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Gendered Division of Labor among the Late Woodland Iroquois: Lithic Scrapers and Hide Production at the Simmons Site, New York

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Gendered Division of Labor among the Late Woodland Iroquois: Lithic Scrapers and Hide Production at the Simmons Site, New York

by

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ABSTRACT

Among the Iroquois, hide processing is a highly gendered practice dominated by women. Due to the egalitarian structure of Iroquois villages, work is often distributed equally among individuals based on Iroquois gender roles. The village and surrounding areas are divided into spatial domains comprised of gendered controlled activities such as hide processing. Examining these domains through a task differentiation approach makes it possible to associate artifacts within the archaeological record with gendered labor division. Drawing on ethnohistoric and ethnographic data, this thesis analyzes gendered labor division at the Simmons Site, a Late Woodland Period (AD 900-1650) village in Elma, New York. Additionally, I highlight similarities and differences in how gendered practices were constructed and experienced by the residents of Iroquoian sites within the region. This research challenges previous gendered task differentiation models to ensure that the roles and contributions of Iroquoian women are represented in future archaeological analysis and interpretation.

INDEX WORDS: Archaeology, North American Archaeology, Scrapers, Gender, Hide Production, Spatial Analysis, Iroquois

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband, Alex Hart. I couldn't have done this without you and your unwavering love and support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Geographic Information Systems . . . GIS

Complete Flake … CF

Broken Flake … BF

Flake Fragment … FF

Debris … D

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Historically archaeology has been male-dominated, with androcentric bias (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey 2003; Gilchrist 2009). Because of this, women and other genders have been previously excluded from prehistoric interpretations, and when they were included, the interpretations often contain contemporary ideas of gender roles. This lack of representation is prevalent throughout early Iroquoian archaeology research. Recently there have been more studies in Iroquoian archaeology that have focused on gender (e.g., Bursey 2004; Allen 2009; Knapp 2009; Prezzano 1977; Perrelli 2009), but these studies continue to reproduce interpretations containing static gender categories (Jordan 2014). Additionally, ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts of Iroquois labor often contain bias towards male activities. As a result, archaeological interpretations of Iroquoian sites often involve fixed gendered spheres and activities that do not accurately represent Iroquoian social organization.

. In addition to assigning fixed gender roles to prehistoric groups, archaeologists in the past have associated women with expedient or non-formal stone tool production and men with formal tool production (Casey 1998; Frink and Weedman 2005; Gero 1991; Sassaman 1992). Based on ethnohistoric accounts of Iroquoian labor, women were responsible for the production and manufacturing of animal hides. Hide production is a complex task that involves the use of stone scrapers which are considered as a formal tool found among prehistoric settlement groups. This contradicts previous task differentiation models that argue that women solely relied on informal tools.

This project aims to examine the gendered labor division, focusing on scraper production and hide working among the Iroquois at the Simmons site (Figure 1) in Elma, New York. Drawing from the theoretical framework of gendered archaeology, this study recognizes gender as a fundamental structuring principle of society and an integral part of the interpretive perspective. Applying a gendered perspective to scraper production and hide working in the Late Woodland Period (AD 900-1650) challenges previous assumptions that production of formal stone tools was exclusively a male-dominated task. This study ensures that the contributions and roles of Iroquoian women are visible in the archaeological record and continue to receive the same level of analysis as men.

This study's methodological approach involves analyzing scraper variation and spatial distribution to answer questions regarding behavioral patterns and human activity. Additionally, ethnographic and ethnohistoric data are used to establish Iroquoian women's role in hide working and scraper production. The ethnographic and ethnohistoric data provide information regarding social processes and labor organization that the archaeological record does not. The interdisciplinary application of these methodologies is beneficial for determining Iroquoian women's role in the political, social, and economic organization of Late Woodland village sites.

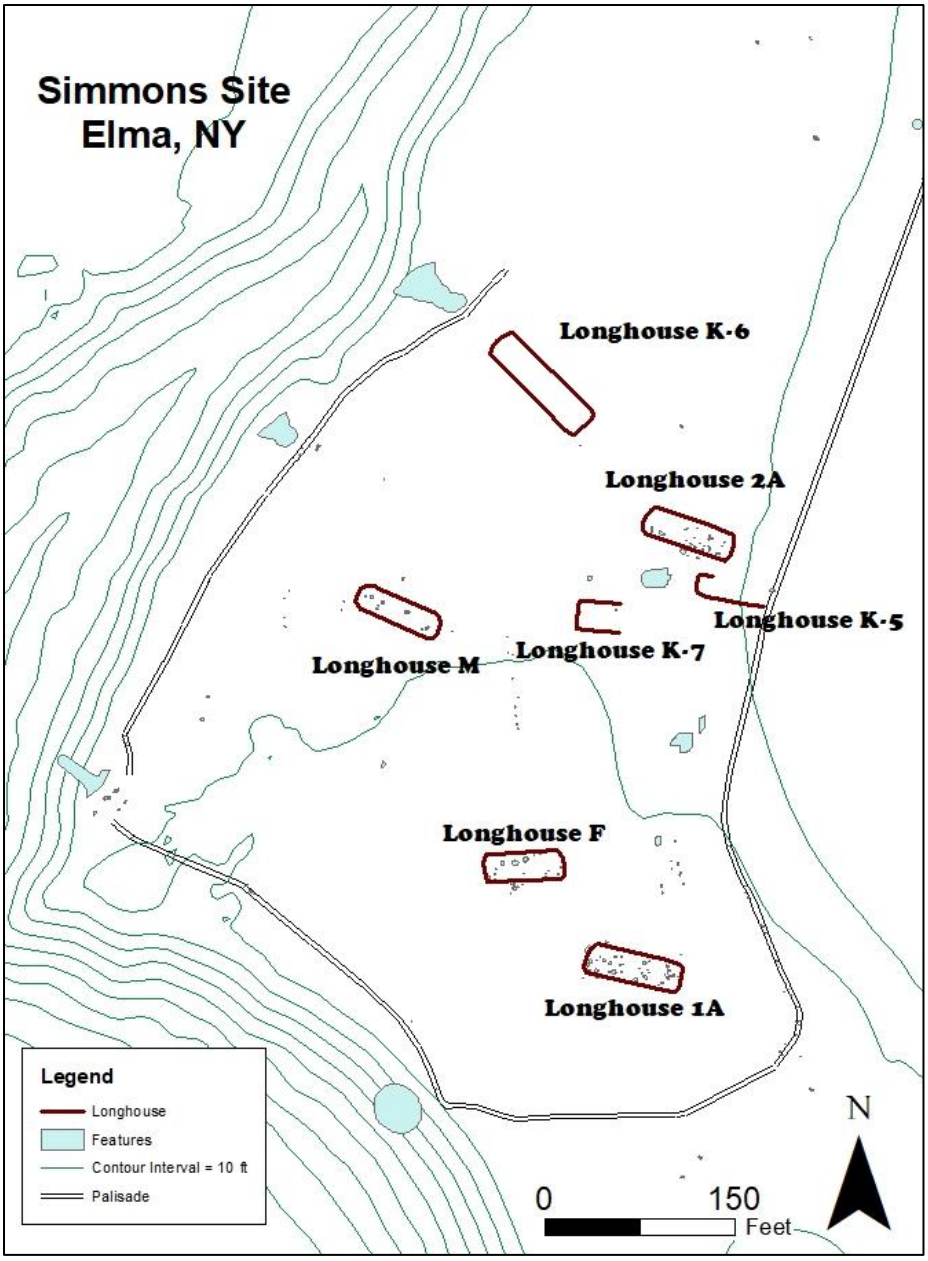

Figure 1: Simmons Site

1.2 Organization of Thesis

Chapter Two introduces the theoretical groundwork for this project by providing a historical overview of feminism and gender studies in the United States, archaeology, and Iroquois studies. Chapter Three introduces the study area for this project, and includes summaries of the natural environment, and cultural history of the Niagara Frontier and Simmons site. Chapter Four details the methodological framework for this study, including lithic and spatial analysis methods, and discusses the limitations of this research. Chapter Five contextualizes the theory and methods chapters through discission of gendered space, the division of labor, and hide processing. Chapter Six presents the results of the lithic and spatial analysis. Chapter Seven concludes this study with discussions of the results and future directions.

2 GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Studying gender involves pushing beyond the man-woman binary classification by challenging the notions that gender is universal and biologically determined. It allows for identifying and examining differences in power and authority while challenging the preconceived ideas of how men and women contributed to the past. Beginning in the 1980s, archaeologists have intentionally turned their attention to previously neglected questions about gender and sexuality (e.g., Bertelsen et al. 1987; Conkey and Spector 1984). The development of gender archaeology as a theoretical framework allowed archaeologists to address these questions by drawing from other disciplines and civil rights movements to change archaeological language, interpretation, and fieldwork. Applying a gendered framework allows archaeologists to expand the among of available data, answer new questions, explore new methods and procedures, and challenge previous assumptions about social organization. Before the 1970s, anthropological research showed little interest in what women were doing. While gendered research was accepted early on within cultural anthropology, archaeology was much slower to adapt feminist critiques and develop a gendered framework. The introduction of feminist theory to archaeological research encouraged the acceptance of alternative views (Hurcombe 2000). Early feminist archaeology sought to "find" women in the archaeological past but was often counteractive as it continued to uphold the binary classifications of gender. Gradually, as the discipline accepted feminist critiques of archaeological practice and theory, gender categories and roles were reexamined.

The following section discusses the development and implementation of gender archaeology by examining the emergence of gender studies and the feminist movement in the United States. In this chapter, I explore the influence of feminism and the women's movement on academia, specifically focusing on the theoretical changes in anthropology and, subsequently, archaeology. Following the historical background, I discuss the methodological changes within early gender archaeological research and the most common critiques of these studies. Lastly, I highlight the current application of gender research in archaeology, including Iroquoian gender archaeology.

2.2 Feminist Impact

Feminist knowledge and its impact on various disciplines can be traced back to the establishment of women's studies courses worldwide in the 1970s (Balme and Bulbeck 2008). Gender studies sparked a radical transformation in academia by challenging the notion that sex categories were biologically determined, universal, and timeless. The women's suffrage movement, or the initial first wave of feminism in the late 1800s and early 1900s, sparked a conversation about women's rights through feminist activity. However, it was not until the 1970s that the feminist movement moved prominently into the academic sphere. As feminist activity progressed, female sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists began to call attention to the lack of women within their discipline as academics and subjects of study.

2.2.1 Second-Wave feminism

During the 1960s and '70s Women's Movement, the 'second wave' of feminism appeared as the focus shifted to the equality of women and the systematic structure of sexism. Specifically, second-wave feminists were concerned with the power relations that structured

the subordination of women (Gilchrist 1999, 2009). The second wave of feminism had the most considerable impact on forming various theoretical frameworks and eventually influenced the exploration of Western gender binaries in mainstream archaeological analysis. Additionally, the second-wave movement focused heavily on gender bias in the presentation of the past. Gender bias in scholarship was not exclusive to anthropology; consequently, feminist scholars began to examine how inequality and androcentrism were ingrained in the practices and production of various disciplines. As ideas from second-wave feminism moved into academia, they challenged the preconceived notion that women were only found in the domestic sphere and that gender was a social construct while sex was a natural variable (Balme and Bulbeck 2008).

