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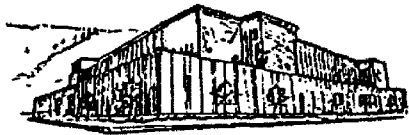
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**EXPLORING NATIVE AMERICAN FOLKLORE:
LITTLE PEOPLE AND GIANTS**

by

Frederick E. Harris, Jr.

B.A. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

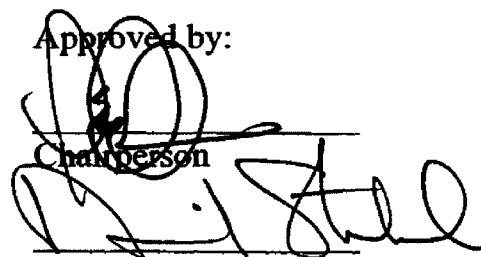
for the degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Montana

May 2006

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Exploring Native American Folklore: Little People and Giants

Chairperson: Jeffrey A. Gritzner 

Native American folklore is commonplace throughout the Americas. Most individuals are familiar with the basics of this lore, which generally involves a creation story that explains how said tribe came to be, and a second more consistent element involves harmony with nature. There are several stories amongst Native Americans that are regarded as folklore, but could retain elements of truth. One set of these stories chronicles the interaction among the ancestral Plains Indians and “little people” and “giants.” Native American oral tradition, by definition, does not automatically imply that it is simply or purely folklore. Perpetuating history or a belief system through a medium such as oral tradition leaves a considerable room for interpretation for not only the teller of the story, but for the listener as well. The oral traditions that have been passed down through generations regarding little people and giants have persisted for centuries, if not millennia. This has no doubt contributed to an ever-evolving oral tradition, which could be based in actual events. The main focus of this thesis is the exploration of the plausibility of the existence of both little people and giants performed through an examination of historical, skeletal, and present-day evidence. The thesis explores the possibility that at one time a small race of people inhabited the Rocky Mountain region, and the possibility that giants existed in the Ohio Valley, and too became extinct at the hands of enemies, disease, or some other form of marginalization. This exploration includes the function of both little people and giants as elements of folklore, and the role that they continue to play in modern society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For Tara

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Modern day archaeology and anthropology have nearly sealed the door on our imaginations, broadly interpreting the North American past as devoid of anything unusual in the way of great cultures characterized by a people of unusual demeanor.

-Vine Deloria¹

In the oral traditions of Native Americans, the basic folkways and mores are transferred to younger generations through story and song, and conveyed ceremonially in appropriate settings. In the telling of the stories, elders highlight the give-and-take relationship between humans and the rest of the natural world. The stories, legends, and myths express a responsibility to maintain good relations among the different parts of nature, including plants and animals, because all of it is considered to be alive and to share in the power given to all of creation. The ongoing relationships that started at the beginning of time, and continue through the telling of cultural stories and songs, are imbedded in the places that have given rise to the stories, creating a circular, ongoing world. Folklore is the bedrock of Native American culture, this oral history explains and records vital aspects of their society, such as stories of creation and the norms and mores of the various tribes. Culture is distinctly an element of geography, as where and how people lived shaped their civilizations.

Native American folklore is commonplace throughout the Americas. Most individuals are familiar with the basics of this lore, which generally involves a creation story that explains how said tribe came to be, and a second more consistent element involves harmony with nature. There are several stories amongst Plains Indians that are

¹Vine Deloria, *God Is Red* (Golden: Fulcrum 1994), 2.

regarded as folklore, but could retain elements of truth. One set of these stories chronicles the interaction among the ancestral Plains Indians and “little people” and “giants.” Native American oral tradition, by definition, does not automatically imply that it is simply or purely folklore. Perpetuating history or a belief system through a medium such as oral tradition leaves a large amount of room for interpretation for not only the teller of the story, but the listener as well. The oral traditions that have been passed down through generations regarding little people and giants have persisted for centuries if not millennia. This has no doubt contributed to an ever-evolving oral tradition, which could be based in actual events.

More broadly, the history of mankind includes numerous accounts of both little people and giants documented not only through the fossil record, but also in isolated communities that survive to this day. Who is to say that the folklore regarding both little people and giants is more myth than reality? Could these stories account for actual interactions between Plains Indians and these little people and giants? The most encouraging factor is the prevalence of these oral traditions amongst the Western Plains Indians. The stories are not unique to merely one group, but are instead consistent “mythological” facets of the individual culture of each tribe. A majority of Native American tribes know of the little people and giants, physical evidence is needed only by those who have to see, touch, or otherwise interpret their surroundings on one plane of existence.

There are many living groups of people that could be construed as modern-day little people or giants. For example, the pygmies of Central Africa have similar

characteristics to those of the so-called little people.² Also located in Africa, the Nuer, for example are much taller than their neighbors.³ The fossil record also holds pertinent evidence to support these claims. The recently discovered *Homo floresiensis* near Java, is indisputably a little person standing no taller than a small child when full grown. Within the mounds constructed by Native Americans of the Ohio Valley, many examples of giants have been unearthed and shown to be more than archaeological anomalies. Another example of these archaeological finds is the Pedro Man, discovered in the Pedro Mountains of Wyoming. This little person was seven inches (18 cm) in stature and estimated to be nearly sixty years old at its time of death.⁴ These examples, along with many more, create a viable basis for the belief of little people and giants amongst the Western Plains Indians. Perhaps these little people and giants had lived in isolated populations within which they evolved these uncommon traits.

Respect regarding Native American culture and its people also plays an important role in the completion of the research project. The elements of this research that deal with Native American folklore are sensitive and deeply embedded elements of their cultures. Outsiders, rather than insiders, have historically done the majority of research regarding Native American populations. By focusing upon their own goals of benefiting humanity at large, expanding scientific knowledge, and advancing their own academic careers, many investigators remained largely unaware of their attitudes toward, and effect

²Harold Sterling Gladwin, *Men out of Asia* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1947), 42.

³Nuer Men average over six feet in height; women average five foot seven inches.

⁴Earl Murray, *Ghost of the Old West* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1988), 81.

upon the target population.⁵ What may have begun as early ill-informed opinions or explanations of Native American life and customs quickly entered the spoken language and became ways of representing and relating to Native Americans.

Methodology

Science has certain rules for its practice. A proper and thorough methodology is the most important. Without suitable methods, results can be misinterpreted, resulting in an improper analysis. There are no simple methodological rules for the use of historical literature, though it is feasible to have a method in which data is collected and organized. The relationship among theories, concepts, and evidence in historical research should be open and recursive, the researcher should remain flexible in the pursuit of answers to questions about the past.⁶ The best way for the researcher to systematically collect and analyze data was to perform an historical analysis. The steps involved in performing the analysis were: formulation of the problem to be addressed, collection and analysis of the data, and the reporting of the results. As with any research being performed, eligibility requirements must be defined for the data that is to be included, and the strategy for identifying relevant studies should be clearly delineated.

First, the researcher defined the research objective: the exploration of the cultural and scientific lenses through which little people and giants are viewed through an examination of historical, skeletal, and present-day evidence. The examination of the

⁵Sally Davis, "Practicing research in American Indian Communities," *Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 69 (1999): 755.

⁶Nicholas Clifford, *Key Methods in Geography* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 497.

possibility that at one time a small race of people inhabited the Rocky Mountain region and became extinct by hands of enemies, disease, or some other form of marginalization. Explore the plausibility of the existence of giants in the Ohio Valley, and too became extinct at the hands of enemies, disease, or some other form of marginalization. The researcher then reviewed the available literature on the topic and identified viable sources for the historical analysis via a literature review and in-depth exploration of bibliographic references of seminal works on the topics related to the subject. The researcher then established eligibility requirements for the use of sources. Many of the sources were taken directly from Native American folklore texts and articles, other sources were comprised of anthropologically oriented texts to supply a proper baseline for exploration of the research question. The use of scholarly reviewed scientific articles helped perpetuate the examination of the topic, and provided a level of academic rigor appropriate for scientific analysis. Vintage newspaper articles of the era were immediately cast out as generally unreliable sources, as the motivation and scientific rigor for the publication of said stories remains in question. The researcher also took into account physical evidence. A wide array of skeletal remnants exist that were used to supplement the speculation of the existence of little people and giants. The physical evidence was held to eligibility and analysis requirements similar to that of the written data, ensured proper academic rigor.

Through the collection of data, general themes emerged through the process of focused and repeated analysis, similar to the removal of an apple peel in one piece to expose the fruit. The researcher removed the top layer of skin to reveal the deeper layers, such as the explanation of the role of both little people and giants as elements of folklore,

in the cultures of North America, as well as in several other regions of the world. While searching documents, the researcher focused upon similar consistent themes: elements of folklore regarding little people and giants, the manner in which little people and giants were observed in folklore and/or real world examples, the quality of the evidence offered, and the way in which said evidence has fit into the historical record. The researcher then linked sources with similar elements, not only to deepen the analysis of pertinent research questions, but also to crosscheck and attempt to validate different sources. This provides the reader with a broader and more robust understanding of not only the folklore, but real life evidence surrounding little people and giants. An important issue is the application of the science to cultural subject matter, such as the folklore of Native Americans. After the collection of data, its synthesis beyond that of historical analysis is problematic. Science seeks to validate hypothesis in a finite manner, which in some respects is utterly inadequate when addressing many issues regarding Native American culture, especially folklore, hence the exploratory angle. The approach the researcher took is dialectic, a thesis developed giving rise to its reaction, an antithesis contradicted the thesis, and the tension between the two was resolved by means of analysis.⁷

⁷ "Hegelian Dialectic" *Wikipedia*. Retrieved May 18, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectic>.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

The discovery that *Homo floresiensis* survived until so very recently, in geological terms, makes it more likely that stories of other mythical, human-like creatures such as Yetis are founded on grains of truth....Now, cryptozoology, the study of such fabulous creatures, can come in from the cold.

