

showing the difficulty to clear a space for chance in a life haunted by uncertainty.

The changing use of metaphors provides telling clues about the timing of the probabilistic shift. If Benner in 1876 assimilated price cycles to fully predictable astronomic phenomena, in 1901 the director of the Weather Department, Willis L. Moore, drew a more modest parallel between meteorology and medicine, and in 1914 Evangeline Adams could claim that her role as an astrologer was similar to that of the weather forecaster in providing opportunities, and not certainties, to her customers.

The book stimulates further reflections on the emergence of a calculative society. In historical perspective, in fact, “ostensibly objective methods of calculating the future” were “shaped by, and indeed perpetuat[ed], the ideologies, politics, and cultural ideals of their times” (p. 259). As a consequence, these methods expose their users to unexpected surprises, as the author shows in many examples, from the blizzard that hit New York City in March 1888 to the results of the 2016 presidential election.

Giovanni Favero is professor of business history at the Università Ca' Foscari Venezia. His works include a book on Benetton (2005) and articles in Enterprise and Society (2011), Business History (2017), and Accounting History (2017).

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All In: The Spread of Gambling in Twentieth-Century United States. Edited by Jonathan D. Cohen and David G. Schwartz. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2018. xii + 284 pp. Tables, notes, index. Paper, \$34.95. ISBN: 978-1-943859-60-3.

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Reviewed by Thomas R. Pegram

In the early years of the twentieth century, legal gambling in the United States, including horse racing, was under attack from antivice reformers and government regulators. For the remainder of the twentieth century, beginning with the 1931 legalization of gambling in Nevada, legalized gaming grew to become part of the structure of American entertainment, state finance, and community networks, as well as a fixture in the dreams and obsessions of individual Americans. Blunted at midcentury by concerns over organized crime and gambling raised by Estes Kefauver's Senate investigation of 1950 to 1952 and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in 1961, legal gambling spread and flourished thereafter.

State lotteries multiplied in the 1960s and 1970s, and casino gambling outside Nevada rapidly expanded in the 1970s and 1980s.

All In is a collection of ten essays that assembles scholars from history, English, American studies, and communications to investigate particular aspects of gaming institutions (casino gambling, lotteries, and charitable gambling), as well as the social and cultural impact of gambling on a diverse set of Americans. The collection offers more breadth than depth in its analysis of the proliferation of gambling in the twentieth century. Topics range from gambling and police corruption in New York City to promotional efforts by the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce and casino interests; from the dilemma of evangelical Christian casino workers to threats to Ojibwe cultural cohesion posed by reservation casinos; from bingo and cultural influences in Conservative Jewish synagogues to a California mass murderer's fixation on the lottery as the key to his rightful acquisition of wealth and status. A diverse combination of methodologies and sources also distinguish the volume.

Business historians will profit the most from the chapters written by the volume's coeditors, Jonathan D. Cohen and David G. Schwartz. Cohen offers an enlightening study of the New Jersey state lottery as the 1969 product of antitax sentiment in the Garden State. Beset by high property taxes and unwilling to support income or sales taxes that would sustain public services, proponents of a lottery argued that the gambling initiative would produce sufficient revenue on its own to support state government. Cohen argues that an unrealistic faith in the lottery as a replacement for taxes, which he calls "fiscal alchemy," blinded many state residents to the limitations of state funding by gambling (p. 118). New Jersey's lottery, which became a model for other states, produced only 2.5 percent of state revenue in its first six years of operation. Grumbling citizens attributed the meager contributions of the lottery to corruption or mismanagement by state officials, refusing to surrender their belief that gambling on its own could fund state government. Schwartz explains the expansion of casino gambling by identifying a change in the structure of casino ownership in the 1960s. License requirements in the Nevada casino industry prevented publicly traded companies from acquiring casinos. By 1969, changes in the law allowed publicly owned corporations to enter the business. This new corporate ownership looked to expand and develop the industry. In 1976, casino gambling spread to New Jersey. The appeal of jobs and revenue influenced state and tribal authorities to attract casinos to their jurisdictions. Thus, industry reorganization contributed to the national expansion of casino gaming.

