

Power Politics and the Pequot

The richest Indians in America

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At the top of the prosperous “casino tribe” list is the Mashantucket Pequot, the Fox People, or Western Pequot, who represent a formidable power in Indian Country politics, often referred to as the richest Indians in America.

Their Tribal Nation is not only alive and doing well in Connecticut, but a success story others can only hope to emulate. But even now, many of their closest neighbors do not know Pequot history. And it seems their success antagonizes these neighbors so much that tribal sovereignty and federal recognition are under attack – with neighboring tribes bearing the blows. The hostility can be seen in recent news concerning the petitions to federally recognize the Eastern Pequot and Schaghticoke, petitions drafted over 20 years ago, now stalled in court appeal. As tribal histories are resuscitated, far too many New Englanders are reluctant to believe them or acknowledge their survival against all odds.

This paper will offer a brief account of some activities when I began work there as Pequot Times editor in 1999. From my view, few tribal members control their success. And they have managed their casino investment and meteoric rise remarkably well, no longer an isolated Indiantown in rural Connecticut.

To recap history and briefly answer the question - who are the Pequot, before 1614 and first recorded contact with the Dutch, it is guess-timated there were 13,000.¹

Possibly 4,000 were killed by epidemic in 1633-34. After a fiery massacre at the Mystic Fort on May 26, 1637, the Pequot were the first to be terminated (or exterminated) in American history. Prior to and during the Pequot War, it’s estimated there were 3,000.² It is said only seven survived the inferno and reports vary that 300 – 800 were killed in the fire or were shot trying to escape.³

The Treaty of Hartford in September 1638 ended the first full-scale Colonial War against the Pequot. Their numbers diminished to 1,000 after colonial authorities forbid the use of their tribal name and their language, putting a bounty on their heads.⁴ Militia

hunted and killed men and boys 14 years or older. Those who fled to Mohawk territory were killed. Captured Pequot hoped for humane treatment, in accordance to Indian customs, when eighty were placed with Uncas, leader of the Mohegan tribe, and twenty went to Ninigret of the Eastern Niantic tribe. Eighty were placed under the Narragansett tribe who aided Uncas and the English in the massacre in Mystic. But Massachusetts militia captured many who were sold as slaves in the Caribbean, West Indies and Bermuda. ⁵ As a result, an inter-tribal, intermarried, multiracial community was about to emerge, a strange new reality for the Pequot lucky to survive 17th Century New England. Some married other Indians, free Blacks and Euro-Americans.

By 1667, the colony established the reservation in Maushantuxet at the pleading of sachem Cassacinamon II. ⁶ In 1762, according to a Groton census, 30 families, 136 Pequot Indians, were living in wetu wigwams or frame houses there. ⁷ A census in 1774 identifies 151 tribal members living there. By the 1780s, there were about a dozen farmsteads, growing vegetables, raising a few pigs. Women found unpleasant work as servants, some indentured in white households. Men tried work as farm hands or joined whaling ships. By 1805, 30 – 40 members were living on the reservation. By 1855, the state auctioned off even more land. ⁸

If historians didn't write factually or favorably about the Pequot tribe and what happened to them after first contact, then how can we trust history to write factually or favorably about their survival as families, or more to the point, how they came to be in Mashantucket today. History looked away when Pequot men disappeared – working as farm hands and given alcohol instead of a paycheck, and then drowned in the Long Island Sound; or when a Pequot woman had her front teeth knocked out for drinking out of a water fountain in Norwich, Connecticut. Or when a Pequot mother and father returned home to find that their children were taken, gone. In this reality, the Pequot escaped this oppression by moving off the reservation. Some wore the blanket of Christianity to save themselves. ⁹

By the 1940s, only one family remained on the rocky reservation. Elizabeth George-Plouffe and her half-sister Martha Langevin-Ellal kept a homestead there, described as a decrepit wood cabin. They carried rifles and posted no trespassing signs. John George was recognized as their spokesman and designated chief, though Elizabeth

was the actual tribal leader. Amos George became Tribal leader after Elizabeth died in 1973. ¹⁰

In 1974 the tribe adopted a constitution and in 1975 Elizabeth's grandson, Richard A. "Skip" Hayward, was elected president replacing Amos George. Hayward had a vision to regain their lands, and build an economy on the reservation. They chose the census of 1900 and 1910 to build their rolls. ¹¹ The tribe's enrollment now is over 800 members, with about half under age 18.