-Henry Gee⁸

Human evolution is the process of change and development by which humans emerge as a distinct species.⁹ Throughout the rich history of mankind, many preternatural sagas of the true nature of evolution have unfolded, leaving *Homo sapiens* questioning the inter-workings of natural selection. The ongoing study of the origins of *H. sapiens* often demonstrates that there were other *Homo* species, all of which are now extinct. While some of these other species might have been ancestors of *H. sapiens*, many were likely our “cousins,” having speciated away from our ancestral line. There is not yet a consensus as to which of these groups should count as separate species and which as subspecies of another species. In some cases, this is because of the paucity of fossils, in other cases it is owing to the slight differences used to classify species in the *Homo* genus.¹⁰ In any group of organisms, genetic diversity can mean that some individuals are better adapted to their environment than others; that is, they are more

⁸“Flores, God and Cryptozoology” *Nature*. Retrieved May 1, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://www.nature.com/news/2004/041025/pf/041025-2_pf.html.

⁹“Evolution” *American Heritage Dictionary*. Retrieved March 19, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=evolution>.

¹⁰Kenneth Macgowan, *Early Man in the New World* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1950), 11.

likely to survive and reproduce. Natural selection as a function of evolution has played the dominant role in the differentiation of species leading to a variety of phenomena not consistent with mainstream notions of functional evolution.

Dwarfism is a condition in which a person, animal, or plant is much below the ordinary size of the species; when applied to people in the traditional sense, it implies not just extreme shortness, but a degree of disproportion.¹¹ On an evolutionary scale, dwarfism allows for many environmental advantages, as the process of natural selection ensures survival of the fittest. Foster's rule states that the members of a species will become smaller or larger depending upon the resources available in the environment.¹² Many examples of this phenomenon exist, not only on a rudimentary mammalian level but also on a *Homo* level.

Homo floresiensis was discovered in deposits in Liang Bua Cave on the Indonesian island of Flores in 2003. The "Man of Flores" has a remarkably small body little over three feet tall (1 m), small brain, and survived until relatively recent times. It is thought to have been a contemporary of modern humans. One skeleton, dated at 18,000 years old, is largely intact. Parts of eight other individuals, all of similar stature, have been recovered as well as similarly small stone tools from horizons ranging from 94,000 to 13,000 years ago.¹³ *Homo erectus* is thought to be the immediate ancestor of *H. floresiensis*, was approximately the same size as modern humans. In the limited food and

¹¹"Dwarfism" *Wikipedia* (25 Oct. 2004) Retrieved March 19, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/dwarfism>.

¹²"Foster's Rule" *Wikipedia* (25 Oct. 2004) Retrieved March 19, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/fostersrule>.

¹³P. Brown, et al., eds., "A new small-bodied hominid from the Late Pleistocene of Flores, Indonesia," *Nature* 431 (2004): 1059.

resource environment on Flores, *H. erectus* is thought to have undergone island dwarfing, and perhaps experienced an inbreeding depression. On a mammalian level, Flores has had several examples dwarfism, including a mini stegodon.¹⁴ *H. floresiensis* is thought to have survived on Flores until at least as recently as 12,000 years ago.¹⁵ This makes it the longest-lasting non-modern human, surviving long past the Neanderthals (*Homo neanderthalensis*) which is believed to become extinct about 30,000 years ago. *H. floresiensis* certainly coexisted with modern humans, who arrived in the region 35,000–55,000 years ago.¹⁶

The marginalization of the aforementioned extinct species can be attributed to a variety of environmental and social aspects of evolution. In the case of *H. floresiensis*, scientists believe that the cause of their extinction was a result of the death of their primary food source, the stegodon. Geological studies undertaken on the island of Flores suggest that a large volcanic eruption was the likely cause of the dramatic shift in the living habits of the islands residents.

A present day example of dwarfism can be seen in the Ituri Forest in the Congo Basin with the Bambuti or African pygmies. The Bambuti are the the shortest group of pygmies in Africa, averaging under four feet six inches (137 cm) in height. In addition to their stature, they also differ in blood type from their Bantu-and Sudanic-speaking agriculturalist neighbors, and they are probably the earliest inhabitants of the area. Archaeological evidence is lacking, but Egyptians documented the existence of the

¹⁴Dalton Rex, "Palaeoanthropology: Looking for the Ancestors," *Nature* 434 (2005): 432.

¹⁵P. Brown et al., 1061.

¹⁶W.C. Allee and Karl Schmidt, *Ecological Animal Geography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937), 499.

Bambuti 4500 years ago. They are nomadic hunters and gatherers living in small bands that vary in size throughout the year but are generally formed into patrilineal groups of from ten to one hundred individuals. The tropical rainforest provides their basic needs: food, fresh water from innumerable streams and springs, firewood, and clothing.¹⁷ This begs the question, in an environment of abundance, what evolutionary advantages would dwarfism hold?

Gigantism is a condition characterized by excessive growth in height. As a medical term, gigantism is rarely used, except to refer to the rare condition of pituitary gigantism owing to pre-pubertal growth hormone excess. There is no precise definition of the degree of tallness that qualifies a person to be termed a "giant." The term has been typically applied to those whose height is not just in the upper one percent of the population but several standard deviations above the mean for persons of the same sex, age, and ethnic ancestry.¹⁸ Bergmann's rule is a principle that correlates environmental temperature with body mass in warm-blooded animals. It asserts that within a species, the body mass increases with latitude and colder climate. This rule operates as mammals have a lower surface area to volume ratio, so that they radiate less body heat and stay warmer in cold climates and vice versa.¹⁹ For humans, it is true to a certain extent, but differing cultural practices, including local diet and genetic distribution between populations, must account for much of this. For example, northern Asians are on average

¹⁷Colin Turnbull, *Wayward Servants* (Garden City: The Natural History Press 1965), 81.

¹⁸"Gigantism." *Wikipedia* (2 June 2003) Retrieved March 19, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gigantism>.

¹⁹"Bergmann's Rule" *American Heritage Dictionary*. Retrieved March 19, 2006 from the World Wide Web: <http://www.bartleby.com/61/98/B0199800.html>.

larger than their Southeast Asian counterparts. The Inuit of Alaska and northern Canada are known for their accumulation of fat and compact bodies as acclimatization to severe cold.

Human height is regulated by many factors. Since the development of modern medicine and plentiful, nutrient-rich food in the “developed world” average height has increased dramatically. Nutrition is the most important factor in determining height, and height descriptions in military records and other documents can be used to accurately compare nutrition and height in various eras. The European Middle Ages were a period of tallness, with men of above six feet (1.83 m) considered unremarkable.²⁰ In Europe, human height reached its pinnacle at the start of the nineteenth century. Europeans in North America were far taller than those in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they were in fact the tallest in the world. The indigenous population was also among the tallest populations of the world at the time. However, several nations, many in Europe, have now surpassed the United States in terms of average stature particularly the Netherlands and Scandinavian nations. The Dutch are now well known in Europe for extreme tallness, with young men averaging six feet and one half inch (1.84 m) tall.²¹ In contrast, average male height in impoverished Vietnam and North Korea remains very small at five feet four inches (1.63 m) and five feet five inches (1.65 m) respectively.²² According to Bergmann’s rule, animals in cold climates tend to have larger bodies and shorter limbs than those in warm climates. Although climate still shapes musk oxen and

²⁰“Human Height” *Wikipedia* (17 Aug. 2004) Retrieved March 20, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_height.

²¹*Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_height.

²²*Ibid.*

giraffes, and a willowy Inuit is hard to find, its effect upon industrialized people has almost disappeared. Swedes ought to be short and stocky, yet they have had good clothing and shelter for so long that they are some of the tallest people in the world. Mexicans ought to be tall and slender. Yet they are so often stunted by poor diet and diseases that we assume they were born to be small. The range of human stature varies greatly across the board, but given proper nutrition and lifestyle the only thing dictating our height is the fact we are *H. sapiens*. The existence of a “giant” culture as a part of the *H. sapien* family seems to defy several genetic and zoological theories on the matter. However, it could be possible that some populations of giants are composed of different species altogether. At some point in human history, it must have been advantageous to be of a taller stature, which would help in the release of body heat in high-temperature climates as is seen today throughout the world.

If the “shrubby” or cladogenetic hypothesis of human evolution described by Stephen Jay Gould and others is correct, there were many *Homo* species living on the planet at any given time, which help explain genetic variation amongst present day humans as well as those of our extinct ancestors.²³ The “shrubby” hypothesis also legitimizes the possibility that if both little people and giants did exist, members of either group could be genetically unrelated, furthering the possibility of their existence. Gould considered natural selection operating differentially on individuals to be a less significant factor in the evolutionary diversification of body sizes than the large changes that occur during cladogenetic and extinction events, as illustrated by *H. floresiensis*.

