members of it are wretched. (Berkman, 2003 [1929]: 2)

Berkman’s critique is certainly directed at what today is called ‘structural functionalism’, but his words can still find resonance in the social distance often desired by sociologists from individual people. These anarchist conclusions regarding sociology’s desire to remain holistic and objective are best summed up by the Italian electrician and revolutionary anarchist Errico Malatesta (quoted in Richards, 1965) who concluded that sociologists have no practical program for society and ‘are concerned only with establishing the truth. They seek knowledge, they are not seeking to do something’, whereas anarchism, a non-science, was completely interested in programs and projects *for* society (Richards, 1965: 85–6). Yet, despite its pretensions, the mystic anarchist Landauer stressed that sociology was not an ‘exact science’ (a fact he was content with) and that something like ‘revolution’ could not, thankfully, be studied via science (Landauer, 2010: 110–12).

Auguste Comte, the coiner of the term ‘sociology’, was considered an important figure by anarchists. The anarchist who most interacted with Comte was Proudhon, who attended an 1848 lecture by Comte on the ‘history of humanity’. Although Proudhon praised parts of the lecture, he thought it filled with ‘idle chatter and contradictions’, called Comte a ‘crazy’ ‘old driveller’, and considered Comte’s justifications of inequality to be ‘stupid’ (quoted in Pickering, 2009a: 282). Yet, a few years later, Comte approached Proudhon (and other leftists, including Auguste Blanqui) to join him in his positivist mission. The two thinkers had copies of their books sent to each other, they read each other’s writings (although Proudhon doubted Comte would read his work), and carried on a long-distance correspondence. In order to attract Proudhon, Comte used flattery, praising Proudhon’s spontaneity, verve, and originality. Proudhon both accepted the label ‘positivist’ and rejected it at different times, but he remained consistently cynical about Comte’s objectives. Comte’s ideas about ‘cerebral hygiene’ were ridiculous to Proudhon, and Proudhon criticized Comte’s inaccessibility and writing style. More viciously, Proudhon referred to Comte as ‘the most pedantic of scholars, the poorest of philosophers, the dullest of socialists, the most intolerable of writers’ (quoted in Pickering, 2009b: 90). Both thought the other lacked a sufficiently scientific

background and it was clear that their relationship was a collision of substantial egos – although Comte, with his ‘cerebral hygiene’ philosophy, was more averse to fair dialogue than Proudhon. Still, there was a lot of overlap between the two thinkers: rejection of traditional religion, support of republicanism, sympathy for the working classes, interest in a more cooperative society and decentralization, and their general anti-feminism. When Comte died in 1857, Proudhon was the only contemporary thinker to attend the funeral (Pickering, 2009b).<sup>6</sup>

Bakunin was also a thorough reader of Comte; in fact a biographer of Bakunin once claimed that Comte ‘was the chief intellectual influence on Bakunin’s last decade’ (quoted in McLaughlin, 2002: 211). Comte was considered by Bakunin to be ‘the true father of modern scientific anarchism’ (McLaughlin, 2002: 206). McLaughlin (2002) points to a number of goals shared by both Bakunin and Comte, including the unification of scientific knowledge, the ‘recasting’ of the European education system for the modern era, and their desire for successful social reorganization (i.e. Comte wanted a closure to revolution, while Bakunin – at least once becoming an anarchist – sought the non-closure of revolutionary action).

While anarchists tended to like Comte’s scientific approach – for example, the Russian anarchist-count Leo Tolstoy thought sociology could be based upon biology as a ‘positive science’ and thereby could reveal the ‘laws of humanity’ (Tolstoy, 2003 [1887]: 169) – many thought Comte took his positivism too far. Bakunin felt positivism was ultimately too deterministic and that it ruled out choice (Dolgoft, 1972). Even though the anarchist geographer Élisée Reclus taught at a positivist-influenced university and admired Comte’s appreciation for history, he still did not like Comtean positivism (Dunbar, 1978). The thing that bothered anarchists most about positivism was Comte’s elevation of sociology as a ‘religion of humanity’ (cited in Dolgoft, 1972; McLaughlin, 2002). Kropotkin (1908) considered Comte’s ‘moral principle’ to be too religious and concluded that Comte was requesting nothing short of ‘worship’ (see Comte’s *The Catechism of Positive Religion*).

Kropotkin (2006 [1902]) also thought that sociology missed and overlooked the regular and common mutual aid in people’s private lives, since most mutual aid took place in their friendships and families, and not in ‘public’.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the sociological conclusions of the time that considered inequality and competition to be ‘natural’ phenomena or ‘laws’ of humanity were wholly untested claims in Kropotkin’s estimation. Such propositions were merely the ‘guesswork’ of ‘middle-class sociology’ (Kropotkin, 1908).

Another early sociologist commonly read by anarchists was Herbert Spencer. In fact, Spencer may have been one of the most widely read by 19th-century anarchists, including many famous figures like Emma Goldman (Wexler, 1984), Bartolomeo Vanzetti (and many other Italian anarchists; Avrich, 1991; Pernicone, 2009), Peter Kropotkin, and Benjamin Tucker. The work that put Spencer on the anarchists’ radar was his essay ‘The Right to Ignore the State’ (published in *Social Statistics*, 1969 [1851]). In his appraisal of Spencer’s early work, Kropotkin felt Spencer’s writing contained many anarchist ideas (Kropotkin, 1887). This interpretation inspired Kropotkin (along with his brother) to translate Spencer’s *Principles of Biology*, which is perhaps why Spencer later signed a petition that demanded Kropotkin’s early release from prison after his conviction at Lyons in 1883 (Kropotkin, 1967 [1899]). Still, Kropotkin often disagreed personally with Spencer; he claimed that Spencer misunderstood both Darwin and mutual aid, and he argued that Spencer’s social Darwinism (i.e. ‘survival of the fittest’) was premised upon faulty method and reasoning (Kropotkin, 2006 [1902]; Kropotkin, 1908). For example, Kropotkin felt Spencer misused the strategy of applying analogies to social life based on physical phenomena, was Western-centric and unable to appreciate cultural diversity in other societies, and misinterpreted

‘the struggle for existence’ to refer to competition *within* species as opposed to simply between species (Kropotkin, 1908: 40–2).

Tucker, who was also influenced by Spencer and was one of the main distributors of Spencer’s writings to American anarchists through his newspaper *Liberty*, still found Spencer’s sociological implications to be under-specified (McElroy, 1981). Spencer’s later work was also used, incorrectly from Tucker’s perspective, by state-socialists to justify the state’s existence (Tucker, 1895). Ultimately, Spencer is seen as a libertarian thinker wanting reduced state intervention, but not as an anarchist (Marshall, 1992).