Foxwoods grew from a bingo hall in 1986 to what is now the largest and most profitable casino resort in the world that collects millions of dollars each month from 7,400 slot machines and 390 table games, and from bingo. Their operation is open 365 days per year, 24 hours a day. At one time they employed 17,000 people. In January 2005, the tribe reported nearly \$2 billion was paid to the state of Connecticut in a revenue sharing agreement that contributes a 25 percent share of its net slot revenues for a compact to operate Foxwoods. The tribe started paying this tribute in 1993. Connecticut decides where the money is spent. ¹²

Two of the most powerful members not currently serving on Tribal Council are John Guevremont and Pedro Johnson, who are known supporters of the Republican Party and who lobby and watch politics from their Public Affairs offices in Washington, D.C and Hartford, Connecticut. ¹³ Their tastefully decorated offices host political fundraisers and receptions.

A decorated Marine Corp officer and mechanical engineer, John Guevremont was learning the ropes as assistant tribal manger in 1995; and by 1999 was named to head up the new National Governmental Affairs office in Wash. DC, reporting directly to Tribal Councilor Michael Thomas. John is on the National Indian Gaming Association board of directors.

Five years later, in 2003, Tribal Council created a new title of Chief Operating Officer for John Guevremont, so that John would feel more comfortable sitting at the corporate roundtable with other CEOs or COOs. (The former title was Chief of Staff.) His office and position held considerable power in that it completely restructured tribal government departments, closing entire divisions, laying off 50+ people, saving the tribe

millions of dollars while another expansion was underway at Foxwoods. Tribal Council didn't hand out the pink slips, Guevremont did.

There were 37 American Indian delegates, including Guevremont, at the GOP convention in New York City in 2004 but other well-known tribal leaders were invited to attend the parties, including Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Chairman Michael Thomas.¹⁴

Perhaps at Guevremont's suggestion or Pedro Johnson's direction, Mashantucket contributed to the George W. Bush re-election campaign and to the Republican Party in 2004. An estimated \$64 million was donated to the Republican Party's New York City Host Committee. The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation was the only tribe to donate among those who gave \$2,500 to \$5 million. The tribe's donation was not made public.¹⁵

To be fair, corporations, wealthy individuals and tribes donated \$39 million for the Democratic Convention held in Boston, MA in 2004, and it's certain the Mashantucket Pequot contributed a fair amount to them, as well.

John Guevremont was the first Connecticut Indian to be a state delegate when he attended the GOP convention in 2000. He actually likes to write about his political views. He encouraged other tribes to vote for Republican candidate George W. Bush and others. John published his opinions in his tribes' newspaper, Pequot Times in December, 2002 and in January 2003.¹⁶ John is also a columnist for Indian Country Today.¹⁷

John Guevremont is married, the father of five, and a licensed pilot who flies himself to and from Washington D.C. He the grandson of Alice Brend, one of the last traditional basketmakers born on the reservation in 1905; Alice is Elizabeth George's half-sister.¹⁸

Pedro "Silver Wolf" Johnson, a man in his early 60s, is chairman of the new Foxwoods Development Corporation board of directors, while he remains the Executive Director of Public Affairs, a job he accepted in March 2003.¹⁹ Public Affairs controls where monies are spent, whether it be for charity, to other tribes, or to local or state causes or to re-elections. For nine years, Pedro served as Tribal Council Treasurer or Secretary, and he retired from Tribal Council in 2003.