Sociocultural anthropology saw a movement of gendered research and reflexivity in the 1970s prior to other subdisciplines of anthropology. Using feminist theories, several anthropologists began questioning the presumed social and political differences between women and men. As interest in women's roles in society's social, political, and economic processes increased, anthropologists determined that divisions of labor and roles assigned based on gender were not biologically inevitable but a cultural variable. Additionally, sociocultural anthropologists began to theorize that gender is culturally-specific and should be investigated in terms of cultural contexts. This argument, in addition to the idea that the organization of gender differences varies across time and space, has been explored by feminist anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists for some time (Balme and Bulbeck 2008). Essentially, gender is not a fixed variable or analytical category associated with culture or experiences; it is fluid and complex. Experience can be gendered and is relative to age, race,

religious persuasion, and physical ability (Conkey and Spector 1984; Geller 2009; Moen 2019). This concept has been the cornerstone of gender studies in sociocultural anthropology.

Androcentrism was evident throughout anthropological scholarship in various ways. The feminist critique of the 1970s and '80s played a crucial role in restructuring gender paradigms in ethnography and has exposed pervasive gender bias in sociocultural anthropology research and studies (Balme and Bulbeck 2008; Conkey and Spector 1984). As a direct challenge to the Man-the-Hunter model that circulated throughout early anthropological literature, cultural and physical anthropologists adopted the Woman-the-Gather model as a means of demonstrating women's role and contributions in hunting societies (Nelson 2004: 19). While Man-the-Hunter model often focused solely on where women were and what were they doing in relation to men (e.g., Dahlberg 1983; Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1981), the Woman-the-Gather scenario attempted to remove set assumptions about the activities women and men were participating it. Although this scenario was created with gender bias in mind, it limited women to gathering, thus creating a binary opposition that restricted the division of labor to two specific categories (e.g., Dahlberg 1983; Slocum 1975). This upheld the assumption that only men were hunters or the ones carrying out complex and demanding tasks.

Most American anthropologists in the 20th century were white and middle- or upper-class men who selected research questions and participants that resembled their own identity (Conkey and Spector 1984). Ethnocentric assumptions derived from contemporary Western gender roles impacted the analysis of other cultural groups by portraying males as dominant, stronger, and more aggressive. At the same time, females were presented as dependent,

passive, and weak (Conkey and Spector 1984). Ethnographies primarily described women from a male perspective and in reference to their relationships with men.

As sociocultural anthropology and ethnography became subject to intensive discussion of gender bias, archaeological methodology and theory continued to emphasize the male perspective as representative of cultural systems, especially in the initial years of the feminist movement in academia. There is minimal archaeological scholarship on gender before the 1980s (Balme and Bulbeck 2008; Gilchrist 1999), but processual archaeologists in the 1960s and '70s were concerned with reevaluating the notion of culture by gaining knowledge about the social and cultural processes in past human societies. This movement often involved explaining human behavior through analyzing social differences between men and women but still relied on contemporary ideas of gender roles (Gilchrist 1999: 17-18). David Clarke's study of living spaces at the Iron Age village of Glastonbury exhibits this frequent practice. Clarke (1972) argued that the domestic areas and houses were female-dominated based on the presence of beads, combs, tools for spinning, and leather, while fur working and baking huts were environments for "gossiping pleasurably" (Clark 1972; Gilchrist 1999). This interpretation lacked ethnographic analogy and contextual evidence (Gilchrist 1999). It continued to reinforce the idea that female activities only occurred in domestic spaces and involved food preparation or clothing production, while men participated in more physical activities, including hunting. This interpretation contributed to the masculine narrative within archaeology that gender roles were universal, specifically positioning female activities as inferior to male-dominated activities.

It was not until the publication of Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector's groundbreaking article in 1984 that feminist archaeology gained recognition within the discipline. Gender

archaeology drew from feminist political objectives of equality and sought to increase the visibility of women in the past by highlighting their contributions to cultural innovation (Gilchrist 2009). Additionally, the feminist movement became concerned with changing how scholarship was produced and with power relationships in disciplines like anthropology. Archaeology has historically been gendered male despite the presence of women in the field. As a result of the second-wave feminist movement, feminist archaeology research emerged in the 1970s, but it was still largely ignored by mainstream archaeology and was often published in unusual or hard-to-access places (Nelson 2004: 25-26). Archaeological research implementing a feminist perspective or making direct observations about women during the 1970s and '80s remained unpublished or received substantial criticisms rather than observation or interest (Nelson 2004: 26-27).

Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984) were responsible for publishing the first feminist critique of androcentrism in archaeology (Gilchrist 1999; Wylie 1997). Early archaeologists were not silent on gender. However, the lack of methodological and theoretical dialogue on gender and the minimal publications that explicitly addressed the archaeological study of gender (Conkey and Spector 1984) presented a notable argument for adopting a lens of feminist critique. Pulling from second-wave feminist ideas, they argued that archaeologists employed stereotypic assumptions about gender and failed to consider historical and cultural diversities (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gilchrist 1999). Throughout their article, Conkey and Spector (1984) highlight androcentrism and gender imagery throughout previous archaeological literature. In reference to androcentrism in archaeology, Conkey and Spector (1984) discuss literature that searches for the origins of contemporary gender roles and hierarchy through the

Man-the-Hunter Model. They examined several issues about this model and the prehistory reconstructions developed by archaeologists using the Man-the-Hunter scenario. The first significant issue is that the Man-the-Hunter model provides a gender-specific model that creates a gender-exclusive reconstruction of human behavior in prehistory (Conkey and Spector 1984). The second issue lies in the assumption of sexual division of labor, which links activities or objects to one particular sex (Conkey and Spector 1984). Finally, the third issue pertains to the value placed on sex-linked activities, meaning activities associated with men are overemphasized or valued higher (Conkey and Spector 1984). By examining this model through a feminist approach, Conkey and Spector (1984) highlight the gender bias in the Man-the-Hunter model that was widely acknowledged within the field of archaeology.

In addition, Conkey and Spector (1984) argue for more appropriate methods for studying gender in archaeology, focusing primarily on how archaeologists employ gender stereotypes and continue to incorporate androcentric perspectives unconsciously. They propose implementing an ethnoarchaeological or ethnohistorical approach that is based on a reconceptualization of gender dynamics as a way of restructuring the methodological and theoretical nature of archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1984). One way to accomplish this is through a task differentiation framework. This framework, designed by Janet Spector (1981), reanalyzes the parameters of gender arrangements and reduces androcentric bias (Conkey and Spector 1984). The task-differentiation framework focuses on how gendered activities are socially, temporally, and materially organized. Essentially, the framework goes beyond identifying the tasks performed by people by analyzing the social and spatial organization, frequency and duration, and materials associated with task performance. By doing this, the

task-differentiation framework allows archaeologists to expand their understanding of how gender by asking new questions and contributing appropriately to gender theory.

The second-wave feminist movement provided a crucial foundation for the development of gender archaeology through the idea of "looking for women" who participated in tasks traditionally associated with men (Conkey and Gero 1997: Gilchrist 1999: 16-17). The concept of "finding" women also pivoted archaeological attention to female-dominated activities, resulting in methodological changes (e.g., household contexts, weaving, gathering). Despite this contribution, simply asking "What did women and men do?" is problematic as it contains underlying essentialism and universalism characteristics (Nelson 2004: 4-5). Additionally, we fail to recognize the differences between these categories across cultures by researching women and men as a category based on our own cultural experiences. The second wave of feminism provided important answers and progress within the discipline but focused primarily on recognizing the feminine by asking reductive and remedial questions. Unfortunately, archaeological research focusing on gender in the 1970s and into the 1980s still upheld essentialist ideas and continued to rely on binary gender categories.

2.2.2 Third-Wave Feminism

As the women's movement moved into the third wave of feminism, many second-wave concerns remained unresolved (Balme and Bulbeck 2008; Geller 2009). The third wave of feminism spanned the early 1990s to 2010s. It differed from the previous wave of feminism by taking comparative approach to gender (Geller 2009). Differences was emphasized, and research went beyond making women visible by acknowledging the influence of other factors such as sex, age, and race. Contemporary feminist anthropological research is heavily based on

the significant shifts generated by the third wave of feminism. Scholars began to rethink how we approached questions regarding women, gender, and sexuality (Geller 2009). The third-wave feminists believed gender is a core structural aspect of an individual's identity, but it is not always the central variable. When considering age, sexuality, ethnicity, race, class, etc., concerning gender, the complexity of lived experiences can be better understood (Geller 2009). The third wave of feminism also embraced postmodernist thought with a new interest in cultural and symbolic approaches (Gilchrist 1999: 16). The movement was heavily influenced by poststructuralism and postcolonialism and rejected the idea that specific experiences classify men or women. Instead, third-wave feminists emphasized the differences between men and women of contrasting sexualities, social classes, and ethnicities (Gilchrist 1999: 16). The movement heavily influenced the explicit study of gender within archaeology by supporting the identification of biases and processes of gendering knowledge.

With an "explosion of literature on archaeological gender" (Conkey and Gero 1997) during the 1990s, the discipline experienced variation in how archaeologists connected data to theory. Spector's 1993 book, *What this Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village*, presents a non-traditional approach to archaeological interpretation of the Wahpeton Dakota through a perspective that brings feminist insights to historical archaeology. Spector rejects the traditional position of archaeology that is "objective, object-oriented and objectifying" (Spector 1993: 3) while abandoning western categories for Native American artifacts (Conkey and Gero 1997). Through ethnographic study of the women of Inyan Ceyaka Atonwan and material culture collected at an archaeological project conducted in the summer of 1979, Spector (1993) focuses on producing an interpretation of an awl used by women for

hide working. Using feminist and Native American perspectives, Spector focuses on a single artifact to aid in her identification of gender in the material remains and determines how it ties in with gender-specific tasks among an indigenous group. In this book, Spector produces a narrative that values the contributions and experiences of men, women, and other genders (Conkey 2003). This narrative demonstrates how archaeology tends to depersonalize the past through simplistic classification systems. Rather than focusing solely on the physical aspect of material culture, Spector incorporates human experience and action into archaeological research. This publication is a very explicit feminist site report with a personal narrative incorporating Native American voices, primarily women, and challenges the objectified mainstream archaeology.

20th-century archaeological studies of stone tool technology reinforced the concept of gendered division of labor with men as the primary producers of stone tools through Western-centric interpretations of the past (Weedman 2010). Because of this, archaeologists began reevaluating interpretations of prehistoric stone tool production through a gendered lens. In an ethnographic account of Konso women living in southern Ethiopia, Weedman (2010) demonstrates how women can be highly proficient and skilled in stone-tool making through a knowledge-based system that contradicts Western concepts of division of labor. Interviews with the Xuata, one of the two Konso hereditary groups (Weedman 2010), revealed a distinction between the gender tasks of men and women. The hide working and stone tool production process involved skills and tasks directly associated with femininity. The kneeling to grind and shape the stone into tools, grinding and scraping the hide, and cooking or heat treating the stone are all considered activities that the Konso associated with women,

positioning the Xuata women as the primary knappers and hide workers (Weedman 2010). The community's association of "femininity" with these activities provides an alternate gender ideology to the traditional paradigm of men being the hunters and women being the gathers seen throughout early prehistoric archaeological interpretations. Within the community, the transmission of knowledge is strictly among women. Weedman observed that all 19 women and men who were knappers learned the practice from a female relative and hide working technical vocabulary and actions were taught to girls as young as six to eight (2010). This ethnographic evidence associates women with stone hide working technology but further establishes an argument for considering sex and gender when analyzing stone tools in the archaeological record.

