The Bingo Queens of Oneida: How Two Moms Started Tribal Gaming in Wisconsin

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enjoyed the lilac’s fragrant blossoms as she brought purpose and beauty to her prairie homestead, of which the lilac is all that remains.

Hildebrand’s work reflects his seasoned skills as a writer, but he tells us that writing skills are learned more through insight than technique. Reading Hildebrand’s work will get you thinking about your own life. That is what he intends. He writes for an audience not to entertain, but to encourage. As he tells his stories, he gives voice to all of us who have ever sat by a small fire on a summer night and listened to the crickets creak while we watched the faces of our family members. As we look up at the moon, we try to find the words to tell them how much they mean to us. Hildebrand gives us the words. He conveys the honest emotions that are the heart of things.


Reviewer Kathleen Ratteree is an independent consultant for the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin. She holds an M.S. in anthropology and a masters of public health from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has written an article series on blood quantum and identity for the tribal newspaper, Kalihwisaks. She lives in Denmark, Wisconsin.

The first Oneida bingo game in 1976 grossed $85. It was held in the first Indian bingo hall in Wisconsin and one of the first in the United States. Today, the Oneida casino, located just outside Green Bay, is a multimillion-dollar industry that generates almost 50 percent of total tribal revenue. Before Foxwoods and Potawatomi Casino, several enterprising tribes got their start in the gaming industry by opening card rooms and bingo parlors. In The Bingo Queens of Oneida, Mike Hoeft tracks the progression of Oneida gaming from a small-stakes bingo game to help pay the civic center’s light bill to a vital enterprise that finances health care, education, social services, and capital improvements on the reservation. For Hoeft, “Oneida bingo was born of many mothers” (28), and the book tells the story of how two particularly determined Oneida women, Sandra (Ninham) Brehmer and Alma Webster, created the tribe’s first major source of revenue on a reservation where about half the population lived in poverty.

Hoeft focuses specifically on Oneida gaming. However, the story mirrors struggles elsewhere in Indian Country. “Indian gaming” is a recent phenomenon that has rapidly developed in unanticipated ways. It has generated complex legal issues ranging from constitutional clashes over state and federal powers to rivalries within and between
tribes and states. Hoeft, a seasoned Green Bay journalist, has crafted a volume to help readers understand the nuances of the controversial terrain of Indian gaming. The clean, straightforward writing is supported by meticulous research and abundant interviews. Hoeft, a non-Native, is the son-in-law of Brehmer, one of the “Bingo Queens.” Although Hoeft’s familial connections are not necessary to tell the story, they do add richness to his descriptions of community dynamics and tribal politics. The result is a rare glimpse into contemporary American Indian life.

Although Hoeft focuses on bingo’s heyday between 1975 and 1985, when much of the tribe’s modern infrastructure was laid, he casts a wider net, situating the Oneida story in larger national politics, such as the Oneida role in the Revolutionary War, the push from their homelands in the early nineteenth century, and federal legislation such as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the termination era of the 1950s, and recent efforts to promote tribal sovereignty. The women who operated the early games were not trying to make a political statement, however; rather, they were attempting to support their families. In 1976 the tribe had no tax base and little revenue. Bingo provided employment and gave Oneidas a reason to remain on or return to the reservation.

Hoeft’s admiration for these enterprising women is evident throughout the volume. He does detail the lives of male tribal leaders who worked alongside them, but he emphasizes the roles of power, status, and responsibility that women fulfilled. He spends a great deal of time examining the gender dynamics in traditional matriarchal/matrilineral societies such as Oneida. In such societies, women have maintained the role of providers in the community. If someone needs help, “women get together and get it done” (143). One interviewee used the powerful cultural metaphor of corn to explain women’s role in the emergence of bingo. The power of women came through their control of the agricultural system. Women were traditionally in charge of cultivating and gathering corn to feed everyone. “Bingo was like a big corn crop . . . it helped sustain us” (143).

Relying so heavily on this particular cash crop, however, is worrisome for many, both Native and non-Native. Readers must judge for themselves whether Indian gaming is “a tool that strengthens tribal culture or hastens its end” (xx). Although Hoeft does not offer predictions for the future, he is sympathetic in his handling of Oneida gaming. He argues that, at least in its inception, the benefits of gaming far outweighed the drawbacks; it bonded Oneidas together and strengthened connections to the non-Native communities of Green Bay and beyond. The ultimate message of the book is one of hope, resistance, and survival:
the Oneida, like many other Native peoples, have shown the ability to thrive in new environments, and they will carry that resourcefulness into the twenty-first century.


Reviewer Frank Durham is associate professor in the University of Iowa’s School of Journalism and Mass Communication. His research and writing have focused on critical analyses of media framing processes, including news coverage of the failed attempt to frame the cause of the crash of TWA Flight 800 in July 1996.

When United Airlines Flight 232 made an emergency crash landing at the Sioux City, Iowa, airport, on July 19, 1989, the DC-10 had lost its steering when its tail engine exploded. En route from Denver to Chicago, it had sustained irreparable damage to its hydraulic steering system, making a crash inevitable. In heroic fashion, the plane’s pilot, Alfred C. Haynes, and a passenger who was a licensed DC-10 instructor muscled the plane down, using the throttle to control the rudderless plane. Amazingly, 185 of the 296 people on board survived the massive, fiery crash.

The challenge for author Laurence Gonzales in telling this tale of heroism, loss, and survival was how to narrate such a traumatic event that lasted such a brief time. He settled on an organizing device that works quite well by alternating eyewitness accounts of the moments leading up to, during, and after the horrific crash with a more linear analysis of the forensic analysis of the plane’s mechanical failure. An effect of this two-part approach—which carries through nearly each of the book’s 24 chapters—is to take the reader to the center of the trauma over and over again in the words of survivors, only to relieve the stress of those vivid accounts with discussions of how and why the titanium in the lost engine failed and why the McDonnell-Douglas design for the DC-10 was flawed.

The effect of this rhythm is to produce a story that is at once informative and compelling without ever resorting to melodrama. In the personally focused vignettes of life on the doomed plane, we are given a sense that every witness’s account is being heard and that every victim’s last moments are being accounted for in a dignified and meaningful way. In this mix, the science of metallurgy and engineering is explained in plain language, but in a way that unwinds the detective work needed to explain the miniscule but fatal flaw that led to this massive plane’s destruction. Achieving a tale of this scope and depth in such readable