Despite their critiques, many anarchists had very positive appraisals of sociology. For example, the American anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre (Brigati, 2004) came to identify as an anarchist via her study of sociology. De Cleyre recalled her political transformation stemming from being personally and intellectually challenged by an anarchist she met, an encounter which led her to an in-depth study of what she called ‘the principles of sociology’ (along with anarchism and socialism) (Brigati, 2004: 107). The Spanish anarchist educator and Modern School founder Francisco Ferrer was interested in and committed to spreading an understanding of science and sociology ‘for the million’ (Ferrer, 1913: 109). Emma Goldman, who later in life entered into a romantic relationship with sociologist Frank Heiner (see Falk, 1984), stated that sociology shows that human nature is plastic and can change (Goldman, 1934). As an advocate of women’s rights and birth control, she saw sociology (along with economics and other sciences) as the philosophical supporters of a world-wide movement for birth control (Emma Goldman Papers, 1992).<sup>8</sup> Kropotkin (1906) felt that all sciences could be taught to children before the age of 12, but not sociology, implying that it required a more advanced mind. Incidentally, contributors to Goldman’s *Mother Earth* magazine regularly referred to Kropotkin himself as a ‘sociologist’ (see the December 1912 issue: 7(10)). His important work, *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1908), contained an in-depth study of Comte, Spencer, and others, and can be seen as Kropotkin’s defining contribution to sociology.

Tucker even alleged that William Graham Sumner, the first American professor of sociology, refused to acknowledge that ‘Anarchistic Socialists are the most unflinching champions in existence of his own pet principle of laissez faire’. Consequently, Tucker demanded that Sumner admit that he favored anarchism (Tucker, 1972 [1897]: 371–4).<sup>9</sup> Regrettably, as radical activists who usually lacked formal academic positions due to deliberate exclusion – as well as spending many years of their careers in prison or exile – anarchists simply had less privilege and opportunity to write much about sociology, than vice-versa. Anarchists’ disadvantages are best illustrated by the numerous anti-anarchist laws that essentially criminalized anarchist beliefs and affiliation during the late 1800s and early 1900s (e.g. the Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903 in the US and the *lois scélérates* laws of 1893 in France).

### *The Sociologists Talk About Anarchism*

The sociologists’ views of anarchists were comparable to the views that anarchists had of sociology: some disliked it, many critiqued it, and a few thought the anarchists were important and sound thinkers. But, Harney (2002) sums up the mainstream thinking of 19th-century sociologists, asserting that ‘Durkheim, Weber, Simmel feared anarchism as both a political movement and rival analysis, and they suppressed that fear’ (Harney, 2002: 11). Many sociologists, such as Comte (cited in Coser, 1971), used the term ‘anarchy’ as it was regularly used by authorities to designate chaos; thus, anarchy referred to a lack of order and it existed (hopefully temporarily) during transitional

periods following disequilibrium, such as the French Revolution. Few summed up the sociologists' repulsion from anarchism more vividly than Gustave LeBon, in his popular work *The Crowd*, where he calls anarchists the 'worst enemies of society' (LeBon, 1968 [1895]: 81). LeBon also critiqued mass education, in part, since it was allegedly used to train people to become anarchists.<sup>10</sup> Even W. E. B. DuBois, generally familiar with anarcho-syndicalism (Lewis, 2000), confused 'anarchy' with chaos (see DuBois, 1963 [1935]).

Karl Marx had a strong – and well-known – animosity towards anarchists, including fellow Young Hegelian Max Stirner, who Marx excoriated at great length in his *German Ideology* (Thomas, 1980). Marx also mocked Proudhon – particularly the latter's *The Philosophy of Poverty* – in his polemic *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Earlier, Marx had noted his admiration for Proudhon and stated that Proudhon convinced him of the necessity for abolishing private property. Curiously, it is Marx's eventual dislike for anarchists and numerous written attacks on them that immortalized anarchist critiques and spread them (through Marxian eyes) to wider audiences (see McKay, 2011). But, Marx's greatest anarchist enemy was Mikhail Bakunin. They were initially comrades: for example, Bakunin translated the first Russian version of *The Communist Manifesto* in 1863 (Gasper, 2005) and was contracted to be the Russian translator of Marx's *Das Kapital*, although he never finished the job. But, the two later traded insults and accusations, including Marx's claim that Bakunin was a spy for the Czar. The influence of Proudhon's followers in the European labor movement eventually led to conflict within the First International, culminating in a confrontation between Bakunin and Marx. Bakunin and the anarchists were expunged from the International, leading to bitter distrust for generations between Marxists and anarchists (Gouldner, 1982; Leier, 2006; Thomas, 1980). According to Thomas (1980), Marx saw the anarchists as intellectual rivals and the personality conflicts between Marx and famous anarchists are symptomatic of the real 'pronounced tactical differences' and 'fundamental division[s]' between the two distinct ideologies (Thomas, 1980: 14). To the extent that modern sociology has adopted certain Marxian ideas and assumptions, some of that 19th-century conflict between Marx and anarchists has been absorbed into sociology; for example, many sociologists' reification of the state and taking for granted the merits of working 'inside the system' for social change (or, as in Marx's case, the emphasis upon social democrat parties).

Other sociologists have been less antagonistic with their criticisms, while they still also repeated many stereotypes and inaccurate caricatures of anarchist ideas. Many such critics saw anarchism as foolish. For example, Charles Horton Cooley (1909), best remembered today for his looking-glass self theory, wrote that anarchism was 'childish', that it 'would benefit no one, unless criminals', and that general strikes were unlikely to be pursued by the 'more sober and hardheaded leaders of the labor movement' (Cooley, 1909: 277).<sup>11</sup> Likewise, Max Weber referred to Bakunin's ideas as 'naive' (Gerth and Mills, 1946: 229) and testified at the trial of an anarchist named Ernst Toller (a member of the defeated Bavarian Soviet following WWI), stating that although Toller had 'an entirely upright character', he still possessed 'confused views' (quoted in Dahmann, 1987: 374). However, unlike many other sociologists, Weber did not completely dismiss anarchism out of hand, as shown later.

Albion Small (Small and Vincent, 1894), the founder of the University of Chicago's sociology department, insinuated that anarchy was analogous to the chaotic French Revolution and was a destructive tendency (while concurrently and clearly identifying sociology itself as 'constructive'; Small and Vincent, 1894: 18–19). Small also argued that anarchists incorrectly assumed that most people can be 'social' without laws regulating their behavior (Small and Vincent, 1894: 361). Georg Simmel (1950) was even more cynical about an egalitarian, non-law-based social order, writing that

The technique of civilized labor requires for its perfection a hierarchical structure of society, 'one mind for a thousand hands', a system of leaders and executors. The constitution of individuals and the claims of objective achievement, as well as the workers and the realization of their aims – all coincide in the necessity of domination and subordination. (Simmel, 1950: 282)

From Simmel's perspective, anarchists ignore 'functional relationships' between individuals and groups (quoted in Spykman, 1925: 175); anarchy itself is a 'sociological error', since freedom and domination will never be able to exist in 'pure' forms in a society (Simmel, 1950). Indeed, Simmel claims that 'Super- and subordination in all its possible forms is now the technical pre-condition for society accomplishing its goals' (Simmel, 1978 [1907]: 337). As such, Karl Mannheim, the sociologist of knowledge, criticized anarchism and Gustav Landauer in particular as possessing a 'tendency towards simplification' that blurred all differences between 'libertarian' and 'authoritarian', thus ignoring varied state forms (Mannheim, 1936: 197).