As a historian and director of the Center for Gaming Research at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Schwartz emphasizes the historical contingency of the development of legalized gambling in the twentieth century and its “temporal” rather than permanent status in American culture (p. 12). Nevertheless, despite the diversity of topics in the volume, one can identify unifying themes. For the first half of the century, ambiguity marked the relationship between gambling and institutions from government to the casino industry itself. Matthew Vaz argues that attempts to enforce laws against illegal gambling in New York City furthered police corruption until, in the 1970s, enforcement slackened and police corruption diminished. Seth Tannenbaum finds that baseball owners before and after the Black Sox scandal made public efforts to control professional gamblers in ballparks, but not to the extent that crackdowns would alienate casual bettors among ordinary fans. Larry Gragg reveals that the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce mostly ignored gambling as it sought to promote the desert city as a family recreation destination in the 1950s. Even late into the century, according to Jessalyn Strauss, casinos issued press releases emphasizing entertainment, celebrities, and spectacular events to legitimize their gambling operations.

Several chapters also demonstrate that as legalized gaming spread, gambling was normalized among groups that ordinarily would condemn games of chance. Michelle Robinson documents cooperation between casino interests and evangelical Christians to sponsor a Las Vegas Billy Graham Crusade in 1978. Graham’s high-profile truce with gambling corporations reinforced the daily compromises made by evangelical casino workers. A more complicated relationship developed between Conservative Jewish synagogues and sponsorship of bingo games. Dan Judson points out that fundraising through gambling drew on the growing popularity of bingo and the ambiguous attitude toward gambling in Jewish tradition. On the other hand, periodic Conservative Jewish opposition to synagogue-sponsored bingo borrowed more from nearby cultural Protestant hostility to gambling (and Catholic bingo) than from Jewish tradition and commentary.

Finally, evidence from distinctive sources indicates that unrealistic expectations for gambling revenue akin to Cohen’s “fiscal alchemy” also provoked trouble for Native Americans and alienated young white men. Seema Kurup uses Louis Erdrich’s novel *The Bingo Palace* to suggest that Indian gaming undermined cultural cohesion on reservations. In the volume’s most unorthodox chapter, Daniel Ante-Contreras frames Isla Vista killer Elliot Rodger’s bizarre expectation that he would win the lottery as emblematic of a neoliberal desire for unearned social mobility afflicting alienated unsuccessful white men. For the internally

raging “precariat,” the lottery was not entertainment but rather a pathway to racially and culturally appropriate success (p. 248).

This collection of essays is interesting but uneven. Historians will find enough useful material, however, to justify consulting this sampler of recent gambling research.

Thomas R. Pegram is professor of history at Loyola University Maryland. He is the author of One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s (2011), Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933 (1998), and Partisans and Progressives: Private Interest and Public Policy in Illinois, 1870–1922 (1992).

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Economy and Culture in North-East England, 1500–1800. *Edited by Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie.* Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2018. xxii + 293 pp. Maps, figures, tables, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$115.00. ISBN: 978-1-78327-183-2.

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Reviewed by Nancy Locklin

This collection of essays explores the economy and culture of North East England, a region traditionally studied for its connection to coal and to the creation of an exploited working class during industrialization. But, as the contributors to this volume demonstrate, the real story is so much richer than the history of coal alone. Building off of an earlier work in the North East England History Institute’s “Regions and Regionalism in History” series, the authors in this book move beyond questions of regional identity to explore the economic culture more deeply. A case study of a distinct region allows us to study that region from multiple perspectives and provides a more thorough understanding of people’s lives and the political, economic, and social contexts that shaped their choices at a particular point in time.

In the introduction, editors Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie outline the organization of the essays: the first four chapters deal with aspects of agriculture, chapters 5 through 8 investigate a range of trade practices and the demographic changes that occurred alongside, and the last two chapters track changes in ideas and power structures. Of these three categories, only the middle group of essays, concerning trade and geographic mobility, are clearly linked. The other two categories are less clear. The use of the term “agriculture” to include lead mining and urban life in the first group of essays is curious, while the final chapters—one on print culture and the other on political