As a result of the feminist commitment to challenge androcentric bias within anthropological literature, scholars began to reevaluate research through a new gendered lens. In doing so, feminist-inspired studies of gender intersectionality with sexuality, ethnicity, class, and race appeared. The concept of intersectionality, a term coined in 1989 by Kimberle Crenshaw, has had an immeasurable impact on anthropological research. Initially, intersectionality was a theoretical approach used to explain how a person or group of people faced discrimination and disadvantages on multiple levels due to their overlapping identities, specifically race and sex (Crenshaw 1989). Years after the concept was introduced, feminist scholars in anthropology began exploring how gender overlapped with other aspects of a person's identity. As a result, Black feminist and queer theories emerged to provide continued critiques of the marginalization of minority communities within anthropology. These theories spearheaded the conversation surrounding the lack of academic representation of Black, queer,

and non-western anthropologists while highlighting how identities and experiences shaped fieldwork (e.g., McClaurin 2001). In practice, black and queer theories provided beneficial analyses of the African diaspora and indigenous concerns by examining experiences in the past, especially those of women, through an intersectional lens (Geller 2009; Sterling 2015). Intersectional theory was introduced to gendered studies in archaeology as practitioners became aware that identities are multifaced and shaped by gender inclusion and exclusion (Moen 2019). Including intersectionality allowed archaeologists to see beyond gender and recognize that gender is just one aspect of a complex image.

With the growing consideration of how other social factors impact gender, archaeology studies expanded to include various perspectives that went beyond the roles and activities that involved women. The introduction of Black feminist theory and Queer theory brought a new direction for archaeological studies involving gender by producing engaging, accessible, and, most importantly, appropriate knowledge. Black feminist theory in archaeology produced a variety of scholarship highlighting the importance of race in the discussion of gender, explicitly involving African diaspora archaeology (e.g., Brewer 1993; Franklin 2001). Applying Black feminist theory in archaeology provided a critique of archaeological interpretations and practice. Critiques were specifically made regarding unexamined assumptions about race and gender and the naturalization of our current race and gender concepts in interpretations of the past (Sterling 2015). This included critiquing androcentric bias by calling attention to who was participating in knowledge production within archaeology. In doing so, archaeologists reevaluated interpretations of marginalized communities that erased women or repeated and legitimized stereotypes (Sterling 2015). Black feminists advanced archaeological knowledge of

gender through intersectional theory by demonstrating that prehistoric life was complex but, most importantly, that knowledge production was situational.

Queer theory had a similar entrance into the academic discourse; with the growing influence of feminist critique of existing gender norms, queer theory began to challenge essentialist and sociobiological ideas of gender, sex, and sexuality in anthropological scholarship prior to its introduction to archaeology (e.g., De Lauretis 1991; Morris 1995; Weston 1993). When queer theory gained popularity in archaeology, researchers questioned the normative social structures through awareness of how heteronormative notions are applied to the past (Geller 2009; Blackmore 2011). While queer theory does challenge heteronormative assumptions, it also presents an opportunity for archaeologists to examine processes and behaviors of non-Western and non-modern cultures that are not necessarily related to sexuality (Blackmore 2011; Voss 2000). Queer theory and gender archaeology were influenced by the same political and academic feminist goals of the 1970s and '80s and gained popularity in the early 1990s (Voss 2000). The early goals of feminist critiques within anthropology and archaeology sparked a development of gendered research, subsequently creating an environment where queer theory was visible and accepted.

In a study focusing on the use of theoretical models and archaeological evidence to identify homosexual men and their material culture, Matthews (2000) examines how sexuality is interpreted and represented by material culture and essentially argues that archaeological evidence for homosexual behavior is hard to interpret, not because such behaviors are non-existent but because archaeologists have not properly searched for them due to a discipline that heterosexual men have historically dominated. Searching for archeological evidence of

homosexual subcultures and behaviors requires raising the right questions about the identities of past societies (Matthews 2000). Up until the influence of third-wave feminism, archaeologists have rarely studied or reconstructed sexual behaviors. This could primarily result from the lack of definitions of sex, gender, and sexuality within archaeology. However, as the discipline continues to "discover" gender, sexuality will also become an important issue (Matthews 2000).

2.2.3 Summary

Although the theoretical influences on gender archaeology are various and cannot be narrowed down to just one particular moment, there are notable methodological changes that directly result from feminist archaeological ideologies of the late 20th century. As the feminist critique of archaeological practices gained momentum, researchers attempted to transform knowledge production regarding past societies while simultaneously reshaping how our discipline approached gender. The emergence of feminist theory in archaeological research shifted how archaeologists proposed and answered questions involving gender in cultural settings. More importantly, the incorporation of gender theory in mainstream archaeology has supported new discussions of how we view and interpret the past.

2.3 Current Gender Archaeology Approach

As the discipline continues to restructure the process of obtaining and producing knowledge, contemporary archaeologists have called attention to the lack of progression within gender archaeology. While there have been significant contributions to gender archaeology in the last 40+ years, it is argued that the progression of gender archaeology has not moved beyond the minimal inclusion of gender (Moen 2019). The resurgence of interest in feminist

issues requires a closer look into the current state of gender in contemporary archeological theory (Moen 2019). If gender archaeology has existed in academic publications since the 1980s, why has there been a lack of progression and representation in contemporary works? One reason for this could be the incomplete nature of the archaeological record. However, it has been argued that gender has not become an integral aspect of studying past societies and their construction of social identities; instead, it is a method of checking off the right boxes (Moen 2019). In recent Viking Age studies, gender appears in one of two ways; dedicating one chapter to women or women are mentioned as an exception to the norm (Moen 2019). Additionally, gender studies often reproduce the assumption that "gender" only refers to women. While the movement initially started as a method of finding women in the archaeological record, male stereotypes can be assigned to the past, and the image of men can become a reproduction of male archetypes (e.g., the hunter, the warrior) (Skogstrand 2010).

Although gender archaeology has primarily explored and discussed women and, in some cases, third genders (e.g., Casella 2000; Hollimon 1997; Klein 2001), there has been a significant push for studying masculinity in archaeology. Skogstrand (2010) argues that gender systems cannot be explored by focusing solely on women. If the initial proposals of gender archaeology involved correcting the predominantly male-dominated narrative in prehistoric studies, archaeologists must also evaluate how men contributed to the structure of society without imposing Western beliefs of masculinity. Critical studies of prehistoric people and masculinities can use the same theoretical and conceptual frameworks established by the feminist critique of archaeology. This has been accomplished in some cases (e.g., Joyce 2004; Knapp 1998; Voss 2008).

Additionally, how we discuss gender within the discipline is changing; therefore, our interpretation and understanding can extend beyond the binary understanding of gender by eliminating the binary oppositions of masculine and feminine. Gender archaeology goes beyond the "What did women do?". Gender is a complex and critical component of the social organization of prehistoric societies. The future of gender archaeology is shaped by previous work; therefore, to prevent past interpretations that reproduce preconceived notions of gender patterns, we should look at gender as a crucial component of social organization, not an answer to predetermined questions.

2.4 Iroquois Gender Archaeology

Northern Iroquois archaeology, especially concerning women's roles, was fairly undertheorized in the 20th century, and only a few archaeologists focused on women's activities (Prezzano 1997). In the literature produced during this period, Iroquois theories only focused on the household domain of women (Prezzano 1997). In recent years, Iroquoian archaeology has used gender as an analytical unit (e.g., Allen 2010; Bursey 2004; Perrelli 2009). However, these studies relied on stable gender categories, leaving contemporary Iroquoian archaeological research disconnected from the current application of gender theory (Jordan 2014).

In a recent attempt to connect Iroquoian archaeology with contemporary gender theory, Jordan (2014) conducted a gendered analysis of Seneca daily life at the Townley-Read site by examining artifacts and labor associated with the large outdoor fire pit (Feature 5) identified at the site. The Townley-Read site is a historical site with copious ethnographic data from primary sources. It is archaeologically dated to a specific time with an occupational period

of approximately 40 years (Jordan 2014). The materials found at the feature are attributed to the eighteenth-century Seneca occupation of the site (Jordan 2014). Evidence from Feature 5 suggests that it was predominantly used for fur and skin processing (Jordan 2014). The presence of fur and skin processing and bone grease rendering displays that hide working was one of the main tasks performed around Feature 5.

Ethnographic data supports the assumption that hide working was prominently a women-dominated task, establishing Feature 5 as a women's domain. Additionally, the pipe fragments found in Feature 5 indicate that Seneca women were most likely participating in smoking, which has exclusively been assigned to men in previous literature (Jordan 2014). Although Jordan (2014) determines that women strictly controlled Feature 5, it is noted that children, men, and elders also interacted with this area and the goods circulated around it. Essentially Feature 5 represents a cluster of activities within a women-controlled domain, meaning the goods linked people of all genders together under the supervision of women (Jordan 2014).

Iroquoian studies often uphold the problematic assumption that if men are doing it, women cannot. This is especially true for research surrounding formal tool production. Although women are referenced in Iroquoian archaeological research, many questions are left unasked and unanswered regarding the contributions and roles of women. Androcentric bias and false narratives within Iroquoian archaeology continue to limit the visibility of Iroquoian women in the archaeological record. This reproduction of interpretations within Iroquoian archaeology is the primary reason for the production of this study.

3 IROQUOIA AND THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

3.1 Introduction to Study Area

The Niagara Frontier Region (Figure 2), located in western New York, refers to the geographical area around the Niagara River, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario (White 1961: 1, Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). This region encompasses Erie County, Niagara County, Orleans County, Genesee County, and Wyoming County in New York. Iroquoian settlements in the Niagara frontier include various site types, including villages, semi-permanent villages, hamlets, fishing camps, hunting and extractive camps, and mortuary sites (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023).

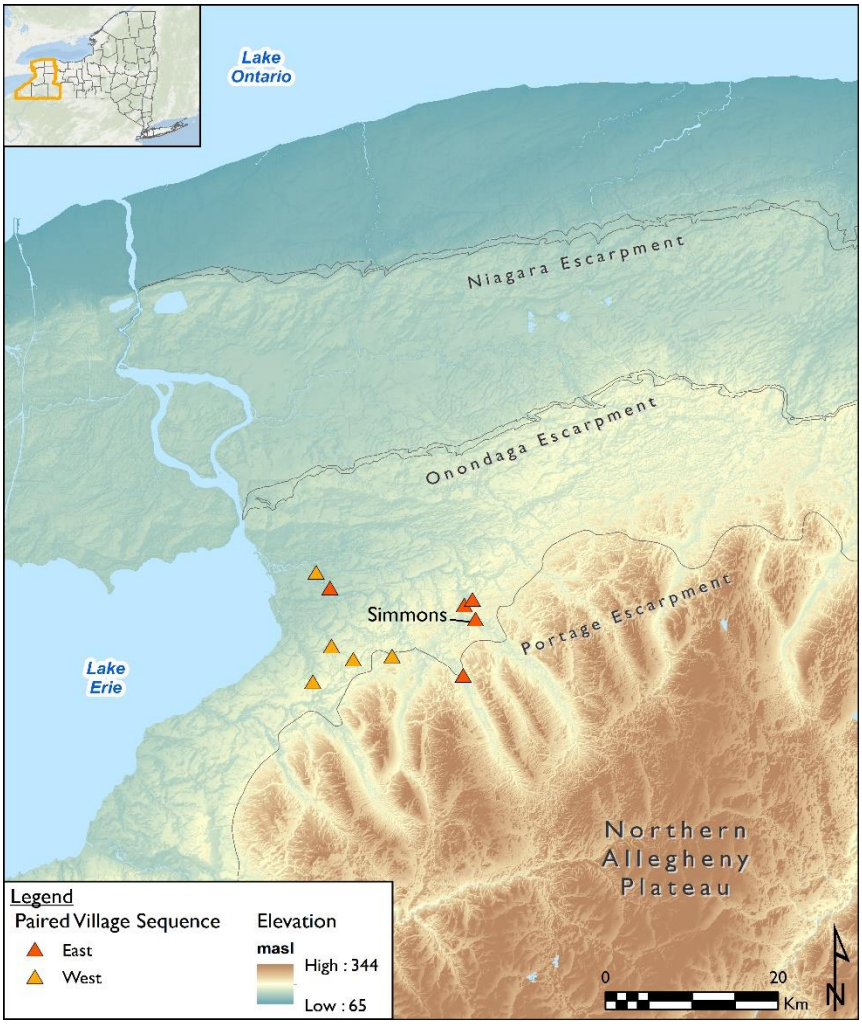

Figure 2: Niagara Frontier including the Simmons Site and Paired Village Sequence