While generally sympathetic to anarchism, Pitirim Sorokin (1967) wrote about the culmination of revolutionary activity that displaces authority and leads to 'anarchism'. In such periods of limitless freedom, many problems emerge, making life 'insufferably difficult, nearly unbearable'. Sorokin claimed that new authorities must soon establish themselves after revolution: 'unless new reflexes of obedience be inculcated[,] society begins to perish' (Sorokin, 1967: 120).

Lester Ward, the American Sociological Society's first president, considered anarchism to be unnecessary for the working classes, since the 'present machinery of government, especially in this country, is all they could wish' – they simply needed to assert their rights and start directing government (cited in Chugerman, 1965: 356–7). For his part, Durkheim (1967 [1928]) – adopting Comte's view (Vernon, 1984) – seemed to express sympathy with Engel's claim that the state would eventually 'wither away' after revolution (thus making anarchism quite unnecessary), and that such a socialism was obviously democratic in character. Consequently, Durkheim concluded that Proudhon's mutualism pushed individualism 'to its most paradoxical consequences', since socialism was itself derived from revolutionary individualism (Durkheim, 1967 [1928]: 49).

Likewise, the famous scholar of inequality, Vilfredo Pareto (1966), made sweeping statements about anarchism, including it in a lengthy, diverse list of doctrines – 'Communism, collectivism, protectionism, ... "pulpit" socialism, bourgeois socialism, anti-semitism, nihilism' – which were drawn from the same irrational passions. Taken to its logical conclusions, Pareto felt anarchism would lead people to destroy every possible social institution and human practice, causing people to starve to death, since even 'food itself, by its abuse, is capable of engendering all manner of evils' (Pareto, 1966: 121). Pareto even later considered his former hero and influence Proudhon ethically *biased* (towards 'justice'; Tarascio, 1976) and thought Tolstoy's pacifism was tautological in character (Femia, 2006). Curiously, one might assume Pareto would have greater sympathies for anarchists, given that his first wife was Dina Bakunin, a relative of Mikhail Bakunin (Powers, 1987).<sup>12</sup>

There were a surprising number of sociologists who either admired anarchist ideas or who knew anarchists personally. To take the earliest possible point of overlap – although little is known about their personal interaction – Flint (1894) notes that Comte shared decentralist views with Proudhon's decentralist values, but Comte was not convinced of the merits of decentralization down to the commune-level, as Proudhon was. DuBois's discussion of a 'Black general strike' in the southern US is clearly indebted to the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism he likely encountered as a member of

the Socialist Party (Lewis, 2000).<sup>13</sup> Weber's colleague Robert Michels self-identified early in life as a 'syndicalist' (although later in life he turned towards Italian fascism). In his famous work *Political Parties*, Michels coined the term 'iron law of oligarchy', and discussed anarchism in depth, referring to it as a 'prophylactic' against such oligarchy. The avoidance of individual power and organizational resources helped anarchists to stymie the authoritarian tendencies of all influential leaders (Michels, 1962 [1915]).

Although Robert Park – a co-founder of the Chicago School – thought anarchism seemed 'black and pestilent', he concluded 'it contains within it the germ of an idea that is the salvation of the world' (cited in Raushenbush, 1979: 23). Park's favorable views likely derived from his encounters with a number of anarchists during his stint in Detroit, including one who helped Park with his German translations (Raushenbush, 1979). Jane Addams was also well acquainted with anarchists in Chicago. Addams, who today is best known as a founder of social work, was also a co-founder of the American Sociological Society, an author for the *American Journal of Sociology*, was personally invited by Albion Small to be a faculty member at the University of Chicago (she declined), and is a pivotal figure in what today is amorously known as 'applied sociology'. Addams was the 1901 host for Kropotkin's lecture tour visit to Chicago (Addams, 1910), and, although no notes from the meeting exist, it is easy to imagine that the two had much to talk about. (Eddy [2010] postulates that some of Kropotkin and Addams's common interests, including Darwin, morality, and progress, may have been discussion topics). She also went out of her way to help an arrested anarchist publisher, even lobbying the mayor of Chicago on his behalf, getting the mayor's permission to visit the publisher in his cell, pressuring until the man's lawyer could see him, and eventually getting him released (Linn and Scott, 2000). Anarchists were also a fixture at Addams's Hull House, where she encouraged some of them to be union organizers amongst poor immigrants in Chicago (see Avrigh, 2005).

Thorstein Veblen, perhaps best known as the sociologist who described 'conspicuous consumption', was a supporter of the Industrial Workers of the World and is considered, at least by some, such as Dugger (2006), to be an anarchist, due to his holding localist, anti-capitalist values and demonstrating 'no faith in the ability of the current businesspeople's state to reform the economy' (Dugger, 2006: 665). Lester Ward was also considered by some (although erroneously) as sympathetic to anarchism, advocating 'society govern itself and get rid of all its plutocratic masters' (quoted in Chugerman, 1965: 75–6). Ward was regularly approached by leftist activists to speak on their behalf and he even shared 'speakers' tables with Emma Goldman' (Scott, 1976: 39). Even though skeptical of anarchism, Ward sympathized with some of its views; for example, he agreed with Francisco Ferrer's position on education and knowledge, which had the possibility to 'regenerate the world', stating that Ferrer's execution by Spanish authorities in 1909 indicated that 'civilization has been assassinated' (cited in Abbott, 1910).

Durkheim also had some distant admiration for certain anarchists, particularly Proudhon; Proudhon can be seen as a sociological predecessor to Durkheim (Hall, 1971). In fact, Durkheim drafted lectures on Proudhon for 1896–7 that he was never to deliver, because he instead founded his journal *L'Année Sociologique* and refocused his efforts on pure sociology (see the introduction to Durkheim, 1967 [1928] written by Marcel Mauss; Pearce, 1989). Thus, Durkheim's study on socialism remains incomplete, but, according to Pearce (1989), in Durkheim's writings one can detect the echo of Proudhon's thoughts, such as their shared 'critique of the effect on society of inherited wealth' and the belief 'that limits should be placed on the role of the state' (Pearce, 1989: 58).<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the professional sociologist with the closest relationship to anarchism was Pitirim Sorokin, the founder of Harvard's sociology department. As a youth in Russia, Sorokin was exposed to anarchist literature and was a member of the Social Revolutionaries (a non-anarchist

party with some anarchist influences).<sup>15</sup> Later, he met and befriended Kropotkin in 1917, before moving to the United States. Jaworski (1993) argues that Sorokin took with him anarchist values like ‘individualism, creativity, cooperation, mutual aid and love’ and he sought to ‘place anarchism on a scientific footing’ (Jaworski, 1993: 67). Well known for his ideas on social altruism, Sorokin’s intellectual debt to Kropotkin and *Mutual Aid* is clear. Sorokin also listed Proudhon numerous times in his *Sociological Theories of Today* (1966), alongside luminaries like Fichte, Marx, Plato, and Sartre, although he never treats Proudhon’s ideas directly or separately. Sorokin even identified as an anarchist of sorts, calling himself a ‘conservative Christian anarchist’ (Sorokin, 1939).