In 2004, the Mashantucket Pequot tribe incorporated Foxwoods Development Corporation (FDC) to pursue inter-tribal, out-of-state deals. These deals are part of a growing network between successful gaming tribes and relative newcomers.²⁰

In its first venture the Pequots joined the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes of Maine in a bid for a racino at Bangor's harness racetrack. Maine voters approved slot machines but they rejected the Two Tribes Casino proposal. When the original investor ran into financial trouble, the Maine tribes teamed with the Pequot to apply for the project, but they were unable to get the state to reopen the bidding.

In January 2005, a second deal was announced. The Picayune (*pick-ee-yune*) Rancheria of Chukchansi (*chuck-chan-see*) Indians in California has approved a consulting agreement with FDC to evaluate and improve its gaming operations. The contract will run for six months and is renewable. ²¹ The Chukchansi agreement is the first for Foxwoods Development, although it is working on several other deals.

Based in St. Louis, Missouri because of its central location in the U.S., Gary Armentrout has been appointed Chief Development Officer of the Foxwoods Development Corporation.

A third deal was announced in April 2005, with the San Juan Southern Paiute in Arizona, who are preparing to take land into trust and begin casino development. A non-tribal co-venture project in Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania hopes to secure one of five free-standing slot operation licenses recently authorized by the state of Pennsylvania. Other FDC opportunities in Oklahoma and Idaho are also underway.

Pedro Johnson, a tribal elder, is married and the father of two sons. He has five brothers and three sisters. Pedro's sister is the tribe's Medicine Woman, Spiritual Leader Shirley "Laughing Woman" Patrick, and his brother is War Chief Stan Harris Jr. Pedro was raised on a farm in Willimantic, Connecticut, not far from Mashantucket. Pedro has a horse ranch and does not live on the reservation.

The Pequot of today are not so different from their ancestors. In fact, many western Pequot share the same blood and ancestry as the Eastern and Western Niantic, Eastern Pequot, Narragansett, and Mohegan tribes. The perception that few Pequot survived after the Pequot War in 1637, should be dispelled by now, since we know in the next 300 years many were forced to relocate for work, either moving to small Indian settlements, or to Providence, Hartford, Boston and New York City. The tribe was federally recognized in October 1983 during President Ronald Reagan's administration

and tribal members on the rolls are descended from twelve core families from the 1900 and 1910 census.

Marge Bruchac, an Abenaki tribal member and scholar, writes, “Sadly, American Indian people in New England in the 20th century, especially northeastern Algonkian Indians, were faced by social issues that made it dangerous to identify as Indian. Having persisted despite centuries of colonial settlement, plagues, wars, and prejudice, they often faced the scorn and disapproval of white neighbors who expected all Indians to have been removed to reservations. By 1910, the federal government, the Ku Klux Klan, white vigilantes, and eugenicists were actively hunting Indians in order to forcibly remove them to reservations, or, if that failed, to sterilize or kill them. Any Indians who could be identified as "full-blood," (a concept that, incidentally, was invented by the US government, NOT by Native people) were in danger of being targeted for removal. Many Native people chose to keep a low profile, marry across ethnic and racial lines, or move to Canada, away from their traditional homelands, so that their children could survive.”²²

One example, Kenny Reels, Mashantucket Pequot tribal chairman from 1999 - 2003, was raised in a poor neighborhood in South Kingstown, Rhode Island and claims Narragansett as well as western Pequot ancestry. As chairman of the tribe, Kenny Reels challenged Jeff Benedict’s book, *Without Reservation*, providing his own ancestral chart of George family descendents. Reels took other tribal council members, including Pedro Johnson, on a local cable television access show. Reels talked openly about where he was raised and pointed out factual errors in Benedict’s book and actually laughed at the idea that many of today’s Pequot are imposters.

Reels also dedicated one special edition of the Pequot Times, September 16, 2002, to discuss tribal identity, challenging Benedict’s allegations in print, responding strongly and publicly for the first time in their own newspaper.

On a lighter note, Kenny tells a story about having just one television in a house occupied by his thirteen brothers and sisters. He joked they had a consensus when it came time to watch Mary Tyler Moore, who met Kenny during a diabetes conference held at the Pequot Museum in March 2002.²³ Reels’ mother Juanita Sebastian Reels not only raised fourteen children but helped design the Child Development Center, a daycare/ preschool on the reservation, to raise tribal toddlers and teach about their cultural identity

and history. A large Turtle-shaped building was also constructed at CDC, Mrs. Reel's vision.