²³Stephen Jay Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2002), 9.

CHAPTER THREE

LITTLE PEOPLE AND GIANTS AS ELEMENTS OF FOLKLORE

Understanding culture, human or otherwise, is done best by a mix of insiders and outsiders. Natives can and should criticize the dominant American culture. In so doing, they gift us with vital insights. Many Americans with living traditions of little people and giants do not question their existence. What is more important is what little people and giants do and say, what they teach, or how they harm. They are not a problem to be solved, but elements of heritage. As many as 500 American or Pacific cultures may know of little people and giants, and about eighty-five percent of cultures sampled by Roth do have stories of little people.²⁴ Many of the stories of little people and giants have been lost forever, as many Native cultures have been completely wiped out.

Many cultures see little people as go-betweens because they embody so many opposite cultural norms. Some little people create lightning, tobacco, beasts, whirlwinds, and quakes, but in turn can be harmed or frightened by such powers. Some are sexless; others rape humans. Like more flesh-and-blood beings, little people may coexist with legendary ancestors, yet appear quite different from them. The same name can apply to both individuals and groups; the same little person could be both male and female, both young and old, both good and evil, both intelligent and unintelligent. Not surprisingly, the role of little people most agreed upon by Native Americans is that of a mediator. If approached with respect, little people can help unite humans, especially shamans, with

²⁴John E. Roth, *American Elves: An Encyclopedia of Little People from the Lore of 380 Ethnic Groups in the Western Hemisphere* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 1997), vii.

their stream of conscience. In contrast to little people, giants are seen as malevolent. With few exceptions, encounters with giants rarely end well. Some giants specialize in stealing children, such as *Dzoo-noo-qua* and *Nahgane* of the Kwakwaka'wakw and Slavey tribes respectively. Other giants, such as *Tsavoojok*, would cause Paviotso men to fight so that he could steal their wives.²⁵

When dealing with most humans, little people almost universally help shamans regardless of habitats or physical guise. Shamans cure through spirit journeys that map sacredness once honored by most humans on Earth. This suggests that links among shamans, nonhuman little people, and certain widespread myths precede settling of the Americas and the ensuing separation of various cultures and their little people. Giants seem to interact more directly with humans. Most stories involving little people have a shaman, warrior, or child as the intermediary; giants seem to see humans indiscriminately.

Conjecture encircles the physical characteristics of little people and giants, and though descriptions vary, some common characteristics emerge. Some do not eat what we call food; some even defecate stones or golden balls; others are androgynous or hermaphroditic. The faces of little people and giants might be large, ugly, long-chinned, or thin. Heads might be large, pointed, long, small, horned, or bald. Mouths can be absent or tiny, beadlike, or triangular. Noses often differ from ours, being red, fleshless, or absent. Common features are small, upturned noses and a depressed nasal bridge, along with “puffy” eyes, oval ears and broad mouths with full lips and a small chin.²⁶

²⁵Sam Gill and Irene Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 101.

²⁶Roth, *American Elves*, 2.

Regarding little people, some of these symptoms are consistent with Williams syndrome, a brain disorder associated with emotional sensitivity; low IQs; shorter stature; enhanced musical and narrative abilities; reversals in brain hemispheric dominance and activity; and a fondness for order, routines, and tradition traits often found in Native American little people as well.²⁷

Except for some tails and claws, most limbs of little people and giants are human-like. In pure mythological form, some giants possess a sheer spiritual form, like *Waziya*, a Lakota giant, who blows the wind from the North.²⁸ Arms might also be short, long, or muscular; legs might be big, straddling, short, or missing. In some cases, footprints might be the only sign of little people or giants, but are far from revealing. Most little people go barefoot, however some wear moccasins, the same holds true for giants. Some footprints sway from side to side, point in, point out, or suggest great density by deep or stone imprints. Feet may lack toes, heels, or may be reversed. The Coeur d'Alene little peoples in Idaho walk upside down.²⁹ Hairiness that exceeds that of humans is one of the most predominant features, most little people have long, straight black hair but some hair is curly, short, red, yellow, or even spiny. The hair of giants is often seen as unkempt or unruly; perhaps a well-used metaphor to coincide with their bad tempers. Another mark of little people is white hair; often a token of great age and accompanying wisdom. Waist-length hair may be braided but is as often matted and dirty.

²⁷Brian Lenhoff, "Williams Syndrome," *Scientific American Magazine* 149 (1997): 175.

²⁸Gill and Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, 101.

²⁹Roth, *American Elves*, 164.

An enhanced sense of smell can come from large or long noses. Little people asked Gros Ventre of Montana to leave because they smelled bad. Tsimshian little people in British Columbia smelled where a thief hid. If they smelled humans, Hidatsa little people in North Dakota retreated back to their cave.³⁰ Little people and giants also may expand senses in humans, as they often had peculiar smells. Smell lies close to the grounding of many native little people, and so some Yurok little people sniff the ground as they run in northwest California. In Seminole folklore, *Tall Man*, was a giant who smelled so horrible that he was banished to a swamp.³¹ The hearing of little people is often superb, as large or pointed ears concentrate sound. Iroquois little peoples hear drums as far away as a seven-day journey; Cherokee and Hawaiian little people often hear verbal abuse or prayers no matter how far away or how softly people speak.³² The sight of little people and giants is often described as superior. Some little people's eyes shine or are catlike; typical of nocturnal animals. The full moon shines like the sun to some Iroquois and Cherokee little people, and several groups of little people avoid the sunlight, as they are "nocturnal" or are trying to avoid being spotted by humans.

Most little people and giant races tend to be site-specific, tied to a location or habitat. Tribes with sky-oriented deities, like the Chumash, Pawnee, Pueblo, and Shawnee have few or no little people. Individual culture heroes and tricksters, like the Lakota, rise above geography, as do sky gods, and thus can be more abstract and less down-to-earth, creating a fruitful environment for little people and giants. Since sky is

³⁰Roth, *American Elves*, 160.

³¹Marjorie Tallman, *Dictionary of American Folklore* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), 287.

³²Roth, *American Elves*, 29.

everywhere and is ordered more by daily or seasonal cycles than landmarks, its time focus is not to the liking of place-bound little people and giants.

Where little people and giants reside reveals their power source. Most American little people are guards of earth and water, while the giants provoke conflict. The most varied natural and cultural milieus, as in Brazil, Columbia, and California, have the most diverse little-people tribes and instances of giants. Smaller, less diverse islands and tribes have few or no little people or giants stories compared to larger islands, mountains, or continents. Little people are more likely to live along rivers and large lakes than by small streams or ponds, and at least half of all little people live close to or in freshwater: lakes, rivers, creeks, or marshes. Giants tend to reside in fairly remote, unapproachable areas, like the Maliseet cannibal giants, *Kiwahkw*, who reside on remote ice sheets.³³ This worldwide choice, even in Oceania, appears shared by UFOs, giants, ghosts, and dragons. On the other hand, springs, bogs, swamps, riverbanks, caves behind falls, ice sheets, and large islands prove very popular because they link and reconcile two main elements of American Indian folklore, water and stone. The sound of flowing water disguises the voices of Abenaki and Salish little peoples, while Micmac little people were created from watery sounds. Some Cree, Cherokee, and Ojibwa little people like sand, perhaps because there they easily can dig homes and detect intruders.³⁴ *Chahnameet*, or the Pequot giant, lives on a rocky, remote island.³⁵

³³Gill and Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, 101.

³⁴Roth, *American Elves*, 137.

³⁵Gill and Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, 41.

The “edge effect” of any natural area [neither one place nor the other] promotes diversity of both little people and giants. Cherokee and Kwakiutl go to the edge of woods to meet little people. Little people bodies often have indistinct, incomplete skin or limbs, hazy bounds of their being, and often lie at the edge of hearing and may only be heard in the most favorable weather or frame of mind. For example, Ojibwa may only hear little people on warm, still days of early Autumn. Most little people and giants prefer a dim biosphere far from humans. An Ojibwa little people's home was “a beautiful, perfect image of wilderness.”³⁶ Nootka and Lummi who searched for guardian spirits in the Northwest most likely found little people and giants in the wildest spots. Areas with little or no soil, places where farmers cannot farm and hunters cannot hunt, are abodes loved by little people and giants, as they are the furthest reaches from humans. Hollow trees in dense woods and deep ravines make ideal hideouts and entrances to the spirit realm; intersections where the veil between little people, giants, and humans thin the most.

Almost anything bordering the ordinary can signal closeness to little people and giants: anxiety, smoke, steam, startled animals, strange artifacts, weird dreams, and unusual lights, colors, smells, sounds, weather, or plants-and is more true if such cues coincide. Peaks, cliffs, waterfalls, and camouflage hide caves and springs that lead to hidden valleys, intervening between human Earth and other worlds. Other round entrances help, such as caves, tree hollows, and the moon. Ojibwa shamans saw potholes as openings to a sacred underworld. They left tobacco in them as offerings to the little wild men. The Maliseet left offerings for their little people in a similar depression.

³⁶Thor Conway, *Painted Dreams: Native American Rock Art* (Minneapolis: Northword Press, 1993), 155.