Weber had a critical engagement with anarchist ideas, as well as with certain anarchists. Weber often wrote approvingly of Tolstoy (Dahlmann, 1987), referring to the absence of force in the pacifist ideal as anarchist in nature (Gerth and Mills, 1946). According to Weber, such religious anarchism tended to be short-lasting, due to the ephemeral character of charisma (Weber, 1968 [1922]). Weber had a personal sympathy for anarchists, but thought them to be generally unrealistic. Unlike some of his contemporary liberals, Weber considered anarchists to have an important viewpoint that was often worth considering – for example, views in areas where anarchist ideas and premises may be suspect. Thus, even though anarchists reject the validity of legal mandates,

An anarchist can certainly be a good legal scholar. And if he is, then it may be precisely that Archimedean point, as it were, outside the conventions and assumptions which seem to us so self-evident, at which his objective convictions (if they are genuine) place him, which equips him to recognise, in the axioms of conventional legal theory, certain fundamental problems which escape the notice of those who take them all too easily for granted. For the most radical doubt is the father of knowledge. (quoted in Runciman, 1978: 75)

Weber was personally acquainted with the anarchist historian Max Nettlau (Dahlmann, 1987) and other anarchists as he sometimes vacationed alongside them in Ascona (see Whimster, 1999), and he was ‘impressed by their refusal to compromise’ (Dahlmann, 1987: 367) and considered them ‘honest and straightforward’ (quoted in Mommsen, 1987: 95). Weber’s attraction to anarchists – while still holding their ideas at arm’s length from his own – illustrates what Mommsen (1987) identifies as Weber’s desire to seek out radical ideas, perhaps as an alter ego to his own.

Finally, perhaps the best bridge between anarchism and sociology was via Martin Buber. A student of the sociologist Simmel and an admirer of Ferdinand Tönnies, Buber was a philosopher heavily influenced by Proudhon and Kropotkin, who also became a ‘close friend and associate’ of Landauer (according to Susser, 1979). In fact, while Simmel encouraged Buber’s nationalism prior to World War I, Buber eventually turned away from patriotism and the war due to Landauer’s intervention (Simon, 2006). In accordance with the aforementioned intellectual influences, Buber synthesized anarchism and sociology into a unique and compelling hybrid. Buber became an influential figure upon the socialist Zionist movement in Palestine (Horrox, 2009) and was the author of the prefigurative anarchist work – that can be and should be read sociologically – *Paths in Utopia* (Buber, 1996 [1949]).

## The Exclusion of Anarchists from Sociology

As described above, the 19th century is filled with both predictable and surprising relationships between anarchists and sociologists. But, the history presented in this paper also lends considerable insight to the reasons for the anarchist absence from the sociological canon. Two conceptual

explanations for the absence of anarchists can be adapted from the geographical theory of push-pull factors. In this instance, a type of reverse push-pull occurred: anarchists refusing to enter the academy, and the discipline of sociology, individual sociologists, and other elites preventing anarchists' access to the academy.

There is not as much direct evidence to indicate reasons why anarchists chose not to enter the academy. It is possible to extrapolate from Berkman's criticisms (2003 [1929]) that academic professions were perhaps unnecessary, maybe even foolish. Why pursue an academic career if social revolution is both more practical and is a pressing concern? Berkman, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and others were worried – not without reason – that sociology was in the process of directing its efforts towards uses that would primarily aid and strengthen the state.

Anarchists also kept themselves at arm's length from the academy, even when they sympathized with part of its mission. Kropotkin and Reclus, two individuals who spent a fair amount of time in universities (as geographers), found themselves unwilling to compromise their politics. In Kropotkin's case, in 1896 he was informally offered a professor position at Cambridge University – on the expectation that he tone down his radical politics – but he politely declined (see Kearns, 2004; Marshall, 1992). This well-known example suggests that some anarchists may have deliberately avoided incorporation into academia, perhaps to avoid the suppression of radical politics that Marxism and feminism were later subject to during their incorporation. If the academy represented (and still represents) elite and statist interests, then anarchists' behavior that consciously avoided incorporation into the academy can be understood as principled action. Clearly, anarchists were radicals and sociologists were generally liberals; these political differences made sociologists infinitely more acceptable within the 19th-century university (for example, recall Simmel's [1950] belief that domination and subordination are essential). In addition to the refusal by some to curtail their values to the academy's stodginess, most anarchists simply lacked financial and social access, given their working-class origins. Despite many anarchists developing 'organic intellectual' qualities, the few who wrote the most in the movement tended to be disproportionately of middle-class (or even more privileged) backgrounds.

The academy during this time period also worked to exclude most non-elites, including women, minorities and non-Europeans, and others. Of course, radicals such as anarchists were targets for political reasons beyond the elite-exclusionary intentions towards those who were not wealthy White men. Germany's anti-socialist laws targeted the Social Democratic Party, but were also applied to all other Leftwing radicals (see Lidtke, 1966; Gabriel, 2010). In France, the *lois scélérates* (or villainous laws) criminalized the free speech of anarchists, thereby restricting them from universities. Mass media's anti-anarchist propaganda, which portrayed real or alleged anarchist violence as disruptive and inappropriate for society (and thus the academy), supported and justified such laws.

But, most factors that inhibited anarchism's official incorporation into sociology center on sociologists' hostility to anarchists and anarchism. Some of this hostility could have been misplaced, as numerous sociologists referenced anarchism only in passing, with sideways references to 'chaos' (e.g. Comte, DuBois, Small), while others minimized and ridiculed it by reducing its diversity to naiveté (Weber), childishness (Cooley), or impracticality (Simmel). Still others, like LeBon, appeared to have feared anarchism enough to consider it a threat worth warning against. If the only moments in which sociologists felt the need to discuss anarchism were to criticize and lambaste it, the implication and sentiment that other sociologists would derive is the irrelevancy of anarchist ideas to understanding society. Taken together, these predictable interpretations mirror the superficialities also found in the mass media of the day (Hong, 1992). The scattered traces referencing anarchism throughout the writings of sociologists illustrate more by their absence than their rare

presence: either intentionally or unconsciously, professional sociologists ascribed little value to the ideas of anarchism and instead of confronting whatever worth anarchism might have, they ignored it. Not coincidentally, in the few instances that sociologists gave serious consideration to anarchism, as Michels did, they discovered a good deal of value and importance in anarchist ideas. And, the intentional distance placed between professional sociologists and anarchist activists is not coincidental: the sociologists most open to anarchist ideas also had the most immediate interaction with actual anarchists (e.g. Park, Sorokin, Addams). Mixing with the anarchist milieu seems to have led to sympathy for anarchism, especially for those sociologists who had additional sympathies for and who worked with disadvantaged populations.