One thing is certain. Tribal members do insulate their children from the many historical inaccuracies and intrusive media coverage. They counter psychological damage by indoctrinating the children with heavy doses of oral history. The tribe remains guarded and rightfully so, especially from the non-Indian media. A website that can only be described as a hate crime, www.tribalnation.com, continues to persecute them and destroy their privacy, publishing their private phone numbers and addresses.

While Foxwoods was still a new business, the tribe successfully recruited and hired, you might say, brilliant people to guide its growth. One in particular is Michael Van Leesten, former director of Rhode Island's Fleet Bank, who served as an advisor to Kenny Reels since 1995, during Reels' chairmanship and is now Public Affairs Deputy Executive Director.

Anthropologist and author James Wherry was hired in 1978, to work with Tribal Chairman Skip Hayward. Wherry's title in 1984 was Socio-Economic Development Specialist. ²⁴ He is most certainly archiving and writing about their growth and success in the 20th and 21st century. Wherry has been on Tribal Council's staff for several years.

In 1990, Archeologist Dr. Kevin McBride was a professor of anthropology at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, and had already been collecting materials for six years as project director of the Mashantucket Pequot Ethnohistory project. In 1998, McBride was named director of the Research Center and says the Pequot are "story rich and artifact poor."

Tribal Council Executive Secretary Simone Herritt, a non-Native, began work for Tribal Chairman Skip Hayward on March 19, 1979 in a small house trailer on the reservation that was not only tribal headquarters but Skip's home. She said there were no paved roads which made getting to work a real challenge. She said she would wait in her car for Skip to open the door in the morning.

Unprecedented growth since the early 1990s lead the Pequot Nation to sizeable internal growth in its tribal government. Just a few of the departments that were created include: Public Relations who monitor and control all media contact pertaining to the tribe and to prevent tribal members from being contacted personally for comment; and

Public Affairs who would process and distribute monies to charitable causes, Indian causes or giving for political purposes. Public Affairs spun off into State and National Governmental Affairs offices in Hartford and Washington DC. Their mission - to present the views of the Tribal Nation to the state's elected officials and administrators and draft position papers and testify before state committees.

To actively participate in federal politics, the tribe has used consultants in Washington D.C. In 2000, Chesapeake Enterprises and Wheat and Associates, watched key issues, including federal recognition, sovereignty, trust and land issues and worked to earn the Pequot Tribe respect as a unique sovereign government.

Another key department the Pequot Tribal Nation created was the Tribal Business Advisory Board, with 10 to 12 tribal members serving as enterprise managers. With this new department, the Pequot Hotel Group was dissolved.

Other entities, housed in various buildings on and off the reservation include: the tribe's elegant and spacious Community Center which houses Tribal Council, the Elders Council and other government offices; the Foxwoods Golf and Country Club in nearby Exeter, Rhode Island; Fox Navigation which built high speed ferries in New London (no longer in operation); a sizeable Human Resources department to manage some 12,000+ employees; the Indian Health Service Clinic and Health and Human Services departments; the Mashantucket Pequot Office Complex (later renamed Eagle Park) holds several departments; a Tribal Court was built on the reservation; and the Pequot Hotel Group's three properties: the Mystic Hilton, Randall's Ordinary and the Norwich Inn and Spa.

The Pequot Academy is housed off the reservation and it's where tribal members attend career development classes in order to become managers or directors at the various enterprises. The Public Safety Complex houses tribal police, Emergency Medical Service, and fire departments, all under tribal control. PRxN is the tribe's Pharmaceutical business. The Pequot Museum was built on the reservation in 1998. Creative Arts is a full service creative media production agency with an in-house graphics design house for Foxwoods and other enterprises. Creative Arts and other tribal departments are now located in the Mercantile Exchange Building in Norwich, Connecticut. The dilapidated brick building was completely renovated by the Pequot tribe and reopened in 2004.