Micmac, Maidu, and Lakota little peoples are linked to pitted rock. A Crow chief met little people at a Montana medicine wheel.³⁷ All of these spaces focus upon fields, processes, and relationships, rather than upon the materialism of the solid objects that surround and help define them.

Dark abodes protect little people and giants from man and his troubles. Under the cover of darkness, little people and giants no longer need to be invisible. On the other hand, sensory loss induced by darkness makes humans more perceptive, with heightened senses both little people and giants are more easily detected. At night, little people dance, play pranks, cook, hunt, feast, carve stone, walk with night animals, or help humans. Shamans and others who possess the ability to act as intermediaries, are creatures of night and often do business with spirits at that time, by dream or otherwise. Most are dreams of medicine power, although nightmares may become more common when little peoples become space aliens, “fairies,” or schizoid visions. Whether empowering, scary, or both, dreams of little people can be hard to wake up from among Shoshone, Ojibwa, and whites.

Like spatial borders, twilight sightings relate to the role of little people and giants as go-betweens and troublemakers. Twilight is neither day nor night, and thus stands above the bonds of division, which is also the tradition in many Euro-American ghost tales as well. Ojibwa, Maya, and Hispanic little peoples most often appear in transition months or days of the week. Dreams, waking, dying, birth, crossroads, midnight, noonday, and solstices also are when traffic between human and other worlds are easiest because boundaries are then thin. Boundaries need both sides, as there is no life without death, no winter without summer, no dawn without dusk. This may be why the Blackfeet

³⁷Gill and Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, 187.

leave gifts for little people just before leaving for the summer hunt and upon their return. In between day and night, twilight, arise apply equally to little people and giants who appear as dark shadows and to those who have bodies, heads, eyes, or clothes that glow or reflect. Night rounds and softens edges, while day sharpens them; twilight does both. All the ambiguity unnerves humans used to pat answers that are either black or white, but not both. Daylight once again makes people secure by removing the unknown elements of the dark.

Most of the innovations given by little people and giants come to us through children, who tend to be more creative and adaptable than adults. Little people told a Crow boy how to use coal for warmth, dogs for transport, and corn for crops. An Iroquois boy was taught the Dark Dance; others were taught new songs. Only young women are susceptible to the lure of the Pequot giant, *Chahnameed*.³⁸ A Jivorian giant goddess taught kids how to make the first pots. In a similar manner, young monkeys introduced the washing of food by seawater to their adults in Japan.³⁹

Little people and giants embody human emotions reaching the surface, where they become susceptible to others. Repression of one's feelings may work in the short run, but it can cause shadows to become devouring, as with ugly, evil little people; it accounts for most giants. Fire suppression ultimately causes catastrophic fires because of the buildup of fallen wood. Eruptions become too big for the small vents of pygmies. Large variations in cultural mores by humans are used by little people and giants to punish breakers of traditions and social norms. Violence unleashed can backlash, if

³⁸Ibid., 101.

³⁹Roth, *American Elves*, 81.

unwarranted, coming back full circle to kill the instigator or deceive him into killing his own family with the help of little people or a giant. If *Achumawi*, Afro-American, and Inuit little people and shape-shifters fail to injure an enemy, they will turn on their sponsor. Quechua and Abenaki sorcerers who beat little people in Peru and Maine, respectively, can be bruised themselves.⁴⁰ Even love, if repressed, can turn violent. An Abenaki wanted to hold another woman's baby but was driven out of camp. Now her caresses kill children. Yokut children abandoned by their parents return as thunderers and kill them; punishment metered out by "impartial" beings.⁴¹ Humans can be so open and trusting that brains fall out as food for giants. Failure to close a hole to the underworld caused a global flood among Yavapai in Arizona. Little people tend to be helpers, not leaders taking advantage of our gullibility, exceptions occur. Nevertheless, relying fully upon little people and giants, or blaming them for our problems, is a convenient excuse our own lack of growth. Unprepared persons meeting little people or giants can lose speech or memory rather than be given awareness. Trusting people, as well bears according to native tales, can fall prey to prankish tricksters, so some caution is in order. Too much openness invites possession by little people, giants, and other spirits. The aura of these beings can cause disorientation and a losing of one's way. Though little people and giants may focus or uncover our unconscious projections, most are not inkblots solely shaped by our fears and hopes. If they were, most would increase as the man-made synthetic world invades the rest of nature and humans are increasingly sure of their own devices. Populations and overall diversity of the more independent little people and giants wane as humans wax ever faster in dominating global ecosystems.

⁴⁰Ibid., 2.

⁴¹Gill and Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, 302.

More than their mimicry, it is the otherness of little people and giants that help humans grow by pulling up bootstraps. Little people and giants give us ample warning, though uncertainty remains, of course. That is their power. Little people and giants emphasize nature's unity as well as its otherness; a unity in diversity. Only as part of such unity can they teach us to honor all one's two-legged, four-legged, and no-legged relatives. No life should be neglected or scorned no matter how small. All have something to teach.

Little people, giants, and water share many similarities: habitat, shape-shifting, sleep-inducing songs, liveliness, moodiness, and an all-pervading presence. Both air and water speed up this myth-making, but the latter element dominates by far. For most little people and giants, air proves too abstract, otherworldly, and linked to fire. Water is earthier, touchable, and linked to stone, more to the liking of nymphs, gnomes, and other typical folklore elements. Water's properties lie between that of air and stone, and thus reconcile all three elements. Only in caves do we find so many folklore elements: air, water, darkness, and earth. So, it is no surprise to find that more native little people and giants live in caves than anywhere else. A sense of oppressiveness may come from higher carbon dioxide content and somewhat less oxygen. This may help teach humility, which has the same root word as humus, meaning "of the soil." In contrast to the sky, caves are low energy, with little light, wind, movement, or organics. In Mayan and Nahuatl belief, lightning, rain, little people and giants come from Mesoamerican caves.⁴²

In contrast to water, stone's solidity slows mythic change of little people and giants. Cree little people in Saskatchewan talked to stones and bathed them in fine plant

⁴²Roth, *American Elves*, 53.

perfumes; they wrapped them up in cloth woven from silver and took them on their adventures. Stone amulets, arrowheads, petroglyphs, and ancient homes serve as concrete reminders of little people. Over time, some legends with “stone” links survive with little change, while water and air legends tend to become more fluid, and thus more subject to the ways of storytelling, the needs of priests, and thereby entering the realm of myth.⁴³

Little people and giants also negotiate duality, between animals and gods in myths and humans and spirits in legends. In this role, they depict the spirit world in a homelier way than the grand myths of sky religions known to farmers, allowing them compete with priests. Mayan, Aztec, and Inca state religions retaliated by neglecting little people. Certain little people are found in Aztec legends, but are absent in Aztec myths. Semitic religions repressed elves outright. As in the Near East, the ancient feminine fertility Goddess known to Nahuatl was replaced by a bloodthirsty, mostly male regime of gods.⁴⁴ The new Mayan gods killed a horticultural symbol and replaced him with docile cornmeal men. These urban religions needed the superego control of myths to organize, govern, and command dense populations. Myths singled out groups as a “chosen people,” and legitimized their rulers and offered a manifest destiny to destroy other groups.⁴⁵

⁴³Roth, *American Elves*, 178.

⁴⁴Peter Markman and Robert Markman, *Masks of the Spirit: Image and Metaphor in MesoAmerica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 51.

⁴⁵Felicitas Goodman, *Where the Spirits Ride the Wind: Trance Journeys and Other Ecstatic Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 220.

Unlike many gods, dictators, or politicians, little people and giants do not promise immortality; endless abundance; or ethnic, nationalistic, or religious superiority. Their claims remain small, but may be more achievable and sustainable. In The Healing Path, Barasch says that "the Helper is allied less with the high and exalted than with the 'low, dark, and small,' the undeveloped parts of the self. In that spirit, the Helper rarely promises a cure, but rather tries to help the patient grapple meaningfully with illness at a gut level."⁴⁶ Gods can be more benevolent than most little people and giants, as among Cherokee, but they also are more idealized and less true to nature, both harmful and helpful. The purely mythic and abstract runs counter to nature and to nature's protectors. Most little people allies are an alloy, neither completely evil nor completely good. Many have a complete soul and so, like the Guarani Kurupi of South America, cannot be completely evil. They are too personal and legendary and do not readily conform to myths. If pigeonholed, they readily change back into individual encounters of folklore when myths weaken, as among whites. Even with watery or airy mutations, changes in myths about little people and giants have not gone far. Tales of Ute, Mandan, Shoshone, or Hidatsa little people and giants do not take the "before-time" and formal style of myths.⁴⁷ Certain Aztec dwarfs appear in legend but not in myth. Most Cherokee little people myths may be recent, as they do not appear in all stories. Having moved to a point between wilderness and civilization, even mythic individuals in America resist further civilization, resulting in their loss as arbitrators.

⁴⁶Mark Barasch, *The Healing Path: A Soul Approach to Illness* (New York: Penguin: 1995), 31.

⁴⁷Roth, *American Elves*, 79.