3.2 Natural Environment

The Niagara Frontier, known as a homogenous geographic area, has very few geographical barriers and may have played a significant role in the distribution of sites throughout this area (White 1961: 15). Overall, this region is classified into two separate provinces, the Central Lowland and the Appalachian Plateau. Separating the region into two physiographic areas recognizes the variation between north and south. Still, the elevation change between the two regions occurs gradually across plains and foothills (White 1961: 15). The region is comprised of several escarpments, steep slopes, or long cliffs where the elevation changes rapidly, that stretch east to west (see Figure 2). The Portage Escarpment is the southernmost of the three areas consisting of sandstone and shale (White 1961:15). This escarpment is comprised of steep hillsides and narrow valleys. The other two areas, the Niagara Escarpment and the Onondaga Escarpment are in the northern part of the region and run parallel to one another. The Great Lake Section is located north of the Portage Escarpment and includes numerous lakes, swamps, creeks, and rivers (White 1961: 15).

While elevation change is evident across the Niagara Frontier, there other noticeable changes in the climate, soil, and vegetation. In the western part of the Niagara Frontier, near Lake Erie and Ontario plains, the growing season is the longest, with a more significant amount of southern flora present and more favorable temperatures (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; White 1961: 18). As one moves inland from the lakes, the temperature drops, the growing season decreases, and northern flora are found inland around the Allegheny Plateau, located in the Great Lake Section (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; White 1961: 16). With these climatic and vegetation differences in mind, the surrounding areas of Lake Erie and Ontario present

themselves as the more favorable areas for agricultural populations, but the majority of Iroquoian village sites are located between the Portage and Onondaga Escarpments on the Erie Plain (White 1961: 19). Despite the favorable climate conditions, the surrounding areas of Lake Erie and Ontario (the Huron Plain and the Ontario Plain) have a drainage problem and the soils are mainly glacial till (White 1961: 19-18). The Ontario Plain is swampy with soil unsuitable for cultivation, while the Huron Plain is slightly more favorable. The Erie Plain contains the most fertile and well-drained soil (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; White 1961: 19). The topography is also relatively level, making this area the most favorable for settlement and farming.

3.3 Iroquoia

The term Iroquoia refers to the geographic and cultural region of the Iroquois peoples. While the nation is most commonly known as the Iroquois, the six nations collectively refer to themselves as the Haudenosaunee, meaning the "people of the longhouse" (Shannon 2016). Between 1600 and 1783, the Iroquois thrived and continuously shifted the physical borders of this region (Shannon 2016). While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact origins of the Iroquois League, archaeological evidence shows that the Iroquois are cultural descendants of the Owasco people who lived south of Lake Ontario around 1000 AD (Shannon 2016). The Northern Iroquois consisted of several groups at the time of European contact: the Tionontate, Wendat, Neutral, Erie, Wenro, Seneca, Cayuga, Ononodaga, Oneida, Mohawk (Figure 3). These groups were spread across southern Ontario, southwest Quebec, upstate New York, and the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania (Birch 2015). The Northern Iroquois shared several cultural traits, including language, settlement patterns, social organization, and religious beliefs. When the Europeans encountered the Iroquois, the original five nations of the Iroquois League were

already formed. The original five nations consisted of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Mohawks, and Oneidas (Engelbrecht 2003:3; Shannon 2016). The league expanded once more in the early 1700s to include the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora from the southeast as the sixth nation (Shannon 2016).

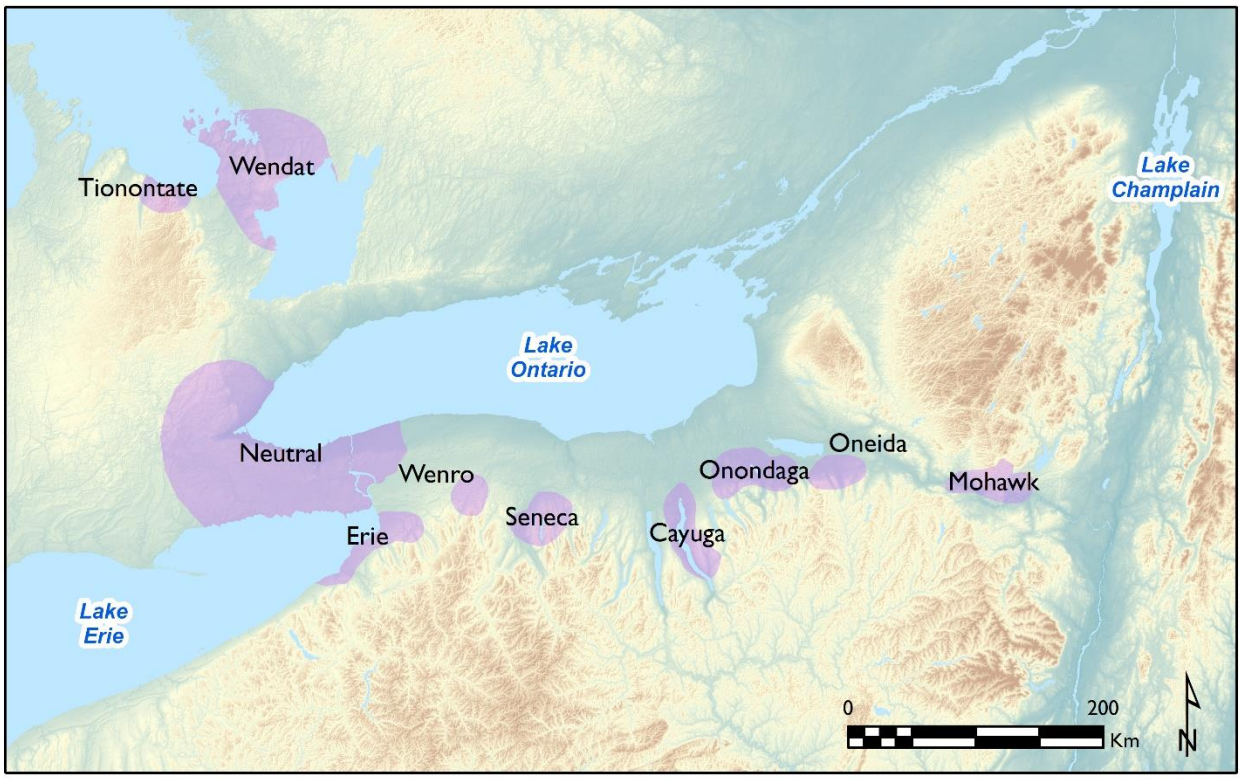

Figure 3: Location of Northern Iroquoian peoples at the time of European contact, ca. 1615 (modified from Birch 2015: Fig.2)

3.4 Culture History

Cultural continuity and change within the Niagara Frontier are best examined through the chronological sequence of Iroquoian sites in the region. This chronological sequence provides fundamental data for Iroquoian settlement patterns, social and political organization, and cultural material. There is limited literature on the presence of Iroquoian sites during the Paleoindian (12,000 to 8,000 BC) and the Archaic Period (8,000 to 3,000 BC). Archaeological sites Arc, Drivers Lake, Emanon Pond, and Hiscock contain evidence of Paleoindian groups occupying this region (Anderson 2010). Additionally, several fishing station sites, including Portage, Buffalo P, Riverhaven, and Martin, have been dated to the Archaic Period (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Smaller, scattered sites with pre-Iroquoian material culture are present around the early phase of the Late Woodland period (A.D. 900). These sites include semi-permanent villages, hamlets, fishing stations, quarries, and hunting camps (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Fishing camps were primarily located along the Niagara River and Lake Ontario and Erie because of their location. Within the Onondaga Escarpment, one quarry site can be found. Although this is the only site within this escarpment, the Onondaga chert found within this site was accessed by inhabitants in numerous locations (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Within this region, there are approximately four hamlets or cabins. These are classified based on the smaller size of the site with minimal material culture or by the presence of a single house with semi-permanent occupation (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Excavations of Spaulding Green 1, an identified hamlet site, revealed the presence of informal tools, ceramic artifacts, and a small longhouse structure (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023).

By the mid-sixteenth century and into the middle of the seventeenth century, semi-permanent villages were replaced by more permanent, large Iroquois villages (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Small villages protected by palisades represented early communities in the Niagara Frontier region. However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, village size increased, and settlement coalescence demonstrated the development of a tribal group (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Villages in the Niagara Frontier varied in size and duration based on the availability of resources (Engelbrecht 2003; Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Inhabitants of the villages were absent from the village for periods of time to make trips to hunting and fishing camps, quarries, and other locations (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). In other cases, inhabitants left the village sites to participate in trade, warfare, or diplomacy. Despite this absence, the villages were partially occupied throughout the year. In general, Iroquois villages increased in size over time. The Nursery site, dated to A.D. 1400, was around 0.5 ha, and more significant sixteenth-century sites, such as Goodyear, were around 2.3 ha (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; Table 8.2).

Village growth demonstrates high levels of social and political complexity. Palisade construction likely involved all able community members, and festivals, games, and feasts provided opportunities for non-kin groups to interact and form social relationships (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Group events and cooperation allowed for producing and demonstrating a common identity among community members. Ritual events involving sweat lodges and mortuary practices supported group identity and social organization. Sweat bathing and smoking tobacco were considered essential aspects of Iroquois life (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Excavations at Spaulding Lake revealed an array of artifacts, including bone awls, tattoo needles, modified canine teeth, and pipe fragments within a sweat lodge (Rayner-Herter et al.

2023). The presences of these artifacts demonstrate sweat lodges' ceremonial and functional purpose for creating ties between unrelated males within the community. Mortuary practices of the Iroquois consisted of primary burials. During the Late Woodland period and early Contact period (A.D. 1600 – A.D. 1700), burials often included one to two individuals per grave (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). The appearance of ossuaries and collective burials reinforced the communal values of Iroquois culture and demonstrated the growing social integration within the village.

The Native American occupation of the Niagara Frontier predates European settlement, but European contact dramatically changed the material culture of the Iroquois as European goods were introduced. Traces of European copper, brass, wrought iron, and metal appear in the archaeological record of seventeenth-century Iroquoian sites (Engelbrecht 2003: 149-151). Additionally, political and social relationships between Iroquois men and women drastically differed from European gender roles and relations.

The Iroquois of the Niagara Frontier Region settlement patterns and cultural practices were similar to the other indigenous groups in the Northeast during the Late Woodland period. Like the Niagara Frontier Iroquois, the Erie, the Seneca, and Cayuga located in west-central New York began constructing large settlements with a complex social and political organization in the sixteenth century (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Warfare, population, village size, and agricultural subsistence increased across the region. With the growth of stable agricultural villages, many Iroquois communities relied on women to provide the central economic mainstay (Prezzano 1997). Across the region, the Iroquoians practiced matrilocal residency, where women had access to power and prestige. Additionally, Iroquoian villages were egalitarian. Several communities across the region during the Late Woodland period

demonstrated an explosion of population aggregation and continuous change in social and political organization. Daily practices and settlement patterns became markers of a distinct identity within the larger Iroquois community.