The tribe's largest department in 1999 was Mashantucket Information Systems (MIS) with eleven separate departments that managed computers, phone, finance and gaming systems for Foxwoods and the tribal government. Another department that grew to meet the demand was the Property department – whose sub-departments include Public Works, Transportation, landscaping, Fleet maintenance, building management, the Projects department and the Lake of Isles Golf Resort project (which opens in 2005).

The Pequot's Cultural Resources department was created to preserve and enhance the tribe's cultural identity, offering tribal members drumming and dance classes, and help in making their own regalia; they sponsor educational trips for the children and arranged public events for the Little Foxes Dance troupe who attend many ribbon cutting events. Cultural Resources, made up of Tribal members and other Native Americans on staff, help organize and put on Schemitzun: The Feast of Green Corn and Dance held each August and the New Year's (eve) Sobriety PauWas. They also worked with Tribal Councilor Charlene Jones' on the first and second Algonquin Language Conference. One of their goals is to restore the use of the Pequot language. Their language program is being developed to work over a period of years, and to teach tribal members of all ages. They have already started working with the Child Development Center, to have children become fluent in the Pequot language.

Cultural Resources also sent staff as chaperones to the Indigenous Games when tribal members participated with other local tribes as Team Connecticut.

Today's tribal children are extremely fortunate to enjoy amenities such as an indoor/outdoor swimming pool, a game room, a craft area, sports teams, baseball, basketball and tennis courts, all in and around the Community Center and the Child Development Center. A Parks and Recreation department manages their day to day activities. Youth Services and an Education Department monitor a tribal member's grades and progress while in school or at college. Several children attend private boarding schools in the east. Many tribal adults are now returning to college to attain degrees.

Tribal children must attend financial training classes before they can receive their full per capita payment at age 18. Monies are held in a trust for them until they reach maturity. When a tribal member decides to attend a university or college, anywhere, the cost of their education is paid for by the tribe, and they will receive a check for their

share of the net proceeds from slot revenues, the “per cap” payment. That amount can be \$200,000 per year, or much more. If a Pequot serves on a committee, or works for the nation, they also receive a weekly salary and an annual bonus. Tribal Councilors are said to be paid \$1 million or more per year with an annual bonus of an equal or greater amount.

The Pequot tribe also offers its members a Healing period of four weeks with full pay each summer to spend with family. Their spouses, if they work for the tribe, are also given the time off. Children must remain with their parents during this time. Extended families are encouraged to spend time together.

Pequot tribal members who choose to work in a management position can simply shadow an executive doing the job. They call this department succession planning. The tribal member receives on-the-job training, and then graduates from Career Development when their supervised training ends. This may take place over a period of months or years. The employee who was doing that job is guaranteed employment afterwards, and is usually kept within the same department.

There is a Safe House for tribal children. Generally, Pequot children are placed with other family members but sometimes that is not possible. A new project in 2004 is recruiting Native families to serve as foster parents to Pequot children.

The Tribal Elders Council, comprised of Tribal members age 55 and up, do enforce banishment in extreme cases, when a tribal member has repeatedly been involved in drug related activity or criminal activity or arrests.

There were 43 elders in 2002. They elect a Chairman and Vice Chairman and a Secretary. They travel frequently as a group in a customized motorhome.

One day a week, tribal members are excused from their jobs to attend Informational Meetings, to review tribal resolutions and information and occasionally votes are taken. Tribal members and their families can also attend get-togethers each week, a free meal at one of the restaurants in their casino.

At one time it was suggested that Tribal Council be comprised of one member from each of the 12 family lines. That has yet to happen. The Pequot Tribal Council consists of a Tribal Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and three members.

The Chairman is selected by elected council after the tribe votes in November each year. They serve staggered three year terms in office.

Tribal Councilor Charlene (Prince) Jones told Connecticut Magazine in 2001, “I’d like to see a real concentrated effort on behalf of the state to incorporate more local history in the school curriculum, especially in terms of Native history and culture. Children need to be taught respect for Native cultural systems, the political rights of tribes and who tribes are today. We are still viable political entities that contribute to society at large. Here at Mashantucket, we are entwined with all aspects of life in Connecticut.”