Little people and giants as metaphors symbolize rebirths, mediation, altered states, and so on until everything is named but not covered or united a "throwing together" as the Greek word *symbolleîn* denotes. As a function of allegory in its broader coverage, expands the possible and deals better than metaphor with the multiple relationships and processes that little people and giants are. It bares the inner essence of events and forces not grasped by surficial tales; it goes beyond most words, resulting in apparent contradictions. The little people and giants as allegory points to and connects to the ineffable, which cannot be told in words, even in the words of myths at their limits. The words stop but the meaning of little people and giants go beyond the audio and visual.

Most Native American myths in the Americas are limited owing to several factors. They do not completely fulfill the needs of many people, giant, big, or little. Mythic individuals distilled from extinct little person or giant tribes cannot teach humans how to achieve social harmony. Humanizing little people has gone much further in Europe than it has in America. As a result, European little people and giants are more likely to love the sky, order, and cleanliness than do American little people and giants. They are more solitary, fairylike, and mythical. Demons, whether from Europe or the Americas, are more likely to be tiny, immortal, vegetarian, deceitful, white, winged, former gods, hierarchical, a granter of wishes, servants, impersonated, hereditary, invisible, a controller of prosperity, and sky or human house dwellers than are most American little people and giants. ⁴⁸

⁴⁸Ibid., 43.

As human cultures changed emphasis from animals\earth\shamans to humans\sky\priests, little people and giants shrank into fairies, aliens, or enlarged into demons, angels, or human ghosts. As in some schizophrenia, little people are more likely to be strictly malevolent, seen in nightmares, appear singly, and more heard than seen, than are the more native dwarfs.⁴⁹ What has many names and forms is a nameless and formless terror. With the loss of knowing how to protect ourselves from dwarfs, fear of them increases. As depicted by Euro- and Afro-American lore, negative reinforcement of social norms by elves became more important than the positive reinforcement of cures and examples; the negative-reinforcement increased the demonic. The Cherokee threaten a certain dwarf with spanking if he misbehaves. Small demons, more so than most elves, are desires and fears that are thrown out when recognized within by increasingly authoritarian and patriarchal societies.⁵⁰ Little people become demonic to newcomers in general and especially to newcomers with values opposed to their own. Consequently, European invaders changed some female giant-size goddesses into dwarf demons, as among Mapuche in Chile and Quechua in Peru, a goddess of the hunt became a lethal siren among Mayans in Yucatan. Mountain spirits among Sibundoy may have become devils exorcized by Christian crosses in Columbia. Nix, the Mother of Night, who is a giant by implication, became small nixies. The new replacements did not make up for the overall loss of diversity or value. Some Inuit dwarfs turned to demon possession after Christians came; dwarf spirits who possess Toba are evil while those who do not help grow crops. Shape-shifters may be purely benevolent, more likely to be magical, and

⁴⁹Ibid., 42.

⁵⁰Ibid., 29.

more often linked to non-shamanic cultures than are other little people. For example, conjuring spirits in agrarian or industrial societies more likely summons magic shape-shifting little people rather than the aforementioned less abstract-. Caddoan priests dealt with tiny shape-shifters while Caddoan lay people dealt with larger-sized beings who could not change their shape. Small angels appear to Anglo children, and adult-size ones appear to adults. Magic becomes degraded into technical control, as in Mayan dwarfs who have changed from a religious role to a magic one.⁵¹

A decline in rock art in the Western Hemisphere parallels the downfall of shamans, and their relationship with little people and giants. Siikala records a decline in shamanic rock art in Finland; a decline caused by expanding livestock and agriculture.⁵² The same pattern happened in parts of Africa. Agrarian and industrial cultures offered artistic media that could be worked, transported, and sold more easily than rock walls. Art became a mass-produced commodity distant from its spirit of place and shamanic origins. Time enclosed modern art, not space. The transition to science and technology has continued the trend toward duality, order, control, linear time, high energy, and homo-centrism started by priests. The linear cycle of crops was augmented by linear assembly lines and their fragmentation of process, which was then reflected in aspects of daily life, including spirituality. Much of this was reflected in increasingly homocentric, non-cyclic, dualistic, and energetic folklore beings. Little people in North Carolina became ghost-like beings a century ago. Aliens have become either benevolent or evil,

⁵¹Man Hunbatz, *The Secrets of Mayan Science and Religion* (Rochester: Bear and Company, 1989), 68.

⁵²Anna-Leena Siikala, *Interpreting Oral Narrative* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1984), 77.

similar to the traits of the lost giants. Rather than residents of outerspace, they are increasingly seen as beings from the future or associated with time aberrations. High-energy pixies, aliens, gremlins, witches, and poltergeists now dominate Euro-American lore, and many Native Americans now tell of ghosts and witches.⁵³ This may stem from increased fears of death, both individual and cultural; a result of relatively low life expectancy of Native Americans and the continued loss of their languages and cultures. Cultural clashes of the last half of the millennium create stress and a power loss that is eased for some by the pursuit and prosecution of witches and their “demonic” power. Emphasis upon ghosts and witches may also increase when rather carefree hunter and gatherer cultures change to the greater anxiety of patriarchs and crops.

Some little-people folklore, especially Euro-American, sounds like the tales of dwarf possession of schizophrenics. For the most part, these images do not agree with the little people of shamans, and schizophrenia does not typify shamans.⁵⁴ Schizophrenia may be more closely associated with frontal lobe discharges found in possession trances, damage to left temporal lobes, and with a lack of activity or dysfunction in the frontal lobes. Rock art, spiritual journeys, and the social roles of shamans imply a more controlled access to trances than that available to most schizophrenics. Psychotic episodes may account for some native and more Euro-American lore, but it does not seem to be the main source of giant or little person legend. However, with the loss of shamanic links, schizoid events may increase and already may form a major part of current UFO lore. People “stolen by aliens” often have paralysis, disorientation,

⁵³Tallman, *Dictionary of American Folklore*, 83.

⁵⁴Peggy Ann Wright, "The Nature of the Shamanic State of Consciousness: A Review," *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 2 (1) (1989): 29.

carnality, amnesia and nose bleeds- conditions also associated with possessions.

Extended conversations with aliens resemble those that schizophrenics have with their dwarfs and are quite unlike the speech taboos surrounding most native little people.

Great stress may bring on schizophrenia and can occur when meeting both benevolent and helpful aliens.

For humans to “preserve” little people and giants on our own terms, caging and taming them as in a zoo, we make little people smaller and solitary, giants gregarious and obtrusive, and banish them to another world. Then we are less likely to fear, respect, or believe in them. Giving more energy and magic to little people and giants weakens their power as they become unreal, shrinking and retreating into folktales. By moving them to one end of a spectrum far from us, they become so subjective that they lose out as bridge builders. As encounters with both little people and giants became only social memories, secular legends turned into sacred myths or entertaining tales, and as cultures became more complicated and bureaucratic, control increased over the history of mankind. As the undifferentiated aspect of little people and giants in some ways represents an early and more unconscious human stage, cultures worldwide eventually segregated communal beings into types and gave them proper names. The certainty and complexity of folklore replaced the ambiguity and diversity of little people and giants in legend. As elements of folklore, little people and giants have many common characteristics, all of which seem to help humans connect to them on a basic, primal level. The folklore mosaic combines childlike, elemental, and animal features to help humans identify with nature. As a bridge between gods and people, or between great natural forces, little people and giants may appear human to ease our contact with the non-human.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LITTLE PEOPLE OF MONTANA AND WYOMING

Education is your greatest weapon. With education you are the white man's equal, without education you are his victim and so shall remain all of your lives. Study, learn, help one another always. Remember there is only poverty and misery in idleness and dreams - but in work there is self-respect and independence.

-Chief Plenty Coups (*Aleek-chea-ahoosh*)⁵⁵

For many years, people outside of the Native American community thought stories of little people were similar to the other tales of dwarfs and elves that dominate the Euro-American folklore landscape. With a lack of archaeological or other substantial evidence, it was easy to dismiss the notion of a little person or a giant as pure myth. The Crow Indians of South Central Montana and Northern Wyoming have an ongoing relationship with little people, who are seen as protectors and suppliers of powerful medicine. Little people have been a consistent part of Crow folklore for millennia, and were present in oral tradition before their move to the inter-mountain West, from the East, long before any recorded history within the United States. As part of their role as protectors, the little people of the Crow would lay in ambush of rival war parties, and tear out the hearts of their enemy's horses.⁵⁶ The Crow still make offerings to their little people at Medicine Rock, to ask for assistance in achieving success and in healing. When measuring the greatness of a leader, the Crow often revere those who have come in

⁵⁵"Plenty Coups" *Wikipedia* Retrieved May 1, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plenty_Coups.

⁵⁶Murray, *Ghost of the Old West*, 179.

contact with, or known little people. The Crow had chiefs and shamans who would receive medicine from little people to aid in the prosperity of their tribe, and often these little people would appear in dreams, offering sound guidance if the person would follow their advice.