Telling evidence addressing the exclusion of anarchism from the sociological canon may be witnessed in Durkheim's decision to direct his efforts away from an exploration of Proudhon's ideas (as well as Charles Fourier's) towards the creation of his (soon-to-be) premiere, professional sociology journal *L'Année Sociologique*.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Durkheim helped to institutionalize sociology deeper within the academy, as an autonomous discipline. Durkheim's goal was to advance sociology as the social equivalent of modern medicine: able to diagnose 'sick' societies and prescribe what healthier social arrangements were. Durkheim considered the 'role' of the statesman to be analogous to 'that of the doctor: he forestalls the outbreak of sickness by maintaining good hygiene, or when it does break out, seeks to cure it' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]: 104). Scott (1998) notes that European states during the post-Enlightenment period were struggling to make their populations 'legible' and therefore undertook massive efforts to gather data. Although Scott does not directly mention it, social science disciplines were logical sources of such data and states thus supported universities accordingly. States during this period deliberately took over privately controlled educational systems throughout Europe and thereby fashioned such systems to meet the state's needs (Archer, 1979).

In accepting this role for sociology, Durkheim provided justification for the state's existence, and he also personally served as an advisor to the Ministry of Education and eventually supported World War I (unlike many other European leftists). Similar to his choice to de-emphasize Proudhon, Durkheim accomplished a comparable end by also minimizing (if not eliminating outright) the presence of women and feminist analysis from sociology (see Pedersen, 2001). Choosing to avoid Proudhon's ideas, and the debates over the relationship between women and men that emerged from the French Revolution, indicates that Durkheim was far more committed to his positivist study of how society presently functioned than criticizing the social order of his day. Consequently, the simple choice of focus and the attribution of legitimacy made by central scholars like Durkheim can have a 'ripple effect' upon contemporary and future generations of intellectuals.

Since self-identified sociology has generally only existed within the academy, the discipline has tended to support existing society and its institutions. As such, professional sociologists generally had a favorable view of the social status quo and had a material interest in supporting those institutions. Even though anarchists have had a common focus on the same subjects, their perspective has often been in diametric opposition to university-based sociologists. Within the discipline, the disinterest in anarchist perspectives is telling, given how suited and focused anarchist ideas are for the study of society. But, these same patterns of social science avoidance are not unique to sociology. For example, the field of international relations and its historiography has studiously avoided (or rejected) anarchism. International relations scholar Prichard (2011) writes that it is 'deeply ironic that despite being quintessentially concerned with anarchy and a world without sovereigns, the anarchists are never canvassed for their opinions by those working on the "political discourse of anarchy"' (Prichard, 2011: 1655). As such, anarchism is contradictory to the 'use-value' of

academic disciplines that have been designed to serve the interests of the state, capitalism, and other institutions of domination.

Social theory has traditionally only permitted ideas and individuals into the canon who have reinforced the interests of those who are creating that theory: economically advantaged White males (Sprague, 1997). Although a few anarchists would fall into this category – Bakunin and Kropotkin were born as Russian nobility (although both rejected their titles) – privileged interests are contrary to the goals of anarchists and therefore have been excluded from the canon. Even anarchists from privileged backgrounds gave their support to causes of disadvantaged populations, especially the working class, as well as other dominated groups, like women, racial and ethnic minorities, and immigrants, but such populations were generally ignored or under-theorized by orthodox, academic social theory for most of the same time period. Thus, the (eventual) inclusion of Marxism and feminism into the sociological canon is interesting, but it also indicates that they possess a certain limited social acceptability to some sectors of the academy – they are not totalizing anti-authoritarian traditions and both have varieties that permit and encourage working within systems of privilege and the liberal state (i.e. social democracy and liberal feminism). Sprague calls for ‘inclusive conversations among holders of multiple perspectives engaging with one another, negotiating the collective implications of our diverse standpoints’ (Sprague, 1997: 101); such an inclusion would require the nullification of ‘intellectual gatekeeping’ (Sprague, 1997: 102). This approach could position anarchism alongside time-tested social theorists, as well as raise the levels of internal disagreement within the canon. This is not necessarily a bad thing and the critical edge of sociology would only be strengthened by such efforts.

## Conclusion

The common view, which treats anarchism and sociology as completely different traditions, emerging out of completely different milieus, environments, or intellectual frameworks, is compelling, but it is, in a strict sense, factually inaccurate. Both traditions interacted with each other, during similar time periods. The aforementioned thinkers have been influential beyond their own lives to the traditions of both anarchism and sociology. Consequently, their fraternal relations, even when limited, have undoubtedly led to cross-fertilization. To take one example, Emma Goldman personally knew sociologists and read their work, while she also knew countless influential anarchist figures (see her autobiography *Living My Life*) and she herself had a substantial influence upon subsequent generations of anarchists. It stands to reason that there was cross-fertilization between anarchists and sociologists. If this is true, then it is difficult to speak of a ‘pure anarchism’ unadulterated by sociology or a ‘pure sociology’ that never accounted for anarchist critiques.<sup>17</sup> However, the general hostility expressed in strong language by critics from each tradition (as seen in the previous section on anarchist exclusion from the academy) illustrates that *overt* influences, properly cited, are largely absent.

Even though it is possible to give definitions for ‘anarchism’ or ‘sociology’, each definition will, by necessity, be based on certain generalizations, distortions, or assumptions that do not hold up upon further inspection. All but the broadest attempts to define anarchism and sociology today will meet with some manner of disagreement from numerous individuals, organizations, or traditions, from each respective corner. Thus, anarchism and sociology may not be opposing traditions that require deliberate efforts, such as this paper makes, to contrast one against the other, since both in fact emerged from interaction, union, and struggle with each other. But, to approach anarchist-sociology as an already merged, crossbred phenomenon would require a different starting point that – while worthwhile, legitimate, and important to explore – has not been

attempted here. This paper's historical evidence demonstrates that anarchists and sociologists interacted personally and intellectually, a fact that encourages further research.

The preceding review of the written record – that documents the history of anarchists and sociologists – has been more focused upon each side's perception of the other, as opposed to a supposedly 'objective' appraisal of how the two overlap. Were the perceptions of each largely accurate from the other's perspective? Sometimes yes, largely no. Anarchists – although often praising the virtues of science – were likely to consider sociologists as insiders with a vested interest in protecting existing institutions, especially the state. Sociologists were most apt to use the popular caricature of 'anarchy' offered by the media and other elites, and repeated the time-tested, triumvirate of anarchist boogeymen: chaos, violence, and fantasy.

The earliest thinkers of each tradition appear most regularly in this paper's history, especially figures like Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Peter Kropotkin, Auguste Comte, and Herbert Spencer. Later thinkers, especially those who lived into the 20th century, were still referencing classical thinkers, alongside contemporaries and even the 'rank-n-file'. Perhaps the most exemplary 'cross-over' figures of anarchist-sociology were, not surprisingly, those who had university training as well as active public intellectual and activist lives – individuals such as Kropotkin, Addams, and Buber.<sup>18</sup>

Some of this historical evidence is overwhelmingly obvious: that some anarchists and sociologists had passionate dislike or admiration for each other. Other evidence is hard to classify, and may be fairly anecdotal or non-representative of the theorists' opinions, as well as complicated (i.e. conditional acceptance or hesitant rejection). While somewhat unsatisfying as conclusions, these findings are reassuringly *real* and appropriately nuanced. It would be a gross generalization to claim that 19th-century affairs between these two traditions were either simple or non-existent. Reality is far more complicated and interesting. This paper indicates that there are numerous areas of overlap between 19th-century theorists; presumably just as many connections exist today as did during early times, since both anarchism and sociology remain active traditions, unlike previous intellectual movements, such as racial phrenology (to pick one example).

