

The Passamaquoddis and Penobscots of New England filed claims in the 1970s in federal court for the return of land—including two-thirds of the state of Maine—that they believed had been illegally taken from them. The tribes argued that various treaties ceding the land had never been approved by Congress and thus were in violation of the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790. The Supreme Court eventually ruled in favor of the tribes, invalidating the treaties in question, and Congress endorsed a settlement in 1980 providing them with more than \$80 million in compensation. The Passamaquoddis wisely used their newfound wealth to purchase land, invest in low-risk securities, and acquire a variety of commercial enterprises. The tribe bought the third largest blueberry farm in Maine and made a handsome profit selling high-quality berries to such buyers as Quaker Oats cereal and Häagen-Dazs ice cream. It also mastered the art of the leveraged buyout, investing \$2 million of tribal funds to acquire the state's only cement factory, an asset worth more than \$25 million.

Other tribes demonstrated a similar degree of business acumen and financial sophistication. They began to capitalize on their advantages in the marketplace: an abundant labor pool, loan guarantees, tax exemption, and the growing need of federal contractors to work with minority businesses. The Mississippi band of Choctaws used federal grants and a federally guaranteed loan to establish Chahtha Enterprises in 1978. This tribally owned corporation then formed a joint venture with a Chicago electronics firm and began manufacturing speakers for Chrysler automobiles. Chahtha Enterprises also built and operated a finishing plant for greeting cards, an assembly plant for the making of wire harnesses (used in the electrical systems of cars and trucks), and a 120-bed nursing home. The benefits of economic development were soon apparent. Income levels, housing, education, and health standards among the Choctaws improved, while rates of unemployment, alcoholism, and suicide declined.

The Ak-Chin Community of Tohono O'odhams and Pimas in Arizona experienced similar success with a joint venture in high-tech agribusiness. In 1983 the community negotiated an agreement with the Central Arizona Project for sufficient supplies of water to reclaim thousands of acres of desert land. Using tractors guided by laser beams, the community cultivated high-grade pima cotton to sell to the makers of luxurious bath towels and Brooks Brothers shirts. With farm income at \$2 million a year by 1987 and employment at 97 percent, the Tohono O'odhams and Pimas were proud of their achievement.

"A farming venture of our magnitude," boasted the community newspaper, "will take us into the economic mainstream of the nation." Likewise, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon achieved remarkable success with a variety of tribally owned enterprises. The Confederated Tribes—Wascos, Warm Springs, and Paiutes—owned and operated their own forest products company, hydroelectric plant, and resort complex. In 1987 the tribes also began assembling clothing and footwear for the Oregon-based Nike and Patagonia corporations. By 1990 the various tribal enterprises were generating \$80 million in annual revenue and had become the largest employer in central Oregon.

Perhaps the most visible evidence of the new entrepreneurial spirit among Native Americans was their successful development of tourism. Enticing tourists to Indian country became a big business for many tribes, often in partnership with private non-Indian concerns and aided by government grants or federally guaranteed loans. Some tourist-oriented enterprises were successful, while others languished as conflicts developed with reservation residents who opposed the opening of their homelands to outsiders.

The variety of tourist enterprises was truly remarkable. The eastern band of Cherokees in North Carolina developed a successful charterbus company to transport tourists into the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. The Mesquero Apaches of New Mexico operated a 230-room luxury retreat called the Inn of the Mountain Gods. In Arizona, the Pimas opened a racetrack along the Gila River, and the White Mountain Apaches developed the state's largest ski resort. The Swinomish people of Washington state built an 800-slip marina and a \$15-million resort complex on Padilla Bay. And Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts of the Far North formed the Alaska Native Tourism Council, offering dozens of expeditions into the interior and encouraging visitors with the slogan "Alaska's Diverse Native Peoples—Visit Them, for a Few Hours or a Few Days."

Typical of the many Native American tourist facilities was the Kahn-Nee-Tla Lodge developed by the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon. Aided by a low-interest loan from the federal government's Economic Development Agency, the tribes invested \$750,000 of their own funds to build the 139-room lodge in the late 1960s. The completed facility offered visitors a wide range of activities and amenities, including an eighteen-hole golf course, horseback riding, fishing, and swimming in a pool fed by the reservation's



famed warm springs. The resort earned a five-star rating but had difficulty in achieving a high occupancy rate. Kah-Nec-Ta also stimulated intertribal rivalries on the Warm Springs reservation. The Paiutes charged the Wascos with being more interested in promoting tourism than in preserving tribal values. Tourism was speeding assimilation, the Paiutes complained, and undermining traditional culture.

