

people and groups who do not conform to white Protestant norms. It describes their struggle under the burdens that come as a result of the ways in which religion and law are adjudicated in the United States. The reviewer highly recommends the book to religion scholars in general, legal scholars, as well as graduate students in those fields.

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The Limits of Tolerance: Enlightenment Values and Religious Fanaticism. By Denis Lacorne. Translated by C. Jon Delogu and Robin Emlein. Columbia University Press, 2019. xiii + 280 pages. \$35.00 cloth; ebook available.

The concept of religious tolerance, now a virtue in Western democracies, has not always been considered a human value. What is more, the word *tolerance* has not itself been consistently understood, either in its meaning or in its application. Indeed, as a signifier, tolerance, which is derived from the Latin *tolerare* (to suffer or endure), has been burdened by centuries of pulling and stretching to fit changing political conditions. What princes and prelates past and present have deigned to tolerate politically and religiously among the populace seems to have been guided more so by convenience than by evolving views of justice and human dignity. In truth, writes the French political philosopher Denis Lacorne in his recent book, *The Limits of Tolerance*, “these values were not readily accepted. It was only through the persuasive and growing influence of philosophers . . . the efforts of political activists . . . and the acquiescence of modern rulers that [the currently-held view of tolerance] eventually prevailed” (2). Accordingly, in his book, Lacorne endeavors to trace the development, at times circuitous, of religious tolerance, both in thought and in practice. At the same time, he offers proscriptive advice aimed at political advisors seeking guidance in crafting equitable public policies.

In the first half of the book, Lacorne deftly traverses multiple terrains, wending his way through a number of English and French philosophical pamphlets from the eighteenth century and then over the diverse landscape of colonial New England (as largely reported by contemporaneous French writers), and then back two centuries to examine two cases of autocratic tolerance, namely the Ottoman empire and the republic of Venice. The thread that connects these examples, without reading back too much, seems to have been their interest in balancing the competing aspirations of ethnic and religious communities with their economic interests and desire for political self-governance—not to mention the level of trust (or mistrust) civil authorities seemed to possess in the goodness of human nature. As Lacorne puts it: “The

different regimes of tolerance examined in this book do not offer a single universal model of toleration. Each regime, in its own way, draws boundaries between the tolerable and the intolerable, the permitted and the prohibited, the religious and the political” (6).

Perhaps another way to say this is that, being forced eventually to recognize the essential right of individuals and communities to hold and practice religious beliefs at variance with the majority, there have been a variety of ways *tolerance* has been implemented by state authorities who have sought to keep the peace while extending greater liberties. Some regimes of tolerance imposed a heavy hand through legal restrictions and physical separation, while other regimes exercised restraint, recognizing that severe restrictions might breed resistance and rebellion. With or without official sanction, however, warfare as well as social and political upheavals can and did create limitations, or at times afforded circumstances under which authorities felt compelled to (re)introduce regimes of intolerance.

Lacorne begins with Locke and the writings that emerged in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Though contemporary philosophers had argued that the rights of conscience extended to those religions that support and are favored by a regime, Locke held that tolerance, in the case of the English, ought also to be granted to non-Christian religions, including the indigenous tribes and nations living in colonial America. Voltaire, the focus of chapter 2, praised the English move toward religious tolerance in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, most especially of William Penn, who himself did not impose uniformity of belief on his colony of Pennsylvania. Indeed, Voltaire famously praised the English policy of tolerance as a virtue by necessity, in which one religion brings the threat of despotism, two religions warfare, but thirty religions “live happily at peace with one another” (39). For the American example in chapter 3, Lacorne devotes attention to Abbé Guillaume Raynal’s work on the European settlement of the Indies. Raynal was enamored of the inherent diversity of this great experiment in self-rule of the governed and self-restraint of those who govern. Lacorne’s treatment of Raynal provides a fresher perspective on Penn and the Quakers, among others. An egregious error creeps in, however, when Lacorne incorrectly reports that “numerous ‘witches’ were condemned and burned alive . . . at the infamous Salem trials in 1690” (117). This did not happen in the North American colonies, though burnings certainly did occur in Europe and elsewhere.

Following the complementary examples in chapters 4 and 5 of tolerant Ottoman commercial *dhimmitude* and Venetian ghettoizing of the Jews and foreign merchants, Lacorne shifts the focus of his book from case studies to thematic descriptions and then, lastly, to proscriptive commentary and editorializing. He dedicates chapters 6 to 9 to the themes of blasphemy (primarily on Salman Rushdie and *The Satanic*

Verses), tolerance of minority religions (such as Mormons, the Amish, Jehovah's Witnesses, Peyote religion, etc.), and the controversies surrounding France's ban on public religious symbols (such as the hijab, burka, and crucifixes) as well as the U.S. court-ordered removal of religious monuments and other displays. In piling one example upon another, what Lacorne demonstrates is how truly intolerant secular authorities have become of religion and the religious—deceptively employing the language of tolerance to hide their systematic destruction of human rights. Curiously, rather than condemn these unbridled deprivations of religious freedom by authorities, Lacorne demurs: “Today the sovereign is the legislator, the only interpreter of the general will, the only authority capable of preventing the anarchy produced by unlimited religious freedom. The judge must therefore defer to the authority of the legislators” (151). The reason? “Not all forms of religious freedom are defensible, even if they are unassuming or peaceful” (151).

In these latter chapters, at least for this reviewer, Lacorne's book becomes a primary source, his views a window into the manner by which Europeans reckon with religious tolerance in ways that few Americans could conceive. For the European, rights do not inhere in the people but in the state. For the American, rights inhere in the people not the state. Despite their failure to live up to this ideal, Americans, in the main, remain convinced that all human rights—including religious freedoms—come to them by birth, not by the grace of some ruler or the vote of a legislative body. Was it not Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* who asserted that truth can stand on its own and that the powers of government extend only to acts that injure another? Thus quoting Jefferson to close: “But it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.”

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The Mystical Geography of Quebec: Catholic Schisms and New Religious Movements. Edited by Susan J. Palmer, Martin Geoffroy, Paul L. Gareau. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. xiii + 274 pages. €93.59 cloth; ebook available.

Quebec underwent a seismic shift in the 1960s that ruptured the close relationship between Catholic Church and state. It did not mean that religion—or even Catholicism—disappeared, but it did open space for an influx of new religious ideas and groups. As a window onto this process, *The Mystical Geography of Quebec* provides an important addition to studies of post-1960s new religious movements in North America. It