The \$193.4 million dollar Pequot Museum and Research Center was opened on August 11, 1998 to tell their story in a scholarly, innovative and interactive way. Clearly, it’s a story still unfolding. In September 2004, a Pequot burial site was discovered on Mason’s Island in (Mistick) Mystic, dating back to the 17th century. The Pequot Museum Research Center director Kevin McBride said 50-70 bodies may be buried at the site. Objects found were a mix of European trade goods and Native hunting weapons and pipes. One thing McBride found odd or unusual was the burial site is on land owned by English Captain John Mason who lead the attack on the Pequot Fort in 1637. Pequots were living on his land 15 to 20 years later. McBride believes those Pequot survivors may have then moved their community to Mashantucket in 1661. The tribe will work to preserve the site, rebury the ancestors and prevent any further destruction to the site.

Foxwoods will undergo a \$700 million expansion. On January 31, 2005, the tribe voted and approved plans for an 825-room hotel tower, 5,000-seat theatre, a massive convention space and ballroom and more gaming units, shops, nightclubs and restaurants. About 2,300 people will be hired to staff the expansion. The three-year construction project is expected to begin in the summer 2005. The expansion would add more than two-million square feet to their resort and is scheduled to open in the summer of 2008. 25

Michael Thomas, Chairman of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation, told Indian Country Today, (Jan. 14, 2005), “We are proud to be a part of the fabric of this region and this state. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the whirlwind of economic activity generated by our Foxwoods Resort Casino. Because of Foxwoods, the tribe has been a major economic contributor to the federal, state and local governments.

For instance, in 2003 alone the tribe paid local governments \$2.5 million in property taxes for off-reservation holdings. Since 1993, we have paid the state more than \$1.9 billion in earnings from our slot machine operation. This has been done under terms of a negotiated agreement between our government and the state. That agreement calls for us to generate the income and for the state to decide where it is spent. And over the last four years, we were responsible for \$1.5 billion in employee-related tax payments and fees to the federal government and to the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Obviously, those are big numbers. Whatever else they say about the economic activity at Mashantucket, they speak to a serious commitment the Tribal Nation has made to their fellow citizens of this great state and country. Job creation is a fundamental building block of society, and the tribe is proud to provide direct employment to more than 12,000 people. In addition, there are the many thousands of indirect jobs and business benefits.”

Making local headlines, members of the Symonds family marched along the edge of the Mashantucket Pequot reservation on April 7, 2005 to protest continued exclusion from a tribe they say “used” their ancestry to build itself into one of the world’s wealthiest Indian nations. The New London Day newspaper (April 7, 2005) reported that Mashantucket leaders acknowledged the Symonds family’s Pequot roots and at times tribal councilors promised to help “bring them home.” But to date the tribe has not enrolled the Symonds — who number at least 250 and maybe as many as 500 — because their ancestors were not listed as reservation citizens on the 1900 or 1910 federal census on which the tribe based its enrollment.

The Mashantucket Pequot tribe, which numbers about 800, closed its enrollment in 1996 to all but the children of current members. In a letter to Symonds family member Agnes Price in March 2005, Mashantucket Chairman Michael Thomas said there was nothing he could do unless members amend the constitution.

Delayed by tribal bureaucracy and in discussions for over four years, the Public Relations department finally announced in April 2005 that the Pequot Times can be read online at: www.PequotTimes.com. The Pequot Times newspaper, with a circulation of 30,000 readers, will now reach a much greater audience, worldwide. Not all of the content in the tribal monthly newspaper will be published online. 26