3.5 The Simmons Site

The Simmons Site (Figure 4), located in Elma, New York, along the terraces of the Buffalo Creek, is positioned within a cluster of sites that create the eastern village sequence (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). This eastern village sequence (Table 1 and Figure 5) is comprised of Simmons, Newton-Hopper, and Goodyear; all of which are considered primarily occupied during Proto-Contact (A.D 1550-1615) and Contact (A.D. 1615-1650) periods (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Simmons's location is about a mile and a half from its preceding village and is positioned near needed resources. As the third village in the sequence, Simmons is believed to be occupied by descendants who had lived at the Goodyear site and is the most informative site for early 17th-century Iroquois settlement patterns (White 1967).

Compared to earlier villages in the Niagara Frontier during the Late Woodland period, the Simmons site is more than double in size (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). The site consists of at least five longhouses and a palisade running along the site's perimeter (Figure 4). Additionally, the site was built on an irregular rectangle of high ground and was protected on all sides by a swamp, stream, ravine, and a steep terrace (White 1967). A 60–70-foot slope along the southern and western borders and a large wetland along the eastern border serve as natural barriers protecting the inhabitants of Simmons from unwanted access. This defensible location and overall site size are believed to result from smaller nearby communities merging to form

aggregates (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). This pattern is typical among 14th-16th century settlements.

Table 1: Location of Simmons within the eastern village sequence. Settlement chronology follows Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; Table 8.1.

Site Name	Site Type	Age	Size	Population Size Estimate
Goodyear*	Village	Late 16th Century	0.9 ha	1150
Newton-Hopper*	Village	Late 16th Century	2.3 ha	1400
Simmons	Village	Late 16th to Early 17th Century	2.8 ha	1400
Bead Hill *	Village/Cemetery	Early to Mid-17th Century	No Data	No Data

* Estimation of size based on the surface distribution of artifacts

Population estimates are based on Snow and Starna (1989) formula of 20 square meters of village space per person.

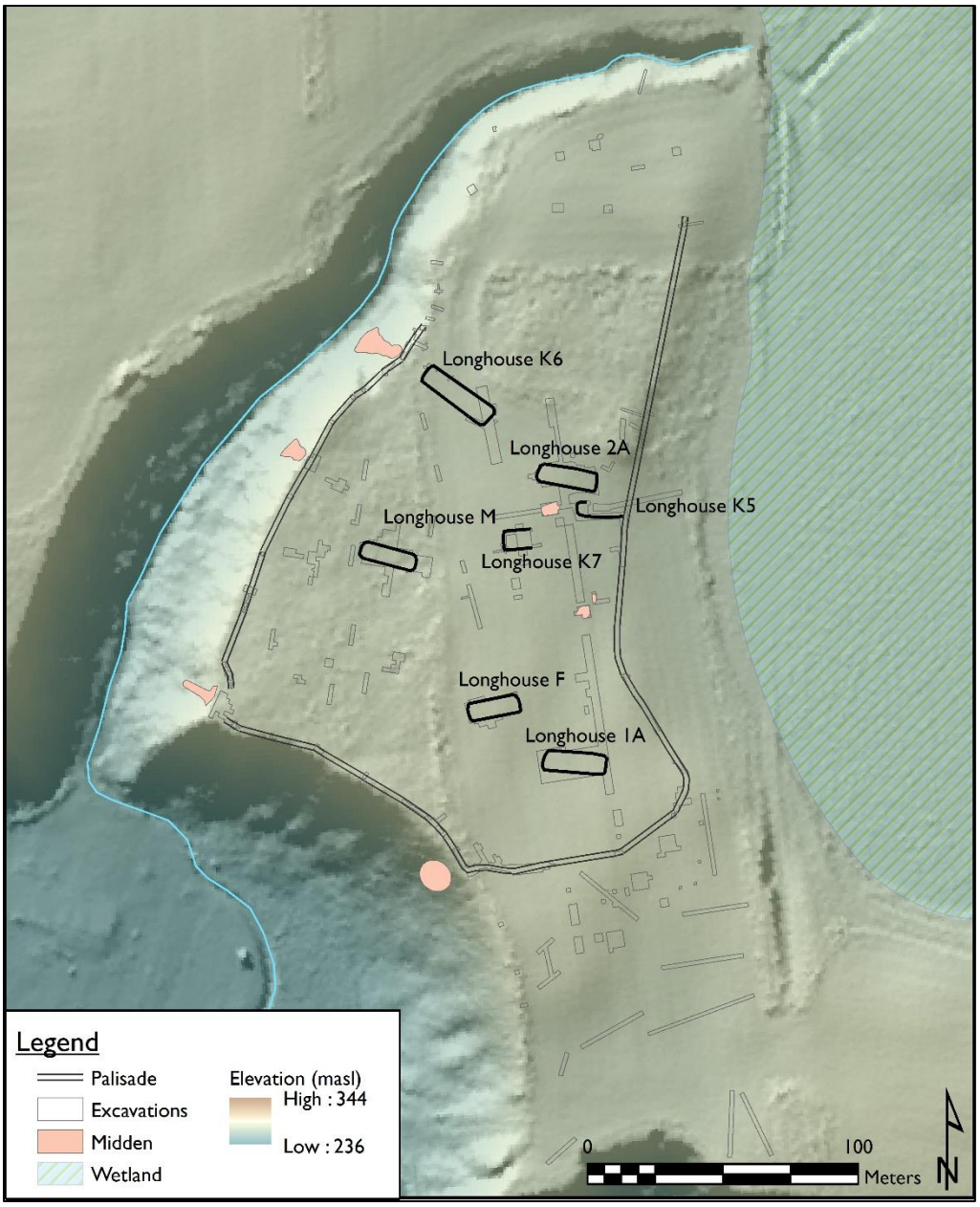

Figure 4: The Simmons Site Layout

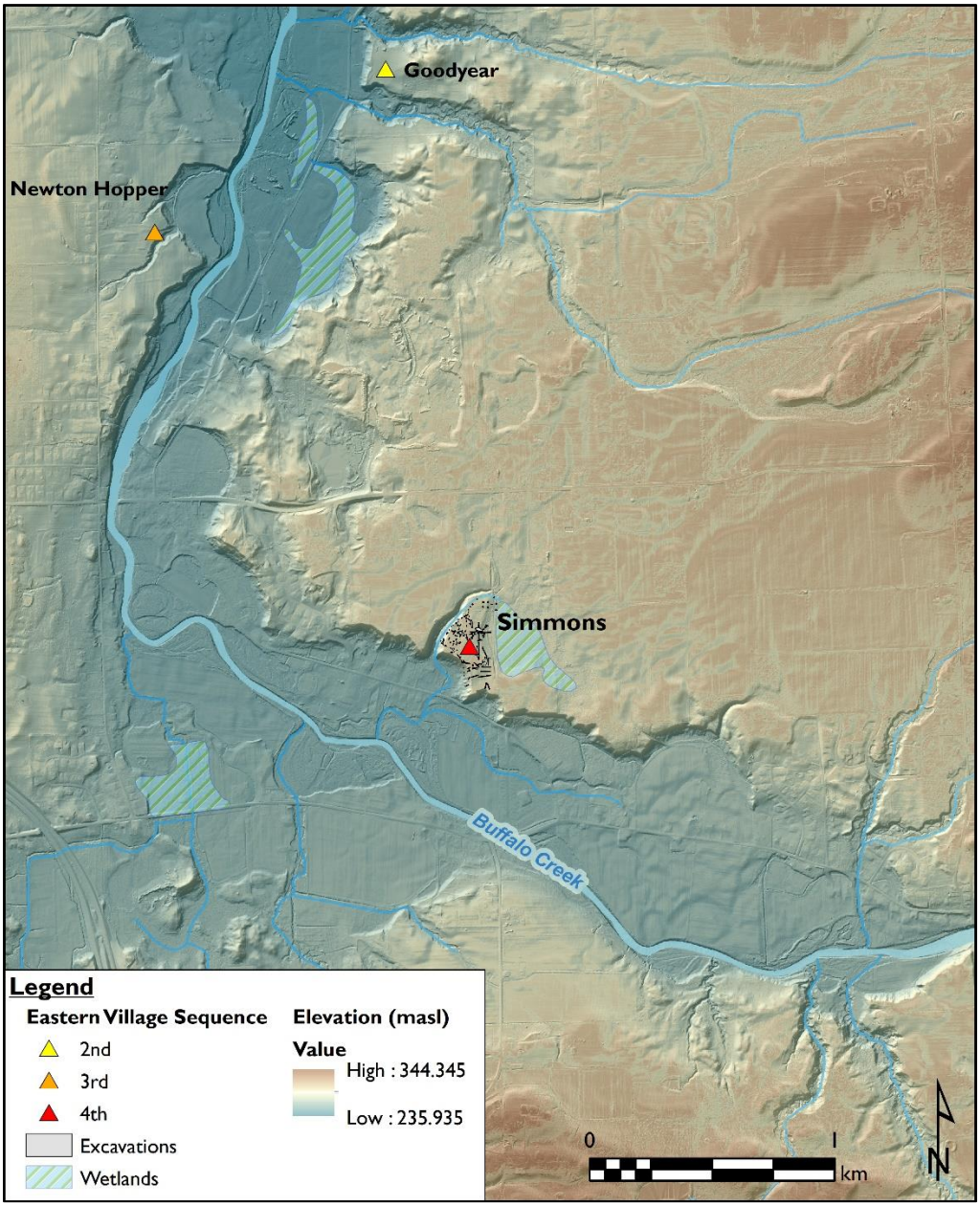

Figure 5: Eastern Village Sequence in the Niagara Frontier

3.6 Occupation History

While the occupational period for the Simmons Site compared to the two parallel village sites is debated (e.g., Stark 1995; White 1965), it is believed to have been occupied primarily between AD 1500 and AD 1635. The site was likely only occupied for 20-30 years during this time frame, as models of Iroquoian settlement suggest larger villages, like the Simmons Site, relocated frequently based on size and resources (Engelbrecht 2014). Although there is limited literature concerning the period of occupation of the Simmons site, the presence of metal artifacts and the overall structure of the site provides some context for where Simmons falls within the regional chronology. Based on the artifacts recovered from White's excavations, the community began receiving European trade goods, including brass kettles and iron and copper scraps used for manufacturing native items (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023; White 1967). European trade goods begin appearing at other Iroquoian sites around the end of the 16th century and into the 17th century. The presence of this trade material at Simmons theoretically places the site chronologically after the Goodyear and Newton-Hopper Sites, which are dated to the late 16th century (Table 1).

At its height, the population at this site is believed to be around 1400 people based on a formula of 20 square meters of village space per person (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023). Simmons is significantly larger than the other village sites in the area (Table 1). The increased size of the Simmons site, in combination with the selection of location for defense purposes, resembles village patterns of most Seneca villages in the mid-16th to early 17th century (Rayner-Herter et al. 2023), furthering the argument that the main occupation of the Simmons site occurred between AD 1500 and AD 1635.