One of the most recent stories regarding little people and their interaction with the Crow is the story of the great warrior and chief Plenty Coups. During a medicine dream Plenty Coups was lead through the air from a high mountain by a spirit who took him to a lodge. Inside the lodge was a little person who handed Plenty Coups breath feathers and taught him how to count coups. The little person told Plenty Coups that his people resided at Medicine Rock and were the makers of stone arrows; that they were enemies to some and allies to others. The little person then told Plenty Coups that someday he would become a great chief and the little people, with the help of the creator, would help guide his spirit through its life journey. Plenty Coups went on to become one of the last great Crow chiefs, striving for peace amongst other tribes and the white man.⁵⁷

In 1934, shortly after Plenty Coups' death, discovery was made in the Pedro Mountains near Casper, Wyoming. It began when two men were prospecting for gold, by blasting the walls of a cliff in hopes of discovering a mineral-rich vein. Instead, they found a small cave, the cavern was about fifteen feet long (4.58 m) and four feet high (1.21 m) and had been totally sealed off from the outside world by a thick wall of rock. They ventured into it to find what appeared to be a mummy the size of a small child. The little person was sitting cross-legged, with his arms folded across his lap. The tiny mummy was only about six and one-half inches tall (16.5 cm) in its seated position, and estimated at fourteen inches tall (35.5 cm) in a standing position. Its skin was brown and

⁵⁷Ibid., 181.

wrinkled; its forehead low and flat; its nose was flat its eyes heavy-lidded, its mouth very wide with thin lips, and large sharp canine teeth. The face looked like that of an old man. It was so well preserved that its fingernails could still be seen on its hands and the top of its head was covered in a dark jelly-like substance that was still pliable.



Fig. 1. The Pedro Mountain Man.

Cecil Main and Frank Carr took the mummy back to Casper, where it engendered great interest, and was the object of considerable press coverage. People began to

speculate as to whether the find substantiated the existence of little people. Many believed that it did, while there were also many skeptics. In early 1940s the 'Pedro Mountain Man,' as it came to be called, was purchased by a car dealer name Ivan Goodman for display in his showroom as a way to attract customers. Many scientists assumed that it was a pieced-together work of taxidermy. Hence, Goodman received numerous requests from scientists to examine the mummy, and it began making several trips to both the Field Museum in Chicago and Museum of Natural History in New York City, where it was examined in detail by a variety of archaeologists, anthropologists, and other scientists.



Fig. 2. X-ray images of Pedro Man.

The controversy grew to epidemic proportions, as no two scientists could come to a uniform opinion as to how this little person had gotten into a remote cave in the middle

of a Wyoming mountain range.⁵⁸ Further, x-rays displayed a perfectly formed, manlike skeleton, with some variation in the wrists and the eye sockets. The tests also revealed that the little person had been killed violently, as the spine was damaged, a collarbone broken, and the skull had been smashed in by a heavy blow. The soft substance at the top of the head was exposed brain tissue and congealed blood. After the tests were complete, the scientists estimated that the mummy was a full-grown adult who was approximately sixty-five years old at the time of his death.

Some scientists suggested that the mummy was merely a grossly malformed infant or fetus suffering from anencephaly, a severe condition where most of the cranium and brain have failed to develop. This viewpoint was in stark contrast with the evidence offered by the mummy itself. The little person had both head and pubic hair; a trait not commonly found in most infants or fetuses. Another mitigating factor was the epiphyseal lines in the bones, which do not calcify until the end of adolescence in humans, were not present, suggesting that the mummy was much older than an infant or an adolescent. In addition, the calcification present in the teeth and bones suggested a significant span of time between birth and death.⁵⁹

It was learned in the 1950s that other incomplete mummies had also been found in the region, including whole skulls with measurements consistent with those of the Pedro Man.⁶⁰ It is said that a game warden found a whole cave filled with mummies, but was so frightened that he left immediately, and vowed to never return. The remote area in

⁵⁸Ibid., 186.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid, 189.

which he claimed to have found the cave is called Pathfinder, a basin that is now under water.⁶¹ It was avoided by tribes in the area owing to its strong medicine and the fact that it belonged to little people. His story only came out after the media blitz surrounding the Pedro Mummy, and is therefore questionable. When Goodman died in 1950, the mummy passed into the hands of one Leonard Walder and eventually disappeared. Currently, there is a \$10,000 bounty for any information that leads to the whereabouts of the Pedro Man.

Skeletons of little people have been found in other areas of the United States. In 1837, a number of tiny human skeletons from three feet (0.91 m) to four and one half feet (1.37 m) tall were found buried in tiny wooden coffins near Cochocton, Ohio. There were no artifacts found, but the number of graves led one observer to note that they "must have been tenants of a considerable city."⁶² The graves are located near many of the major effigy mounds in the Ohio Valley. In 1876, another ancient graveyard was documented as having been discovered in Coffee County, Tennessee. The reports indicated that the cemetery, covering some six acres, held the remains of hundreds of dwarf-like people. The cemetery is similar to those found in White County and other places in middle Tennessee, but is vastly more extensive, indicating that the race of pygmies that once inhabited this country was numerous. The same peculiarities of position observed in the White county graves are found in these.⁶³ The writer of the letter says:

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Gentlemen's Magazine, 3:8:182, (1837).

⁶³ Glen Arm, *Ancient Man: A handbook of Puzzling Artifacts* (New York: Sourcebook Project, 1977), 98.

Some considerable excitement and curiosity took place a few days since, near Hillsboro, Coffee County, on James Brown's farm. A man was ploughing in a field which had been cultivated many years, and ploughed up a man's skull and other bones. After making further examination they found that there were about six acres in the graveyard. They were buried in a sitting or standing position. The bones show that they were a dwarf tribe of people, about three feet high. It is estimated that there were about 75,000 to 100,000 buried there. This shows that this country was inhabited thousands of years ago.⁶⁴

Both of these accounts are rather questionable, as neither can be confirmed. Further there was no proper scientific documentation of the discovery or cataloging of such artifacts. It is possible though, that the amount of skeletal evidence found was exaggerated in order to sell more copies of the report

The occurrence of skeletal evidence of little people throughout the United States, let alone the rest of the world, is quite overwhelming. Evidence of such elements of Native American folklore is quite substantial, even though it does not fit into the rubric of Western scientific thought. As is often the case in historical research, authenticity needs to be established to a certain level of acceptance, as is the case with Pedro Man. Unfortunately, while the authenticity of Pedro Man is without question; his disappearance leaves science with unanswered questions.

⁶⁴Anthropological Institute 6:100 (1876).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GIANTS OF THE INTERIOR

When North America was being colonized by Europeans, the settlers began to notice mounds, clearly man-made, all over the North American continent. The Euro-Americans could not believe that the mounds had been built by Native Americans as they were considered to be intellectually inferior and incapable of such engineering shrewdness. Hence, the term Mound Builder was applied to an imaginary race believed to have constructed the great earthworks of the United States. The final blow to this myth was dealt by an official appointee of the United States Government, Cyrus Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology. His lengthy report (727 pages, published in 1894) concluded finally that it was the opinion of himself, and thus the United States Government, that the prehistoric earthworks of the Eastern United states were the work of Native Americans. Thomas Jefferson was an early proponent of this view after he excavated a mound and ascertained the continuity of burial practices observed in contemporaneous Native populations.⁶⁵

David Cusic, a Tuscarora Iroquois by birth, wrote in 1825 that among the legends of the ancient people there was a powerful tribe called Ronnongwetowanca. They were giants, and had a considerable habitation. Cusic went on to explain the creation story of how the Great Spirit made the people, and some of them became giants. The Ronnongwetowanca were strictly scavengers and relied heavily upon raiding and pillaging regional tribes. After enduring generations of exploitation, the tribes banded

⁶⁵“Mound Builders” *Wikipedia* 25 May 2004) Retrieved March 29, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mound_Builders

together to destroy the Ronnongwetowanca. With a final force of about 800 warriors, they successfully annihilated the abhorrent giants. This was supposed to have happened around 2500 winters before Columbus arrived in America, i.e. circa 1000 B.C.⁶⁶



Fig. 3. Effigy mound cross-section near present day Conneaut, Ohio.

Estimates of the number of mounds in Ohio alone at the end of the Colonial period exceeded ten thousand.⁶⁷ Today, less than one-twentieth of these exist in reconstructed form. The first record of giants in Ohio can be traced back to 1829, during construction of a hotel in Chesterville. An effigy mound was being used to furnish the material. As the mound was excavated, the workers dug up a large human skeleton. A local physician examining the skeleton said that the skull could have easily fit over a normal man's head with no difficulty. The physician also noted that the skull had

⁶⁶H.C. Mercer, *The Lenape Stone* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1885), 21.

⁶⁷Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mound_Builders.

additional teeth, and the orbital sockets were much larger proportionally than that of a modern human.

In the book, The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, author John Haywood describes "very large" bones in stone graves found in White County, Tennessee in 1829. An ancient fortification contained skeletons of gigantic stature averaging at least seven feet (2.13 m) in length. Haywood goes on to say that near the ancient fortification were several trees that bore cut marks of long ago. During the time at which the mound was excavated the landowner, the Honorable Nehemiah King, with a magnifying glass, counted 350 annular rings beyond some cut marks near the tree's center. Haywood concludes: Deducting 350 from 1829, leaves 1479, which must have been the year when these cuts were made. This was thirteen years before the discovery of America, by Columbus.⁶⁸

In 1872, near Bates Mound in Noble County, Ohio three large skeletons were unearthed. All were at least eight feet tall (2.43 m). In 1878, another discovery was made in Ohio, near Conneaut in Ashtabula County on land belonging to Peleg Sweet. Several mounds on his property were excavated, yielding many surprising results. Several skeletons were found and seemed to be arranged hierarchically. Many of the skeletons were of abnormal size. Sweet, who was described as a man of large proportion, could easily fit the skull over his head as if it were a helmet, and the jaw could function as a chinstrap.⁶⁹

⁶⁸John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* (1823), 41.