There are multiple ways to explain the absence of anarchism from the academy in general and the sociological canon in particular. Sociology during the period under study here began to orient its analytical lens towards the purposes of statecraft and interpretation of the status quo, while anarchism sought to uncover the limitations of the present system and to advocate its overthrow. A notable hypothesis explaining the spread and ascendancy of certain intellectual traditions argues that it is not necessarily due to the strength of ideas or evidence, but rather the dominance and influence of certain individuals who are well placed within social networks (Collins, 1998). Thus, Marxists and feminists after the movements of the 1960s who made the 'long march through the institutions' helped to influence the trajectory of the discipline,<sup>19</sup> unlike anarchists who were more absent during that period (because they generally stayed within social movements instead). To assimilate into sociology, Marxism and feminism may have had to curtail their more radical critiques or at least silence their activist tendencies in the name of 'objectivity'. This possibility, while not guaranteed for anarchism, ought to caution advocates of its inclusion.

If anarchism has begun to enjoy a greater influence within academia today than in previous decades, it may be due to the more visible presence of anarchists within the institutions of higher education, who attend graduate school and acquire faculty positions. Although no published studies can confirm a greater percentage of anarchist academics in the English-speaking world today, there are many incidental bits of evidence: for example, the thousands of members and conference participants of the British-based Anarchist Studies Network and of the North American Anarchist

Studies Network. Here, anarchist academics are centered in the social sciences and humanities, and have been generating unique analyses and research as of late (e.g. Amster et al., 2009; Jun and Wahl, 2009).

Neither anarchism nor sociology is today what they were in their respective infancies, whether in terms of self-perception or from the perception of critics. The respective definitions of anarchism and sociology and the observations of the other might seem ill-informed or inaccurate today – often it is impossible to tell what a particular author meant by a term, since they rarely paused to define it, regularly relied on stereotypes, and were content to talk past the authors in the other tradition. Curiously (and satisfyingly), both traditions have evolved, matured, and branched out of their former confines.<sup>20</sup> While 19th-century universities were attended by elites, many now admit large numbers of middle-class and, in some cases, working-class students. Changing university student demographics demonstrates the merits of re-assessing 19th-century anarchists' hesitation to engage the academy and professional sociology.

This paper has emphasized what sociology could gain by incorporating anarchism into its theoretical canon, including a critique of the state and general domination (see Williams, 2012), and a militant activist orientation. Potential disadvantages of anarchist incorporation and radicalization may include increased marginalization from funding sources and decreased political support for the discipline. It is also worth considering what anarchism might gain from incorporation. From the standpoint of critical sociology, it is safe to say that sociology is likely to benefit more than anarchism from such a wedding. The fears of earlier anarchist critics may be realized if anarchism pacifies its radical edge, becomes more philosophical than praxis-oriented, or simply feeds academic careers. Still, the advantages for anarchism may include increased 'legitimacy' (albeit only in the eyes of some), greater access to recruit at universities, and a closer intellectual debate with other theoretical frameworks (e.g. world-systems analysis, phenomenology, Frankfurt school critical theory, or symbolic interactionism).

Future research into the history of anarchist-sociology ought to seek out more recent interactions amongst individuals positioned solidly within the 20th century. For example, some have already begun noting the highly sociological character of widely read English-language anarchists like Murray Bookchin, Paul Goodman, and Colin Ward. A comparable effort should be made to explore the ideas of equally well-known sociologists, including Herbert Blumer, Daniel Bell, C. Wright Mills, Erving Goffman, and Pierre Bourdieu, who were not only generally sympathetic to and knew a good deal about anarchism, but in some cases actually *identified as anarchists*.<sup>21</sup> Given such realities, the prospects for uncovering a vibrant history of anarchists and sociologists in dialogue are not only realistic goals, but so is a more interesting task: developing a mature and useful anarchist-sociology synthesis itself.

## Appendix

This study includes some subjects who were only later identified as 'anarchists' or 'sociologists', such as William Godwin<sup>22</sup> and Max Stirner, or Herbert Spencer and Karl Marx. For example, Marx recoiled at sociology, perhaps due to his dislike of Comtean positivism. Marx more properly viewed himself as creating a science of socialism, not sociology (Korsch, 1938). Yet, European sociologists have regularly read Marx and North American sociologists have as well, at least since the mid-20th century. Berlin makes one such claim, arguing that Marx is the 'true father' of modern sociology, more so than Comte or Spencer (Berlin, 1963: 130). Thus, even though taking the above liberties with categorization can produce messy results, it is appropriate given the inclusion of such individual theorists by contemporaries of either tradition. Note that to *only* apply the label of 'anarchist' to Proudhon or Bakunin (and ignore other labels like 'mutualist' or 'collectivist') or 'sociologist' for Marx, Weber, or Simmel (when 'socialist',

‘political economist’, or ‘philosopher’ would be just as appropriate) is itself epistemologically problematic. Such controversial [re-]definitions are central in other contemporary scholarship, such as Schmidt and van der Walt (2009).

The active domains of individuals featured in this paper are equally wide: included are ‘philosophical anarchists’ (like Benjamin Tucker) as well as ‘movement anarchists’ (e.g. Mikhail Bakunin). Conversely, academic sociologists (like Emile Durkheim and Lester Ward) are discussed alongside sociologists who spent much of their lives outside of universities (e.g. Jane Addams). Figure 1 presents a timeline of notable anarchists and sociologists who lived (for however short a time) during the 19th century. While not all these individuals are discussed in this paper, Figure 1 clearly demonstrates that well-known anarchists and sociologists lived and worked during the same time period of change, development, and tumult in Europe and North America.