3.7 Excavation History

Between the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the Simmons site was excavated over the course of three field seasons under the direction of the Niagara Frontier Archaeological Project, funded by the National Science Foundation (White 1967). Before this excavation project, the site remained largely undisturbed except for a few small excavations in the early 1900s. White's initial excavation plan involved retrieving material culture for dating the occupational period of the site. The cultural material at this site was distributed between two patches of wood on each side of a cultivated field where artifacts were found in earlier years (White 1967). The wooded areas were never cultivated, leaving around ½ of the site undisturbed. Through methodological stripping of the topsoil, White's excavation approach identified subsurface features associated with the longhouses and palisade (Figure 6). The location of the palisade running along the eastern, southern, and western boundaries was determined from various test trenches placed along the edge of the bank to the center of the occupied area (White 1967). Through these test trenches, White was able to identify the single and double-row segments of the palisade. Although these segments were discovered, no palisade entry or exit points were identified. For the section of the palisade located in the cultivated field, the area was plowed to loosen the soil to allow for the removal of the topsoil by shovel or machinery (White 1967).

At least five longhouses were identified during White's field seasons, but only four were completely excavated and documented. Longhouse F, 62 feet long and 22 feet wide, is located roughly in the center of the site and contains posts significantly larger than the others found across the site. Longhouse M, located near the eastern palisade wall and the only longhouse identified through controlled excavations, had an approximate width of 22 feet and a length of

58 feet. Longhouse 1A, at 76 feet, is the longest found at the site and has an approximate width of 24 feet. Lastly, longhouse 2A is located in the northern part of the site and has an approximate length of 51 feet long and a width of 23 feet. White's excavations also revealed the location of several features across the site. A burial was found in the southwest corner along the palisade. Within Longhouses M, F, 2A, and 1A, evidence of fireplaces or hearths was found. The bottom of these features was found based on the discoloration and ashy soil discovered in their location (White 1967). A storage pit was located within Longhouse M. The discovered pit was bowl-shaped and located 1.1 feet beneath the subsoil (White 1967). Additionally, the pit appeared to contain strata of varying thickness, suggesting it was filled on purpose. A few bones, potsherds, and a bone bead were located within the pit, suggesting it was potentially a refuse pit (White 1967).

The archaeological assemblage from these excavations is housed at the Marian E. White Anthropology Research Museum, Department of Anthropology, University at Buffalo. Field notes and maps have since been digitized and recreated. The following chapter discusses how this archaeological assemblage is analyzed and used throughout this study.

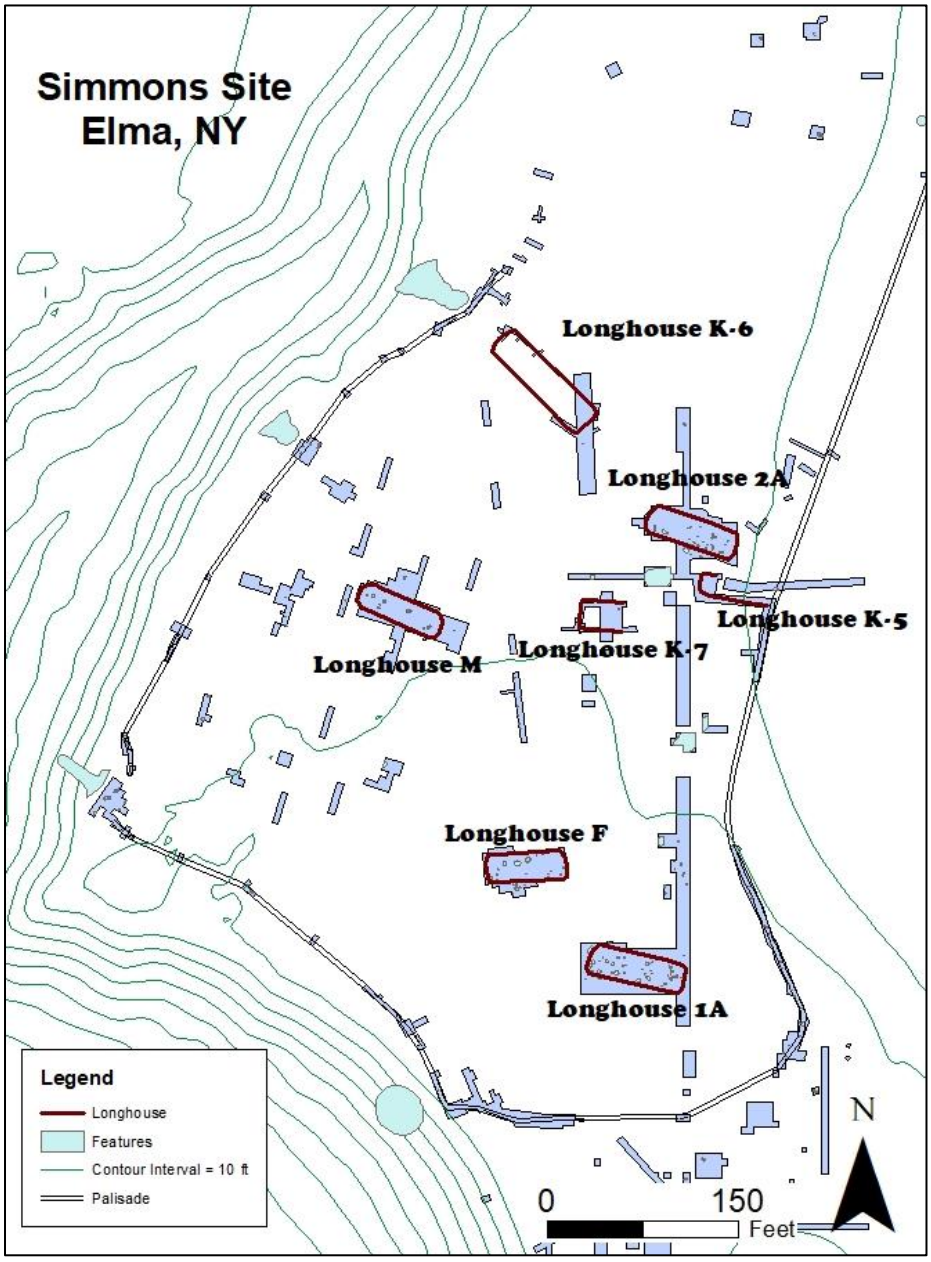

Figure 6: Excavated Areas of the Simmons Site

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This study seeks to determine if gendered division of labor is identifiable archaeologically at the Simmon's site. Using a gender theoretical framework, I recognize gender as a critical component in prehistoric social organization and labor. Besides the original archaeological data documentation and a few references concerning geographical location, very little research has been conducted for the Simmons site assemblage. This research project is crucial in documenting Iroquois gendered practices of hide working and scraper production and use during the Late Woodland Period. More importantly, it will provide a deeper understanding of Iroquoian concepts of gendered labor and social structure through artifact analysis. Lastly, I demonstrate that scraper production is not necessarily gender-specific; scrapers are associated with gendered task differentiation. Scrapers have a variety of functions, and not every process is female-oriented, but in the case of Iroquois women, scrapers are a primary component in hide working.

The following section outlines the methodology used in this study. While no fieldwork was conducted specifically for this study, all Simmons data presented throughout this paper derives from digitized data of original field illustrations and the analysis of the scraper assemblage shown through alternative methods. These methods include the study of scraper variability, artifact distribution based on previously defined formal types, incorporating ethnohistoric accounts of gendered space and activities, and ethnographic analogy. Combined with ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts, a comparative analysis of the social organization

and gendered practices of adjacent sites in the region can be conducted based on the site's lithic and spatial analysis results.

4.2 Ethnohistoric and Ethnographic Approach

While archaeological data for this region is available, a large portion of knowledge regarding Iroquoian practices and daily life comes from ethnohistoric accounts. This study uses primary and secondary historical documents of early European contact and oral histories to systematically describe and analyze the division of labor and hide processing among the Iroquois. These ethnohistoric texts reveal aspects of hide processing labor that are not explicitly visible in the archaeological data, specifically the involvement of women in this process.

In addition to ethnohistoric accounts, ethnographic analogy is used to demonstrate examples of women's roles in tool manufacturing and hide working at adjacent Iroquoian sites in the Niagara Frontier and other prehistoric sites. Specifically, the ethnographic accounts used in this study will focus on scraper usage and production to better understand the involvement of women in formal tool production. In areas where hide production can be documented, ethnographic accounts provide descriptions of procurement, production, and usage within living communities. While the primary focus of the study surrounds scraper usage in hide working, it is essential to note that scrapers were used for various activities besides hide preparation. This variation will be demonstrated through ethnographic accounts of scraper usage in other activities.

Additionally, this methodological approach consists of ethnoarchaeological research that incorporates ethnography, ethnohistory, ethnology, and archaeology. While ethnoarchaeological studies are not always parallel to archaeological data, they provide a way

to test theory in real-life contexts. In the case of scrapers and hide production, ethnoarchaeology data can introduce new ideas while evaluating previous theoretical assumptions regarding the gendered division of labor. I incorporate ethnoarchaeological data of southern Ethiopia stone-tool hide workers to demonstrate the existence of women participating in scraping activities and a technical knowledge system dominated by women.

4.3 Lithic analysis

Analytical methods for studying lithic scrapers have traditionally included general tool class descriptions and use-wear analysis (Shott 1995). For this study, an inventory of scraper type, retouch location, blank type, weight, material, cortex presence, location, and area description was created. Using this inventory (see Appendix for a complete list), a quantitative analysis was conducted to determine whether variation in the Simmons site assemblage attributed to the nature and extent of usage. The following attributes were analyzed: scraper type, retouch location, material, blank type, and weight. Additionally, these attributes are examined based on location distribution. Scraper type is examined to determine if this assemblage contains characteristics commonly associated with scraping hides. Specifically, I am looking for end scrapers with retouching on the distal edge. The other attributes are analyzed to examine variation and distribution across the site further.

In my initial inventory, the scrapers were categorized into four types: end, side, thumbnail, and end and side. For this analysis, end, thumbnail, and end and side were combined into one category of end scrapers due to their working end (Bursey 2016). The collected data, combined with ethnohistoric accounts and ethnographic analogy, can be used to determine what metric attributes tell us about gendered use at the Simmons Site.

4.4 Spatial analysis

Using ArcGIS, I conducted a spatial analysis of artifact distribution based on scraper classifications and excavated location. The primary goal of this spatial analysis was to determine where the scraper types are distributed across the site in relation to the longhouses and the palisade. The primary source of GIS data used in this analysis was created from original field notes from Marian White's excavations of the Simmons Site in the 1960s. The excavated areas documented in White's final site map were not labeled. However, the site's grid system was reestablished by Dr. Kwoka using the University of Buffalo Archaeological Survey's archive of White's original hand-drawn maps. From there, the grid system was used to create a fully functional GIS database for the Simmons site that was provided to me by Dr. Kwoka. The GIS files from this database used in this study include the following: excavation areas, excavation units, palisade, longhouses, scrapers, features, and the stream located to the west of the site. Other geographical data, such as the ten-foot contour level for the Town of Elma, New York, was obtained from the New York State Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Clearinghouse online database.

Using previously defined formal types, I used a combination of spatial techniques in this study. To document whether the scraper types are clustered, dispersed, or randomly distributed, I used the Cluster and Outlier Analysis tool in ArcMap. This provides the statistical significance of clusters based on their spatial location throughout the site. Additionally, I performed a spatial density analysis using the Kernel Density tool based on the scrapers and their spatial proximity to the longhouses. The density is documented based on scraper type

(End scraper and Sidescraper) and total scraper count. The generated data from this analysis is used to examine the significance of patterning at the Simmons site.