⁶⁹William W. Williams *History of Ashtabula Co., Ohio* (Philadelphia: Williams Bros, 1878), 43.

In 1883, Scientific American Magazine, published the following account:

Two miles from Mandan, on the bluffs near the junction of the Hart and Missouri rivers, says the local newspaper, the Pioneer, is an old Cemetery of fully 100 acres in extent filled with bones of a giant race. This vast city of the dead lies just east of the Fort Lincoln road. The ground has the appearance of having been filled with trenches piled full of dead bodies, both man and beast, and covered with several feet of earth. In many places mounds from 8 to 10 feet high, and some of them 100 feet or more in length, have been thrown up and are filled with bones, broken pottery, vases of various bright colored flint, and agates ... showing the work of a people skilled in the arts and possessed of a high state of civilization. This has evidently been a grand battlefield, where thousands of men ... have fallen. ...Five miles above Mandan, on the opposite side of the Missouri, is another vast cemetery, as yet unexplored. We asked an aged Indian what his people knew of these ancient grave yards. He answered: "Me know nothing about them. They were here before the red man."

This serves as another instance in which the remains of giants were found and documented by a reliable source.

Nature, in its December 17, 1891 issue, reported that at a depth of fourteen feet (4.26 m) in a large Ohio burial mound, excavators found the skeleton of a massive man in copper armor. He wore a copper cap, while copper moldings encased his jaws. Copper armor also protected his arms, chest, and stomach. A necklace made of bear's teeth and inlaid with pearls decorated his neck. At his side lay the skeleton of a woman, probably his wife.⁷⁰ Following is the account as recorded by a journalist for the American

Antiquarian.

A large Indian mound near the town of Gasterville, Pa., has recently been opened and examined by a committee of scientists sent out from the Smithsonian Institute. At some depth from the surface a kind of vault was found in which was discovered the skeleton of a giant measuring seven feet two inches. His hair was coarse and jet-black, and hung to the waist, the brow being ornamented with a copper crown. The skeleton was remarkably well preserved. Near it were also found the bodies of several children of various sizes, the remains being covered with beads made of bone of some kind. Upon removing these, the bodies were seen to be enclosed in a network of straw or reeds, and beneath this was a covering of the skin of some animal. On the stones which covered the vault were carved inscriptions, and these when deciphered, will doubtless lift the veil that now shrouds the history of the race of people that one time inhabited this part of the American continent. The relics have been carefully packed and forwarded to the

⁷⁰Nature 12/17/1891.

Smithsonian Institute, and they are said to be the most interesting collection ever found in the United States. The explorers are now at work on another mound in Barton County, Pa.⁷¹

Any further reports regarding the mound cannot be located.

In 1911, several mummified remains of mysterious red-haired humans ranging from six and one half feet(1.98 m) to over eight feet (2.5 m) tall were disinterred in Lovelock Cave, seventy miles north-east of Reno, Nevada by a guano mining operation. These substantiated the local Paiute Indians' legends of such people, which they called the Si-Te-Cahs. Scientists proved reluctant to investigate these remains, as they were discounted as pure tripe. Eventually most the bones were simply discarded by the miners. What was left was salvaged by various local people. Unfortunately most of the remains were destroyed when the shed that they were kept in caught fire and burned to the ground. Fortunately however, one of the Lovelock skulls, almost one foot tall, is preserved with some related bones and artifacts at the Humboldt County Museum in Winnemucca, Nevada, and various Lovelock artifacts are also held at the Nevada State Historical Society's museum in Reno.⁷²

Most archaeologists who specialize in North American studies give little credence to reports of an extinct race of giant Native Americans, or some sub-species counterpart. It is true that most reports of giant skeletons have been shown to be hoaxes or have lead to dead ends when an investigator attempts to track down the bones. Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence is plentiful in the form of snippets of reports in various

⁷¹*American Antiquarian* 7:52 (1885): 12.

⁷²Karl Shuker, *The Unexplained* (London: Carlton, 1997), 67.

respectable and semi-respectable publications. The question of giant prehistoric Native Americans continues to intrigue some scientists. ⁷³

⁷³Chad Arment, *Cryptozoology: Science & Speculation* (Landsville: Coachwhip Publications, 2004), 189.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

In dealing with the research issues at hand, many unique problems arise. It is important to realize that historical evidence is not a pre-given entity waiting to be discovered and marshalled into service to answer questions in historical research. The past can never be recovered as a solid whole, as history is always fragmented. As is often the case in historical research, authenticity needs to be established to a certain level of acceptance. Historical data are always filtered, so it is also important to establish for whom and by whom, and for what purpose the information was recorded. Another facet is taking into account the aforementioned gaps in the historical record. As part of the investigation, these gaps will provide for speculation as to what actually might have happened. In searching for a common theme or themes after performing a historical analysis of the data, several conclusions could be drawn.

In the traditional Western school of scientific thought, seeing is believing, without substitute. In an effort to demythologize Native American mythology, these rejectionist principles have been most difficult to overcome. The Western school of scientific thought has an extremely strict rubric by which it measures scientific data, and presupposes that it, as a scientific method is superior to any other non-traditional way of “measuring” science or history. It is extremely unlikely that this “governing body” has all of the answers or, for that matter, all of the appropriate methods to acquire the answers to the volumes of questions that have been, or still need to be asked. The phenomena of little people and giants, is a prime example of non-compliance with the Western school of

scientific thought, they both challenge the basic normative assumptions of said school. The discovery of *H. floresiensis* on the island of Java, is a startling present-day example of not only a little person, but of the type of speculation that the Western school of scientific thought admonishes. In an effort to be fair to the school of Western scientific thought, it was not meant to test hypothesis that involve such deeply embedded elements of culture. Regardless of how the school of Western scientific has evolved in an effort to tackle issues of culture and folklore, it is merely inadequate.

Who is to say that the folklore regarding both little people and giants is more reality than myth? It could certainly be postulated that they could exist in light of recent discoveries, as well as general observations of the human race. Is it possible that some sub-species of the human race could have existed on this continent that we, or the school of Western scientific thought, has not acknowledged owing to its rigidity regarding human evolution and the expansion of the species? Is it possible that an isolated sub-species of the human race could have existed in some remote area of the Rocky Mountains or the Ohio River Valley? Certainly. As mentioned before, the anomaly of island dwarfism could have run its course in an isolated valley, perhaps during the last ice age, in some remote area. Could giants have existed in the same manner?

In our own population, we see interesting evolutionary mechanisms play out in present-day scenarios, as with pygmies in Africa and Indonesia and the exceptional stature of the Dutch, and the height of the Nuer. The first recorded interaction with pygmies was by the Egyptians nearly four thousand years ago, so it is probable that they had been around for a much longer period of time, as they already lived within a well established culture. It is reasonable to hypothesize that they have been in existence for

several thousand years; perhaps much longer. One interesting facet of the culture of pygmies and other hunter-gather societies is their above average susceptibility to marginalization. This susceptibility can be attributed to a variety of factors, foremost of which is subjugation by more domineering societies, as is the case in present-day equatorial Africa. In the ancient Americas, the same sort of marginalization could have occurred on a smaller scale, as tribes of Native Americans slowly began to consume shared resources, it may have caused an already fragile ecosystem to collapse, resulting in the drastic reduction or elimination altogether of the marginalized. As with the Bambuti of the Congo Basin, marginalization leads to secrecy and as to prevent outside influences from corrupting the norms of their culture. It would be hard to believe that the same factors would affect giants as well, as they would be better equipped physically to compete for resources. Disease is another factor that could have resulted in a drastic population reduction, as has proven true repeatedly throughout the historical record. Small populations of isolated or semi-isolated little person or giant cultures could have been decimated through disease or other mechanisms of natural selection. The hypothesis of “shrubby” evolution makes little people and giants more plausible, as there were many *Homo* species living on the planet at any given time, which help explain genetic variation amongst present day humans as well as those of our extinct ancestors.⁷⁴

Perception could also play a large role in folklore regarding both little people and giants. As mentioned before, human stature is dependant upon a variety of factors, including diet, general health, and the type of climate in which one resides. Folklore or accounts of little people and giants could have been largely based perception of height. If a Native American tribe had an average male height of five foot five inches (1.65 m), a

⁷⁴Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory*, 9.

person who was six foot five inches (2.01 m) tall would seem to be a giant. Conversely, someone who was four feet (1.21 m) tall would seem like a little person. It is probable that height among residents of prehistoric North America varied to the same extent that it does today, and tribes that may have encountered one and other could have varied in height radically, both on the tall and short end, perhaps accounting for some sightings of little people and giants.

There is no doubt that folklore retains elements of truth, as oral traditions are passed down to younger generations, their consistency and function change depending upon the circumstances surrounding them. The most encouraging factor is the prevalence of these oral traditions amongst the Native Americans, and throughout the world. The stories are not unique to merely one group, but are instead consistent “mythological” facets of the individual culture of each tribe and consistencies regarding the function of both little people and giants as elements of folklore. A majority of Native American tribes know of little people and giants, physical evidence is needed only by those who have to see, touch, or otherwise sense their surroundings on one plane of existence.