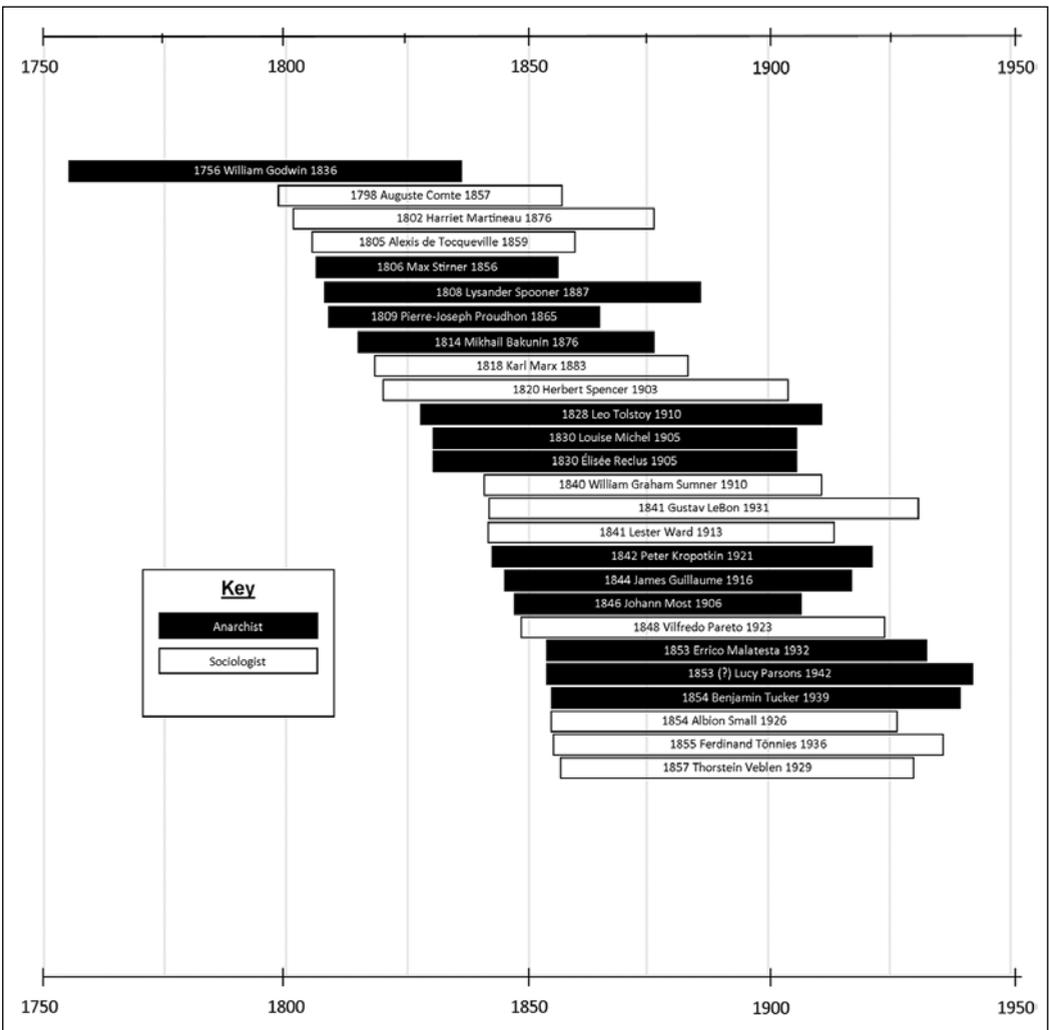


Figure 1. Timeline of Anarchists and Sociologists from the 19th Century.

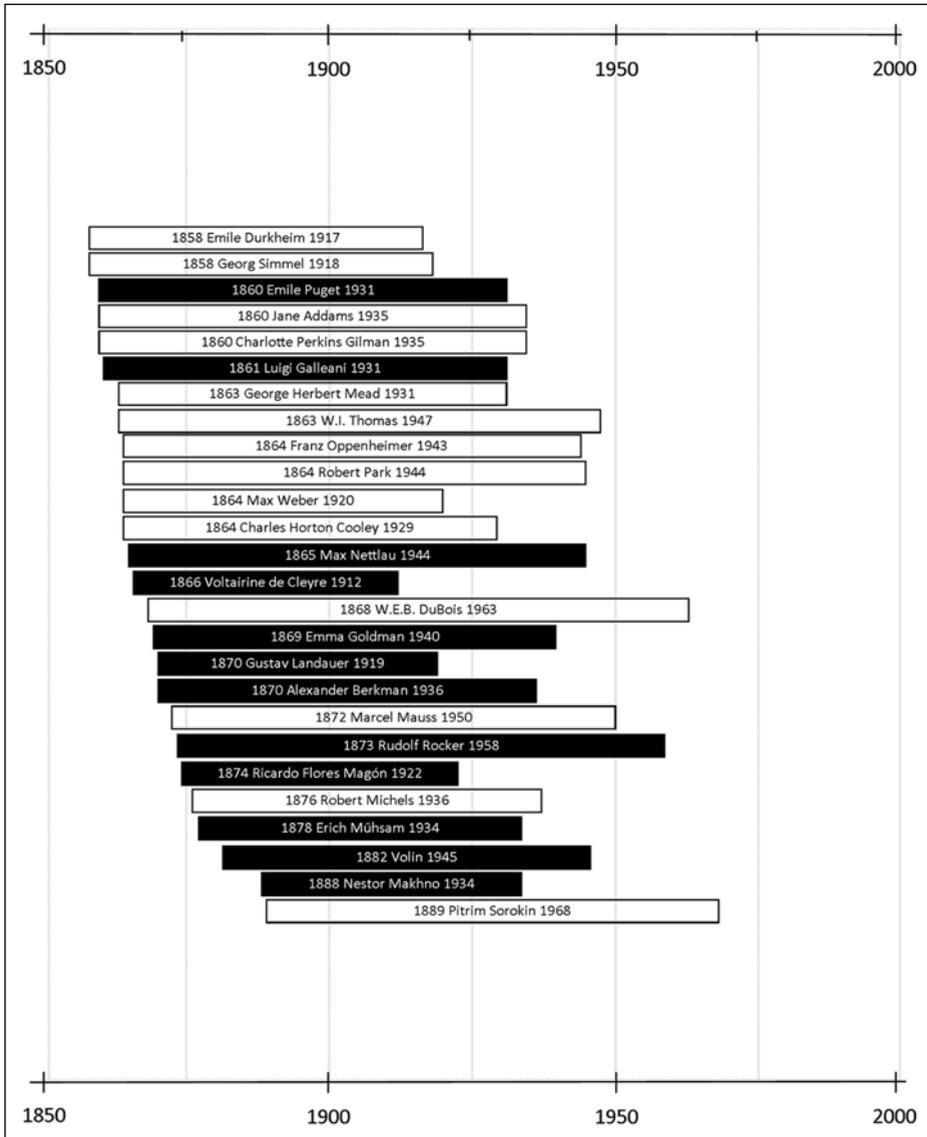


Figure I. (Continued)

It is not easy determining the crucial individuals to include in a study like this. ‘Reputable’ and vetted anarchist and sociology texts (especially those on theory and history) were used to generate a master list of potential individuals. If deemed important enough to be featured in the following widely read works, individuals were then potentially available for inclusion in this paper. Anarchists from Daniel Guerin’s *No Gods, No Masters* (2005), Paul Eltzbacher’s *The Great Anarchists* (2004), and Peter Marshall’s *Demanding the Impossible* (1992) were of key focus, as were sociologists discussed in Lewis Coser’s *Masters of Sociological Thought* (1971), George Ritzer’s *Sociological Theory* (2008), and Randall Collins’s *Four Sociological Traditions* (1994). The more important figures from each work were of particular note here, although not all were found to have connections – thus individuals who did not write about the other tradition or talk to each other

are not to be included in this paper. Also, a slight preference has been made for key American sociologists and for source materials available in English.

Two primary sources of history were crucial: whenever possible, the paper uses the original texts written by the theorists themselves, or secondary sources when necessary, particularly from authors who have digested the original thinker's ideas. Relevant sources were subjected to a loose content analysis to identify central themes. Two different types of analysis result from this process: (1) theorists discussing other individual theorists directly, including their thoughts about the others' lives or even their personal relationship with them (theoretical ideas are discussed in depth insofar as that discussion helps to explain the relationships between anarchists and sociologists), and (2) theorists discussing each other's ideas and theories, and sometimes even an appraisal of the validity of such ideas. This paper draws upon the perspectives of individual 19th-century figures and other commentators. Some readers may suspect a degree of selective handpicking has occurred within the vast literature available; while such error is conceivable, I have attempted to analyze any and all relationships between anarchists and sociologists, and have not consciously omitted inconvenient or contradictory patterns.