Some of the greatest successes in tourism were in the American Southwest amidst the nation's most spectacular scenic landscape. The Huapais of Arizona brought visitors to their reservation home on the breathtaking edge of the Grand Canyon and guided hunters on expeditions in pursuit of the desert big horn sheep, charging \$18,000 for each sheep bagged. The Navajo tribal government enthusiastically promoted tourism, encouraging visitors to come and see such red-rock wonders on the reservation as Monument Valley and Shiprock. The Navajos developed at Chinle a thriving restaurant and hotel complex, the Thunderbird Lodge, for visitors attracted to the ancient ruins and serene beauty of nearby Canyon de Chelly. Beginning in the late 1940s, the Navajos also hosted the nation's largest annual Native American fair. By the mid-1990s, the fair was attracting 150,000 visitors each fall to watch traditional Navajo dancing, attend the all-Indian rodeo, and sample the wares of local weavers and other craftspeople.

The tribal council of the Hopis encouraged tourism by developing the Hopi Cultural Center on Second Mesa, complete with an outstanding museum, comfortable motel, and attractive restaurant. Unfortunately, some visitors abused the Hopis' hospitality. Traditionalists were especially upset by the disrespectful behavior of white visitors who came to witness ceremonial dances. In the summer of 1971, the Snake and Antelope priests of the village of Mishongpovi barred all visitors from witnessing the sacred Snake Ceremony. The following year, the Snake and Antelope Societies in Shongopovi agreed to allow visitors to attend the ceremony, but the village leaders wished to bar them. The controversy attracted the interest of members of the American Indian Movement who appeared at the Shongopovi Snake Ceremony in August 1972 and tried to expel all white visitors from the village.

The challenge for many Native Americans was to maintain a balance between the commercial development of tourism and the preservation of tribal culture. The Iroquois in rural upstate New York generally were not interested in promoting their communities as tourist attractions, yet they welcomed visitors to various tribal museums and cul-

tural centers. The Mohawks in Akwesasne, also known as the town of St. Regis, operated a museum and gift shop that offered tourists an array of traditional black-ash splint baskets and hickory lacrosse sticks. Members of the Hupa tribe in northern California attempted to encourage tourism without commercializing their heritage. The tribe owned the Tsewenaldin Inn, a motel complete with heated pool and spa, and operated a tribal museum displaying items of traditional culture. Hupa guides escorted visitors on raft trips along the Trinity River, stopping at ancient village sites and explaining how the people there once lived. Visitors even were invited to attend the biennial White Deerskin Dance, but were warned not to take photographs, drink alcohol, or engage in loud or boisterous behavior. "When you go to the dance, it's like going to your church," explained Hupa guide Lyle Marshall. "In other words, don't behave like tourists."

As the twentieth century came to a close, the fastest growing and most contentious sector in the Native American economy was legalized gambling. The development of gaming facilities on Indian reservations was just one part of the largest expansion of commercial gambling in U.S. history. By the early 1990s, state-run lotteries were operating in more than three dozen states, whereas thirty years earlier there had been none. State governments discovered that lotteries and other forms of gambling were a relatively painless way to fill depleted coffers without raising taxes. Americans in 1992 spent \$330 billion on gambling, \$130 billion more than what they spent on groceries. The Indian share of this gambling boom was relatively small—less than 5 percent—but its impact on the Native American economy was tremendous.

Gambling in various forms had been a part of Native cultures for thousands of years, but the modern development of commercial gambling began in 1979 when the Seminole tribe in Florida opened a bingo hall. The Seminoles offered prizes of \$10,000 or more in defiance of a state law that limited bingo jackpots to \$100. When the state attorney general attempted to shut down the Seminoles' bingo hall, the tribe sued in federal court and won. The Seminoles soon opened four new bingo parlors, with seating for 10,000 players, and began netting more than \$10 million a year. The next important victory came in California when state authorities tried to close a high-stakes bingo hall operated by the Cabazon band of the Mission Indians. The ensuing legal battle was resolved in 1987 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that California could not regulate gambling on the Cabazon