With the research primarily consisting of revolving myth and debated skeletal remains, to move beyond speculation would be irresponsible. However, to deny the possibility of their existence based upon the shaky rubric of Western science would too be negligent. Though skeletal remains of both little people and giants are plentiful, most have not been subjected to a level of scrutiny sufficient to determine their true lineage. This plethora of skeletal evidence can lead to the false impression that there is ample evidence available to determine if either little people or giants existed. The question remains, could physical evidence of little people and/or giants be found? They already

have been. Are they remnants of the little people and giants of Native American folklore? The question is immaterial, regardless of their existence, the best gifts are what little people and giants teach, basics of how we should relate to nature, how to be tolerant, respectful, humble, and self-aware. If the power gained is used to control or harm others, retribution can be swift. Little people and giants teach us by example, they were around long before we thought of ourselves as separate from nature. They are a remembering, a healing of human dismemberment from nature. Little people act as alter egos that can challenge, energize, and humor Americans into experiencing personal growth and integration. They also help us get beyond ourselves so we might see our personalities as crystal-clear. Problems can be reduced to manageable size by little people, or unmanageable and catastrophic by giants.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Little people and giants also teach people, especially Americans, how to be a member of nature again, and how to resonate with it. From this shared identity comes a concern that ranges from love among vertebrates, to compassion for “lower” life forms, to respect for the Earth. Little people and giants teach ecological and spiritual balance, love and respect across species, and social justice.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that little people and giants existed as physical beings, perhaps not those of Native American folklore, but that is irrelevant. As entities in the folklore of Native Americans, little people and giants bolster self-esteem by being role models, both positive and negative, rather than by giving materials that provide only temporary relief from insecurity; they tell us how to live rather than what to have. Little people also reverse social fragmentation and polarization by empowering those they pity and by accepting gifts from the wealthy. Giants too work at the reversal of social fragmentation, by making the subjects of their examples realize humility. Little people and giants are signposts, they charge the mundane with vitality, humor, mystery, and potential, yet bring much that is chaotic or inexplicable down to Earth and its guardians as well. Much of their power is in this paradox.

Without uncertainty, life becomes boring and the ability to change is lost. Little people, giants and their pranks make sure this does not happen. The uncertainty of their existence itself reinforces this. Ambiguity destroys our old rigid creeds and opens us up

⁷⁵Lee Boylan, *Close Extraterrestrial Encounters: Positive Experiences With Mysterious Visitors* (Margate: Wild Flower Press, 1994), 39.

to multiple dimensions of experience. Many reports of little people and giants have the ring of truth and reality, yet many other contacts are quite absurd, unreal, and illogical. So, people react to them in different ways. Much in the way that prey escapes predators by being unpredictable, so do giants and little people reinforce diversity and creativity.

Over eons, belief in little people and giants diversified our responses, personalities, and cultures. By not keeping all of our eggs in one cultural basket, we are more likely to escape the Western scientific extinction now threatening both little people and giants. Their world allows for individual interpretation based upon experience, not upon rigid social norms. At the same time, little people and giants give us coherence, a sense of continuity, and a connection with the Earth. Little people and giants do not come into this world, they come out of it much as flowers unfold. The little people and giant course of action punishes humans who travel alone, such as adulterers, sorcerers, or others who do not want to share. Not only do they keep us together, but help keep small-scale societies in tune with nature. Explicit rules from little people on how to live in harmony with nature and others seems mostly new, as in some Cherokee and Lakota folklore.⁷⁶ Hispanic and Quechuan little people now protect dwindling forests, tales of *Chullachaqui* as a guardian of ecological harmony only became common during the loss of Peru's forests during the last two centuries.⁷⁷ In what seems to be a trend, human relationships with little people and giants change with the times to deal more fully with mankind's most pressing needs.

Little people and giants promote wise and respectful use of life and land through fear, rewards, and examples. They punish waste, pollution, or neglect by way of disease,

⁷⁶Roth, *American Elves*, 29.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 156.

fear, imprisonment, or loss of hunting luck. Nearness to easily polluted water is to be avoided. Ignorance is no excuse. People from many other cultures die because human intolerance upsets fragile balances. Giants punish people who need punishing because of their treatment of other mortals. Little people and giants teach that everything has limits, including human numbers, perception, consumption, and effects on a limited planet. Everything taken to excess destroys itself, including materialism, competition, growth, domination, individualism, hierarchy, and exploitation. They and similar beings teach that much of the universe lies beyond our understanding or control. Little people frown upon human overindulgence of any type: greed, prolonged sorrow, cruelty, stinginess, envy, fear, laziness, filthiness, and hubris, for all such selfishness smacks of immaturity and fragmentation. In ecology, age, and personality they take the long view; there are few quick and easy fixes to be had from little people and giants.

Humans used many signs from little people to find out when hunting would be poor. Even if such signs were random, uncertain, or misunderstood, avoidance of hunting during those times may have sustained animals populations even better than a more rational or systematic approach. Some signs may have been based upon animal or tidal cycles still poorly understood. For example, Maliseet and Ojibwa knew their hunting would be poor if their offerings in potholes at low water were not removed.⁷⁸ Lack of spring flooding might greatly affect wildlife fertility, uncertainty also affected the hunt itself. "That is another reason the Indian respects all life, because appearance is like a mask. We never know who is underneath."⁷⁹ So as not to unduly anger shape-shift

⁷⁸Ibid., 108.

⁷⁹Conway, *Painted Dreams*, 116.

dwarfs, people only killed animals if the need was great. Little people kept Lakota in line, ensuring that they did not kill more bison than they could eat. A little person gave a Blackfoot hunter a medicine bundle so that he would stop killing all the game.⁸⁰

Spanning the entire Hemisphere, dwarfs from over ten tribes punished humans who hunted animals out of greed or who killed more than they needed. Little people also practice what they preach. Hawaiian dwarfs ate everything they netted. After Micmac little people kill an animal, they leave nothing, even the blood is made into gravy; they use everything in the woods.⁸¹ Like human hunter-gatherers worldwide, little people may control their own numbers through infanticide and sexual abstinence, as dwarf children certainly are few and far between. Little people aid humans in other ways. They take pity upon orphans, children, elders, captives, victims, patients, debtors, lost souls, and poor hunters. They forecast illness, guard life, and help humans, alive or dead, gain access to spirits. Little people and giants bring meaning that match the needs of different individuals and cultures.

Little people and giants cannot straddle bigness that does not balance or compromise. The “bigger is better” creed of American society leaves little room for little people and giants in minds, hearts, or Earth. The march of globalization crowds out values loved by little people and giants; the vitality of small communities; restraint, respect, harmony, magic, honesty, mutual help, and the ability to change. In exchange for our freedom, these compromises grant us monotony, monoculture, monotheism, ignorance, intolerance, competition, specialization, and subsequent alienation from little people, giants, the Earth, and ourselves. The vastness of modern culture crowds out

⁸⁰Roth, *American Elves*, 137.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 111.

nature and increasingly removes us from natural sources. Giants and little people protect springs from pollution but do not protect faucets, the immediate source of water for most people in the United States today. They cannot protect springs dried up by over-pumping of ground water and falling water tables. So dwarfs become irrelevant in the short term.

Since freedom results from a mix of often-conflicting controlling forces, including little people and giants, monoculture lessens freedom, adaptation, and diversity. Varied worlds of spirits, animals, imagination, and little people are removed or ignored to make way for things quantified, enlarged, and mechanized. The "paradox of enrichment" in biology operates on societies as well. Only one culture, the modern Western technological cultures, has been able to best absorb so much of Earth's resources, time, and energy so as to become the dominant culture. As humans level out mountains, light up the night, drain swamps, and fill in caves, we become superficial ourselves. Wildness dies outside and within. Instead of growth on a deep past of organic cycles, we race toward an abstract and lonely future; a culture easily toppled because its roots lie so shallow.

In short, we are losing much that little people and giants hold dear, so we are losing them as well. Yet what remains is hope. A composite and favorable ethnography of little people and giants can delude us into seeing them as more holistic and wholesome than they are. Little people often are unbalanced, as suggested by those with one leg or eye or without joints or mouths. Little people and giants often mimic our rash impulses, violent tempers, mind-numbing habits, and nearsightedness. Humans flee the ruts of routine by escaping into the 'dwarfs' and giants' alluring worlds of the mysterious, but they can get stuck there as well. Some humans blame little people and giants for their

own hatred, envy, lust, and insanity. By seeing little people and giants as evil, they deny the ambiguous mix of good and evil in ourselves. Even accepting this mix has a price; a price some people will not pay. Any balancing act can cause confusion and subject people and elves to magic reversals, but acceptance of nature and her guardians, without judging what good they are for, are the final and most important lessons that little people teach.

Overall, human affinity to little people and giants in most Native American cultures tends to be neutral, because they both balance so well. The cause and effect relationship between little people, giants, and humans helps provide a social function, the integration of humans into the natural world. Certainly, the way in which they affect human behavior is based in large part of how they have been institutionalized into the culture of those affected. Regardless of how little people or giants come into this world, whether most are "outside" helpers and creatures of our own hidden wisdom, it is their Earth ethic of concern and connection to nature that we have lost sight of and feeling for.

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ⁱ * Denotes source subject to historic analysis methodology.