This study has some unavoidable methodological shortcomings. A central concern pertains to the sampling method. The majority of sociologists who read anarchist writings were likely not 'famous sociologists', but probably average, university-trained intellectuals, not particularly noteworthy today. Their history and thoughts are missed here. Likewise, for the far more numerous non-famous anarchists who surely encountered sociological ideas, it is impossible to know how sociological research influenced their thinking and behavior. This paper's focus upon the ideas and relations between the famous few of both traditions is a necessary but unfortunate consequence of these problems. Ideally, a 'people's history of anarchist-sociology', composed of ideas from rank-and-file anarchists and sociologists, could properly contextualize the impact and role of each upon the other, but much of this record is likely lost to the passage of time. An admirable approach to this end would be in line with the efforts of the Kate Sharpley Library, which attempts to highlight the histories of non-famous, yet dedicated anarchists.

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## Notes

1. There are also reasons why anarchism would still wish to stay clear of academia (DeLeon and Love, 2009; Ferrell, 2009; Martin, 1998). The classical anarchists' critiques of academia and sociology will be discussed later.
2. See Shantz and Williams (forthcoming) for a broad discussion of 'anarchist-sociology'.
3. This is not to claim that Marxism or feminism are locked in stasis and do not continue to develop. For example, Leonardo (2003) argues that Baudrillard's simulation theory helps to improve upon Marxist sociology.
4. Many well-known anarchists and sociologists who engaged with each other were born post-1900 and are thus excluded, somewhat arbitrarily, from this study. Ultimately, only so much can be inferred

from the written record. We do not have much idea what Durkheim's missing lecture notes said about Proudhon. We are left wondering what seasoned anarchist activists like Goldman, Malatesta, and Nestor Makhno thought of most sociologists, or even how many they encountered during their interesting lifetimes (and what their reactions were to such sociologists). Regrettably, the absence of time-travel technology prohibits the most immediate way to acquire such insights: to interview the very individuals who could have provided definitive answers to such questions.

5. Much could be written about anarchists' appraisal of Marx, as he was a central intellectual figure within the 19th-century socialist movements of which anarchists were a part. Yet, most of this appraisal focuses on Marx's economics (generally considered favorably by anarchists) and Marx's political prognostications (viewed rather unfavorably by anarchists), as opposed to the sociological Marx.
6. Proudhon, for his part, is considered by many (especially in France) to be a 'sociologist' of sorts. For example, Noland (1967) writes that Proudhon was engaged in formulating a 'science of society', and is consequently viewed as a precursor to Durkheim and contemporary French sociology.
7. Incidentally, Katz also claimed that sociologists still ignore the impact and contributions of Kropotkin's ideas on 'self-help' and mutual aid societies, referring to Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* as a 'historical sociology' book (Katz, 1981: 132).
8. George Ritzer included Sandefur and MacLean's (2007) entry on Goldman in his *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*: 'Emma Goldman's contributions to sociology are most evident in her political critiques of major social institutions: the family and marriage, religion, industrial capital, education, and most importantly, the state. Mentored by the most prominent anarchists of her time, she incorporated various strains of anarchy into a social movement reflective of a historical period of American radicalism often lost to historians. Rather than simply advocating anarchism as an intellectual exercise, she tested and expressed her theory through public speaking and her published works in the tradition of sociological "praxis." Goldman was concerned both with educating the public about anarchism as well as providing a critique of social problems that stemmed from society as it was structured.' (Sandefur and MacLean, 2007: 2007)
9. We can presume that Sumner ignored Tucker's demand.
10. Curiously, publishers were not as ideologically driven during this time, as LeBon's *The Psychology of Revolution* was published by Putnam, who also published Kropotkin's 1906 English edition of *The Conquest of Bread*, and even advertised LeBon's book in the back of Kropotkin's.
11. Still, Cooley thought the public panic over anarchism was rooted in an unrealistic and 'vague dread of anarchy', as people had no 'cause to fear' it (Cooley, 1909: 276).
12. Yet, Dina later left Pareto for a socialist, which could explain part of Pareto's emotional coldness towards anarchism (Powers, 1987).
13. DuBois was far more indebted to mainstream Marxist-Leninist influences than anarchism: he traveled to the Soviet Union in 1926, claimed 'I am a Bolshevik' (Lewis, 2000: 203), and later even met Mao Tse-tung. Still, he was 'familiar' with works critical of the Soviet Union, including Emma Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia* (Lewis, 2000: 194).
14. While Durkheim chose not to directly engage with Proudhon, the same was not true for numerous 20th-century French sociologists who followed in the Durkheimian tradition, including Pierre Ansart, Raymond Aron, Célestin Bouglé, and Georges Gurvitch. For example, Bouglé used Proudhon to bridge the critical gap between 'individualism' and 'sociology' (Humphreys, 1999).
15. Georges Gurvitch, sociology professor at the Sorbonne, was also a Russian exile with anarchist sympathies. Gurvitch and Sorokin also corresponded regularly (Balandier, 1975).
16. Curiously, Durkheim never comments on Kropotkin's work. Kropotkin gave passing reference to Durkheim (who was 16 years Kropotkin's junior) in his *Mutual Aid*, and others have noted a shared preoccupation for the two intellectuals, especially their concern with social solidarity. Gehlke comments that while the overlaps were limited, both insisted upon 'the inefficiency of the state to regular economic life; on the unfreedom of 'free' contracts between the weak and the strong; on the possibility of voluntary action as a basis for solidarity' (Gehlke, 1968: 178).
17. Of course, the same could be said for countless other traditions, ranging from liberalism and positivism to surrealism and postmodernism.

18. Others have recently pursued similar lines of inquiry, attempting to uncover a more progressive and advocacy-oriented interpretation of classical sociologists (e.g. Feagin and Vera, 2008).
19. Burawoy claims that universities are 'virtually the only refuge for [American] Marxists' (Burawoy, 1982: S7), and thus Marxism is incredibly academic in the US.
20. Consult any number of recent books on modern sociological theory (e.g. Ritzer, 2008) or the anarchist movement (e.g. el-Ojeili, 2012; Gordon, 2008; Shantz, 2010), and the advances will be readily apparent.
21. These more contemporary sociologists had a complex of relationships with anarchism: Blumer corresponded with Ben Reitman and bragged about knowing Emma Goldman, Daniel Bell spent some of his youth at an anarchist commune and met Rudolf Rocker, Mills once labeled himself a 'goddamn anarchist' (as did Goffman, although surprisingly without an expletive), and Bourdieu told an interviewer that anarchists were exactly the kind of people he was writing for.
22. A good example of this early indirection or imprecision is Harriet Martineau (best known as Auguste Comte's English-language translator, but also an early methodologist) and her review (Martineau, 1975 [1836]) of a William Godwin book (his *Thoughts on Man*), prior to a meaningful understanding of the term 'anarchism', or, for that matter, 'sociology'.

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