NOTES

- 1 Hillerman, Maria, "Could all this be based on a lie? Benedict's book offers little proof for allegations," *New London Day* (Connecticut), May 7, 2000, cites first contact with Dutch traders in 1614.
Pequot population, see Hauptman, Lawrence, "The Pequot War and its Legacies," (1990) *The Pequots in Southern New England, The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*, Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma Press, p. 71.
- 2 Starna, William, "Pequots in the Early Seventeenth Century," p. 46.
- 3 Hauptman, p. 73.
- 4 Hauptman, p.76; also depicted in "The Witness" (a dramatic short film), shown at the Pequot Museum and Research Center, directed by Blackfeet (Montana) filmmaker George Burdeau. Conflict began when the Dutch killed a Pequot sachem and the tribe mistakenly killed John Stone, an English privateer, in retaliation. Mutual mistrust bogged negotiations for the capture of Stone's assassins, and the Puritans responded by torching a Pequot Fort in Mystic.
- 5 Starna, p. 46. Also, Boissevain, Ethel, "Whatever became of the New England Indians shipped to Bermuda to be sold as slaves?" *Man in the Northeast*, Spring 1981, Number 21, p. 103-114. "In a chronology based on ship records of slaves, in 1640, a "number" of Pequot and "Mohican" arrived on the island of Bermuda. And in 1642, Captain B. Preston brought 30-40 Indians to Bermuda. [The author of this paper makes the assertion that "judging by the date, these may have been Pequot refugees rounded up after the massacre in Mystic in 1637."] After 1650, about 80 "Pequot Massachusetts Bay Indians were sent to Bermuda and purchased by Captain White of St. David's Island. For more on Bermuda captives: Smith, James E. (1976) *Slavery in Bermuda*, New York, Vantage Press, p. 23.
- 6 Campisi, Jack and Bell, Theresa, (2000) *Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center Photographic Essay*, published by the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation. This book is only available at the Museum Gift Store. "Within a decade of the massacre, under the leadership of sachem Cassacinamon, the Pequots freed themselves from the Mohegans. Assisted by John Winthrop, they established themselves first at Nameag, then at Noank, and finally at Mashantucket in 1666. Cassacinamon led the tribe until his death in 1692 but secured for his people the tribe's present landbase."
- 7 Ottery, Will and Ottery, Rudi, (1989) *A Man Called Sampson 1580-1989*, Weare, NH, Penobscot Press, p. 85-86.
- 8 Campisi, Jack, "Mashantucket Pequot Tribe 1637-1975," (1990) *The Pequots in Southern New England*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, p.125 - 132. Also, Simmons, William S., (1986) *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, Hanover, NH, University Press of New England, p. 30.
- 9 Discussions with Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Elder Paul Harris (2001-2002) and with Eastern Pequot Tribal Chairman Marcia Flowers (2003-2004).
- 10 Campisi, "Mashantucket Pequot Tribe 1637-1975," p. 135, 138-139.

- 11 If the Symonds family gains enrollment, their numbers would increase the Western Pequot rolls by hundreds more. (source: personal email from Kenneth B. Cassacinamon Simmons, Hebron, CT, 2002) The Symonds document their presence on the Pequot reservation from the 1700s to 1858. Members say they are descendants of Simeon Simonds, who helped George Washington cross the Delaware River, and that they can trace their Pequot roots to Robin Cassacinamon, an 18th-century tribal leader who helped re-establish the reservation following the Pequot War. Those who carry the family name spell it several ways, including Symonds, Simonds, Simons and Simmons.
- 12 “Foxwoods reports \$62.3 million in slot revenues in November (2004),” Pequot Times, January 2005, p. 10.
- 13 “(Joseph) Colebut named director of state governmental affairs,” Pequot Times, April 2000, p. 3. “Tribal Council names John Guevremont COO,” Pequot Times, May 2003, p. 4.
- 14 Guevremont, John, “Tribe sends delegates to national convention; The 2000 Republican Convention,” Pequot Times, October 2000, p. 2; Adams, Jim, “Big Indians party with Key Republicans,” Indian Country Today, Sept. 1, 2004, <www.indiancountry.com>.
- 15 Coile, Zachary, “Corporate Cash Flows to cover GOP Bash,” Chronicle Washington Bureau, San Francisco Gate, August 29, 2004, <www.sfgate.com>.
- 16 Guevremont, John, “Why a Republican federal government is good for Indians,” Pequot Times, December 2002, p. 2; “Opinion: Support for Indian Country grows within ranks of Republicans,” Pequot Times, January 2003, p. 2.
- 17 Guevremont published the following op-ed’s in Indian Country Today: “A Suitable Remembrance of Ronald Wilson Reagan,” July 02, 2004; “Who should be the next Congressman for South Dakota?” May 25, 2004; “Reflections on the Iraq War,” April 18, 2003; and “Why a Republican federal government is good for Indians,” November 10, 2002. <www.indiancountry.com>.
- 18 Campisi, “Mashantucket Pequot Tribe 1637-1975,” p. 136
- 19 “Pedro Johnson appointed Executive Director, Public Affairs and Public Relations Group,” Pequot Times, March 2003, p. 2.
- 20 Adams, Jim, “Casino giants look for investments,” Indian Country Today, April 6, 2004. <www.indiancountry.com>. Adams wrote, “A new corporation arm is taking a close look at a race track and slot machine parlor in Pennsylvania, to be run jointly with a consortium of non-Indian horsemen.” Also gives details on Mohegan investments.
- 21 The Chukchansi ended a management contract with a non-Indian company, Cascade Entertainment, in July 2004. Their casino opened June 25, 2003, in Coarsegold, just north of Fresno in California’s central Valley and offers Class III gaming with 1,800 slot machines and 46 table games. “With this agreement, we are partnering with other Native Americans, who like us operate a very successful casino, but they have been doing it a lot longer than we have,” said Chukchansi Tribal Chairwoman Joyce Burel. “We are delighted to have them lend us their expertise in our efforts to make Chukchansi Gold the

- best gaming facility in the Valley.” Foxwoods spokesman Bruce MacDonald told newspapers in 2005 the Foxwoods Development Corporation was talking with tribal leaders in the South, the West and the Southwest, possibly Arizona and Louisiana, but MacDonald declined to be more specific until there are written agreements. FDC is also exploring non-Indian partnerships for commercial gaming deals, not involving tribal sovereignty.
- 22 Bruchac, Marge, “Musings on Northeast Indian Identity,” May 2001, NeDoBa website: <www.avcnet.org/ne-do-ba>. Bruchac writes, “Up until 1860 it was technically illegal for Indians to marry white Europeans, and so many mixed with Black or Irish/Scottish.”
- 23 “Chairman Reels honored Man of the Year,” Pequot Times, April 2002, p. 1. Information on Reel’s family, “In Our Hearts Forever,” Tyelee Reels obituary, Pequot Times, October 2000, page 3.
- 24 James Wherry joined Tribal Chairman Kenneth Reels’ staff and became his Executive Assistant in 1999. In 2005, Wherry is employed by Tribal Council and is a frequent contributor to the Pequot Times. With co-editor, author/historian Lawrence Hauptman, Wherry published a collection of history conference presentations in “The Pequots in Southern New England,” University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1990, Volume 198 in The Civilization of the American Indian Series. In the Afterword, Wherry wrote, “Today, the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe has an on-reservation population of 110 persons and a membership of approximately 150....The tribe’s land base has grown from 214 acres in 1983 to 1,638 acres... Because no new housing had been added to the reservation during the twentieth century, and because employment for tribal members was needed, the reservation population had fallen to just thirteen by 1980,” p. 213-214.
- 25 “Tribal council approves \$700 million expansion,” Associated Press, February 1, 2005. Pequot Times, March 2005, p. 1. The tribe is considering two design themes and was expected to make a final decision in March 2005. The Mashantucket Pequot commissioned studies and analyzed gaming industry trends and regional demographics before approving the new project. The project aims to draw more midweek and year-round business and provide additional hotel rooms for weekends and open a performing arts center. The existing 1,400-seat Fox Theatre makes it difficult for Foxwoods to compete with the 10,000-seat arena at Mohegan Sun, nine miles away. The Pequot plan to finance their new development privately.
- 26 “PequotTimes.com goes online,” Pequot Times, April 2005. Free subscription requests are also handled by request via email: pequottimes@mptn-nsn.gov.