4.5 Limitations

There are some limitations to this research project. The first concern relates to the excavation methods used at this site. Marian White's excavations involved striping large areas of the site as part of the NSF-funded Niagara Frontier Archaeological Project. White excavated approximately 10% of the site, most of which was through the mechanical stripping of the topsoil without prior data collection or sampling. Because of this, Longhouse M was the only longhouse excavated through test units, while the other identified longhouses were stripped. Although this was beneficial for identifying subsurface features associated with the longhouses, such as post molds and hearths, a large portion of the archaeological assemblage was potentially lost.

While scrapers have been historically and archaeologically associated with hide production, there is evidence of scraper usage on bone, wood, and antler (Jenkins 2004). Odell (1981) proposes the argument that scrapers have a functional diversity that goes beyond scraping. This functional diversity includes engraving, boring, chopping, and slicing (Odell 1981). In an ethnographic account of Konso women in Ethiopia, Brandt and Wedman (2002) describe how a woman used an endscraper to manufacture her tools. Large endscrapers were discovered alongside the palisade at the Eaton site in West Seneca, New York (Jenkins 2004). This discovery indicates that the endscrapers could be used on wood for building and defense. Although this study primarily documents scraper usage concerning hide production, the recovered scrapers at the Simmons site could have been used for various activities. I address

this concern by relying on the artifact distributions and the ethnohistoric accounts of activities involving scrapers and hide production.

There are caveats when reconstructing the past through ethnohistoric accounts from European contact, ethnoarchaeological data, and ethnographic analogy. Ethnohistoric data cannot be used as primary evidence for studying Native American culture. Available historical data contains reports of early explorers and traders witnessing these activities and practices in passing; therefore, they provide a limited and, oftentimes, partial narrative. To address this concern, I examined the ethnohistoric accounts used in this study with the global processes, power relations, and perspectives of the narrator in mind. As for ethnoarchaeological data, many archaeologists believe that ethnoarchaeology's methodological framework and colonial background still produce "otherness" scenarios based on Western perspectives, and communities are chosen based on how well they fit into preconceived concepts surrounding archaeological remains. Like ethnoarchaeology, critiques of ethnographic analogy have brought attention to early applications of ethnographic analogy that "androcentrically and unscientifically compared non-Western cultures to prehistoric remains" (Frink and Weedman 2005: 3). To address these limitations, the ethnoarchaeological study and ethnographic data used in this paper are selected based on the incorporation of multiple perspectives, critical reflexivity, holistic understanding of context, and new ethical guidelines for research with living communities.

Lastly, while I employ only male and female gender categories throughout this study, this simplistic model does not fully represent the complexities of Iroquoian gender identity. There is ethnohistoric evidence of non-binary or third-gender categories among the Iroquois

(Thwaites 1896-1901, 59:129; Jordan 2014). However, there are only a few accounts of this, and of the ones available, the details provided are limited. Throughout this study, I reference that women primarily perform and control hide production. However, this does not exclude the possibility that individuals who identified as non-binary participated in this activity. Currently, there is very little evidence to support this.

5 GENDERED SPACE AND LABOR

Archaeological assemblages and lithic analysis can tell us what scrapers are used for, but rarely can they explicitly tell us who was producing tools. Ethnohistoric accounts and ethnographic research can be used to demonstrate gender differences in labor prior to evaluating the representative patterns within the archaeological record. For instance, ethnohistoric and ethnographic studies have consistently attributed hide working to women in various geographic areas and time periods (Jordan 2014). While these primary and secondary accounts are beneficial for understanding and establishing context for the archaeological record, they often lack gendered language or show bias towards male gendered tasks. Because of this, this study evaluates gendered space and labor using gender theory and methods. This allows for the recognition of cultural notions of gendered space and labor instead of relying on preconceived expectations based on western gender roles.

The following section examines the concept of gendered space and labor. Using these concepts, I demonstrate that Iroquoian villages were organized into spatial domains where various activities occurred based on gendered labor division. This is done by examining primary and secondary ethnographic and historical sources that discuss labor at Iroquoian villages. Additionally, this section examines Iroquoian scraper production and hide processing activities.

5.1 Gendered Space and Labor

Examining the spatial arrangement of households produces significant archaeological data for studying gender. More importantly, it allows for reconstructing activities and relationships within these domestic spaces. Spatial organization, however, is not always gendered and cannot be assumed, as it relies on notions of gender upheld by the culture being

studied. Because of this, the context of artifacts becomes just as important as the space itself when discussing gender (Nelson 2005: 45). As domestic activities are predominately associated with women, examining gendered spaces goes beyond identifying who was participating in activities and where they occurred. Considering the gendered nature of household organization and domestic activities offers a deeper understanding of how a community is socially and economically organized (Allen 2010).

Engendering labor allows archaeologists to evaluate what work women and men do. A common assumption involving gendered work at prehistoric sites is that if men do it, women cannot or do not, or vice versa (Nelson 2005: 65). This assumption has led to the association of women with motherly activities and men with more physical and extensive activities, thus creating a level of gender polarization. The issue with this assumption is that the gender division of labor is not static. It constantly shifts in response to social, economic, and cultural changes. Additionally, gendered work is not necessarily sex-segregated work (Nelson 2005: 87). Men and women can share tasks, perform work in the same location, or work on the same project while completing different parts simultaneously. Suppose archaeologists are to answer questions pertaining to gendered work at prehistoric sites. In that case, it must be understood that the division of labor by gender fluctuates based on cultural notions of gender and labor.

Hide working is ethnographically and historically a female-dominated process, but contemporary groups recognize men as hide workers. In an ethnoarchaeological study of southern Ethiopia stone-tool hide workers, Weedman argues that women can be highly skilled knappers (2005). The study's comparisons of Gamo and Konso hide workers demonstrated that Gamo hide workers are men while Konso hide workers are female. The Gamo men learn

technological knowledge of scraper production through observing fathers and male figures, while Gamo women do not participate in scraping activities (Weedman 2005). In contrast, Konso hide working is predominantly a female craft with a knowledge system dominated by females, although a few men are hide workers. Because of this involvement of both genders, Konso men and women scrape different types of hides for different uses (Weedman 2005). Comparing the hide workers from both groups demonstrates that women can be formal stone-tool makers. More importantly, it establishes that assigning gender to a task solely based on the task's nature severely restricts the gendered work narrative.

5.2 Scrapers and Hide Processing

Scrapers, commonly defined as distally retouched unifaces (Shott 1995; Jenkins 2004; Bursey 2016), can be found in various prehistoric archaeological assemblages. Scrapers are a widespread formal tool found among prehistoric settlement groups. Formal tools, or curated technologies (Binford 1979), are multifunctional tools that require planning and involve rejuvenation techniques for long-term use (Andrefsky 1994). Early lithic analysis consists of stone tools as chronological markers to understand the tool production and use process. Archaeologists have moved away from the simplistic classification of lithics and have begun to understand that there can be a variety of classifications (Bursey 2016). For scrapers, past attention has been focused on the working edges, and while this is a valuable aspect, the manufacturing process of scrapers is often overlooked. Historically, in cases where stone tool use is emphasized, male activities are excessively labeled as the standard. Because of this, research and discourse on prehistoric stone tool production has been heavily criticized as it minimized or completely erased women from the tool production process (Brumbach and

Jarvenpa 2006; Nelson 2004). Just like it is important not to impose pre-conceived ideas of gender roles on labor and activities, gender cannot be assigned to specific artifacts solely based on physical characteristics.

Prehistoric lithic studies have traditionally associated women with producing non-formal or expedient tools (Gero 1991; Sassaman 1992; Weedman 2005). This is a problematic assumption as the division of labor is not absolute (Nelson 2004: 65). The primary function of scrapers is hide production; however, scrapers are used for other tasks such as woodworking and bone working (Shott 1995). The functional diversity of scrapers may indicate that scrapers were not produced or used by one specific gender; instead, they enter the realm of gendered task differentiation (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995). Because of their formal tool classification and previous archaeological narratives, scrapers would be associated with men. However, ethnographic and historic data challenges this assumption by demonstrating that hide production and scraper production was women-controlled task.

Ethnographic interviews and observations of Konso women living in southern Ethiopia demonstrate how hide working is a highly gendered process involving specific activities, tools, and locations (Weedman 2010). For Konso women, producing stone tools for hide working involves tasks and skills associated with femininity. The knowledge of hide working is transferred among women through familial ties (Weedman 2010). Both men and women who participated in hide working are considered feminine because of the association of femininity with tasks embedded in the hide working process. For Konso women, they control the production of knowledge through the process of women teaching other women how to scrape

hides and by placing restrictions on technological knowledge by determining who is included in the hide working and scraper production process.

In North America, ethnoarchaeological investigations at several sites on Knee Lake in Canada were conducted with the help of contemporary southern Chipewyan informants to examine the importance of gender in subsistence activities (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995). The consultants aided in identifying particular areas, features, and materials in the archaeological record while providing context of how artifacts within these spaces are used in modern contexts. Observations of the Chipewyan women revealed they had distinctive tool kits for hide working, including the modern equivalent of stone tools (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995). The primary materials used in the hunting and processing of moose are used and managed by a specific gender. Women's gear for moose hunting and processing included hide working tools such as a moose-tibia scraper, a steel scraper, a scraper file, and a steel wire hide softener (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995: 61). The Chipewyan women define hide working as primarily a female activity. The process is a performance that produces a sense of worth and self-esteem among the women within the community (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995). Additionally, Chipewyan women are the exclusive users and curators of hide working tool kits as they are responsible for making bone scrapers from the tibia of a moose and take the time to carefully maintain their tools by wrapping them in cloth or canvas bundles (Jarvenpa and Brumbach 1995).

Hide working can be broken into three stages of production: preparation, distribution, and manufacture. Frink (2005) presents these three stages of production to examine the complex gendered components, responsibilities, and control of the hide processing. The

preparation stage includes harvesting and initial preparatory work of the hide. The distribution stage highlights the economic and social purposes of the hide. Lastly, the manufacturing stage involves the physically manufactured item. This can be an item of clothing or equipment. The division of hide processing into these three stages creates a more in-depth analysis of gendered responsibilities and decisions. Due to Anglo-American bias towards women, men were more likely to control the distribution stage of the hide production process (Frink 2005). Women had the necessary tool kits to manufacture the hides into needed items (Frink 2005). This model demonstrates the variation in gender control but also highlights the importance of gender specialization.

It is argued that if ethnographic data displays women as hide workers in various cultures worldwide, the presence of hide working tools in the archaeological record should indicate the presence of women (Weedman 2010). This establishes evidence that women were using and potentially producing formal and complex tools like scrapers because of their involvement in the hide working process. Though it is important to note that even if certain activities are predominantly the responsibility of women, in this case, hide working, other genders may be involved. Rather than assigning scraper usage and production to a distinct gender, it is essential to evaluate and understand how a group's social and cultural organization influences gendered labor.

5.3 Iroquois Household and Village Domain

Iroquoian longhouses were intentionally designed for nuclear families and a variety of activities. Physically, the longhouses varied in length based on the family size they were built to hold, but they tended to be about 15 to 22 feet wide (Engelbrecht 2003: 70; Snow 2012).

Traditionally, several hearths were spaced out within the interior of the longhouse that was shared by pairs of families (Snow 2012). Compartments with sleeping platforms divided the longhouse into living areas, one on either side, with a shared hearth in the middle aisle (Engelbrecht 2003: 77; Snow 2012). Nuclear families occupied each compartment. The remaining space was used for storage or other activities. This open space in the aisle provided an area for food preparation and other daily activities (Snow 2012).

Ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature on Iroquois domestic practices provides context for how community members experienced the longhouse. The Iroquois traced descent through women (matrilineal), and they organized their longhouses to reflect a matrilocal residency (Allen 2010; Engelbrecht 2003: 68-69; Prezzano 1997). Longhouses were shared by the same matrilineage, generally based on an elderly matron, along with her husband and children (Engelbrecht 2003: 68-69; Prezzano 1997). This matrilocal longhouse structure gave women authority over the domestic domain and the activities within the structure. These activities often included food production and storage, ceramic production, and possibly stone tool production. The activities within the longhouses relied heavily on the time of year and climate. During the fall and early spring, activities occurred within the longhouses. However, during the milder months, activities occurred outside the longhouse in the open areas (Engelbrecht 2003: 85). As hunting, fishing, trading, and warfare took the men far from the village, women, children, and elders continued to carry out the necessary activities for survival and sustainability (Engelbrecht 2003: 70). Although, it should be noted that some women left the village to establish hunting camps during the winter hunting months to hunt bear and other large animals, therefore, it was not uncommon for the village to be nearly abandoned

(Thwaites 1896-1901, 54:117). At these camps, the women would be responsible for butchering and drying the meat, and when it was time to return to the village, they would help carry the meat back (Engelbrecht 2003: 10-11).

The domain of Iroquois women extended beyond the household as it included the village and nearby fields. Women worked in groups to carry out horticultural and gathering activities across the landscape of the village (Allen 2010; Engelbrecht 2003: 70). Due to the wide range of spatial domains controlled by women within the village and given that men were away from the village for extended periods, women's activities and labor are more evident archaeologically at the household and village level (Allen 2010). This indicates that artifacts found within the domestic domain or surrounding areas are most likely associated with women. It is important to recognize that men were involved in activities within the village and household domain, such as defense building, field clearing, and maintenance. Despite this, ethnohistoric and ethnographic data demonstrate that Iroquoian women are predominantly responsible for activities within and around the household.

5.4 Iroquois Gendered Labor

Much of our knowledge of Iroquoian gender roles comes from ethnohistoric data of Iroquoian groups in Ontario and New York (Perrelli 2009). European observers documented aspects of Iroquoian daily life, including gendered differences in labor. The documented observations reference to age, gender, sex, and sociopolitical status associated with specific tools, spaces, and activities (Perrellii 2009). Iroquoian village communities were organized by spatial domains where individuals of all ages and genders performed various activities.

Due to the egalitarian structure of Iroquoian villages, work across the village site was divided among various individuals. The numerous cultivated fields were selected and cleared by men, women tended to plant and grow crops, and children worked in the fields (Engelbrecht 2003; Waugh 1916: 6-9). Men occasionally participated in cultivation tasks but primarily focused on hunting and fishing (Waugh 1916:8-9). As Iroquois women primarily controlled the household domain, household activities were included in women's work around the village. These tasks included food preparation, hide production, craft production, and managing camp (Perrellii 2009). Although Iroquoian labor appears to be divided into men's and women's work, there are cases where men and women performed shared tasks while working together on parts of the same project. For instance, Iroquoian men and women would collaboratively collect sap, hunt small game, and build cabins (Perrellii 2009: 30). This indicates that the division of labor is quite complex and cannot be determined solely by assigning an artifact to a specific gender without understanding the cultural context of the tasks being performed.

5.4.1 Hide processing

A large amount of labor was needed to prepare skins and hides for clothing. Also, hide working is a complicated technology that is highly gendered (Frink and Weedman 2005). Scraping the hide to remove the inner flesh is just one of many steps in this process. Hide working includes soaking, wringing, stretching, abrading, braining, and smoking (Engelbrecht et al. 2020). This process is highly time-consuming, as it is estimated to take between 30 to 40 hours to process an average-size deer hide (Baillargeon 2010: 13). Several deer hides were needed to produce moccasins, clothing, and ground cover for sleeping (Engelbrecht 2003: 12-13, Thwaites 1896-1901, 31:83). Deer hunting was prevalent during the fall while bear hunting

tended to occur during winter months (Engelbrecht et al. 2020.). While the Iroquois predominately used deer hides for clothing and ground cover for sleeping, bear robes were used in winter for clothing and bedding (Engelbrecht 2003: 11-12).

While deer skin is the most common hide associated with end scrapers, several researchers have argued that sharp sone end scrapers were not used on deer skin (e.g., Ritzenthaler 1947; Richards 1996; Schultz 1992; Weiderhold 2004: 23). The sharp edge of the end scraper would easily cut or puncture a thin hide such as deer skin. Processing methods and tool usage varied depending on the size and thickness of the hide (Weiderhold 2004: 5). bear hides were much thicker and took more time to process than deer hides, making them a more suitable hide for stone-end scraper usage.

The possibility that stone end scrapers were used to scrape thicker hides is examined through a lithic analysis of end scrapers from the Eaton village site. Although end scrapers are assumed to be used for scraping deerskins, the authors argue that other tools made of wood or bone were used to scrape deer hides (Engelbrecht et al. 2020). The Eaton Site is a mid-sixteenth-century Iroquoian village located in the Niagara Frontier. 133 whole and 80 broken end scrapers were recovered at the Eaton Site and are heavily concentrated at Longhouse 3 (Engelbrecht et al. 2020). Based on the faunal percentage of bears and the relative paucity of stone end scrapers at this site, it is concluded that the end scrapers found were most likely used to scrape thicker hides of bears rather than deer. More skill is needed to scrape bear hides due to the thickness of the hide. The distribution and the concentration of end scrapers at Longhouse 3 potentially indicates that not all individuals were participating in scraping bear hides (Engelbrecht et al. 2020)

6 RESULTS

Using the data collected from previous excavations at the Simmons site, an analysis was performed on a total of 112 scrapers using the methodologies described in Chapter 4. The characteristics and attributes used throughout this analysis were selected based on ethnographic and archaeological data of scrapers used for hide processing. This analysis provides a means for connecting artifact variation to spatial distribution to best explain the behavioral characteristics of Iroquois women.

6.1 Quantitative Analysis

6.1.1 Scraper Type

Among the 112 scrapers found at the Simmons site, two main classifications of scraper types were identified based on the working edge: end (Figure 7) and side (Figure 8). As previously stated, the end scraper type also includes thumbnail scrapers (Figure 9) and scrapers with a working edge on both the end and side. Between the two scraper types, end scrapers represent 85% of the assemblage while side scrapers comprise the remaining 15% of the collection (Figure 10).

Figure 7: End Scraper from the Simmons site

Figure 8: Side Scraper from the Simmons site

Figure 9: Thumbnail Scraper from the Simmons site

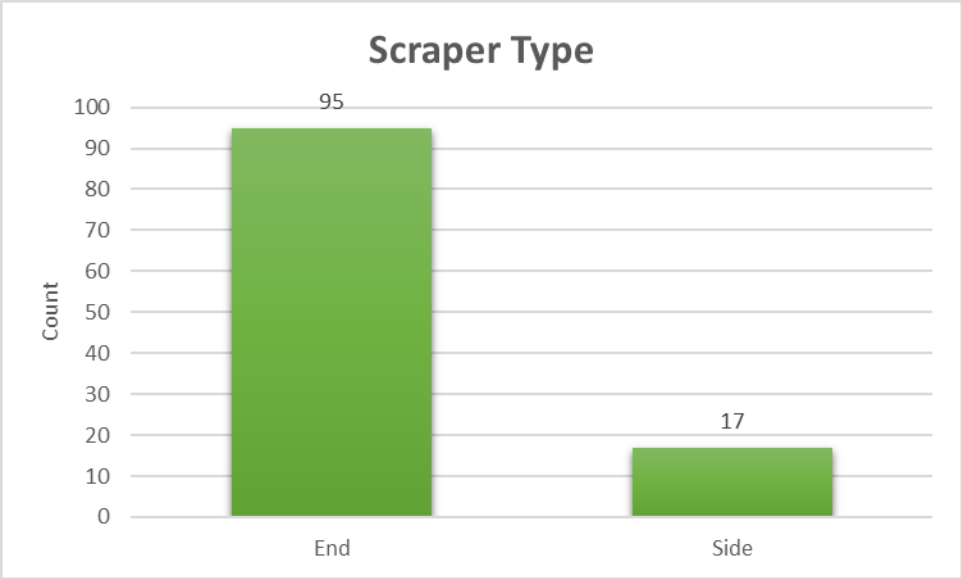

Figure 10: Count of Scraper Type from Simmons site

6.1.2 Retouch Location

The following attribute analyzed was the retouch location of each scraper, primarily focusing on the presence of retouching on the lateral and distal edges. Scrapers with lateral retouch were the least common among this assemblage. Sixty-two scrapers were retouched on the distal end, making up over half of the assemblage. The remaining 33 scrapers were determined to have retouching along the lateral edge and the distal end (Figure 11).

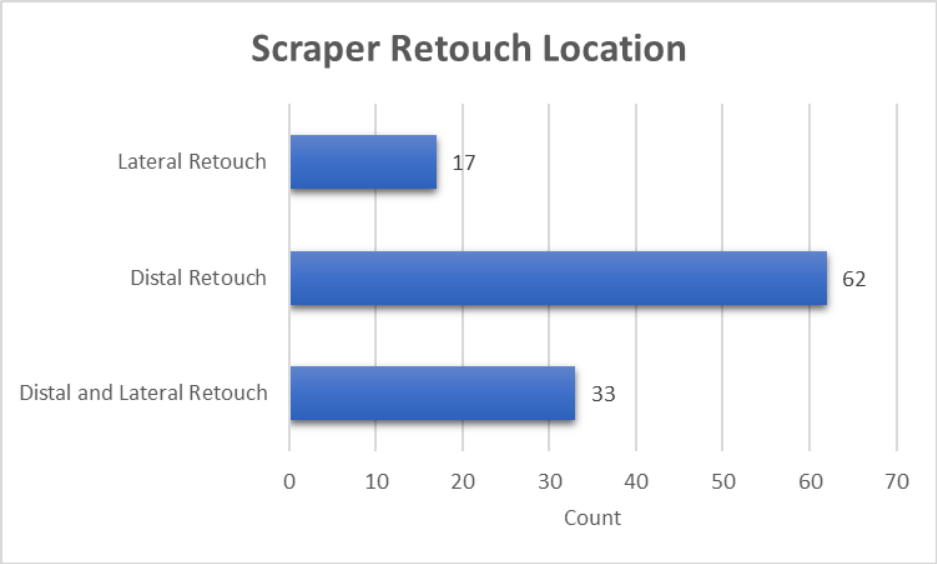

Figure 11: Scraper Retouch Location at the Simmons site

6.1.3 Material

85% of the scrapers found at the Simmons site were produced with Onondaga chert. Of the 95 end scrapers found, 84 of them were made from the Onondaga material (Table 2). The other 11 end scrapers were made from Reynales, Edgecliff, and Seneca chert. Only one scraper was made from exotic material.

Table 2: Material of scrapers at the Simmons Site

Material	End Scraper Total	Side Scraper Total	Total Percentage
Reynales	2	1	3%
Onondaga	84	11	85%
Edgecliff	4	3	6%
Seneca	5	1	5%
Exotic	0	1	1%

6.1.4 Location Distribution

The scrapers found at the Simmons site were categorized into four locations: structure, palisade, interior open, and exterior open. The "structure" location class consists of scrapers found around or within the longhouses. "Interior open" refers to scrapers within the palisade boundary and open space throughout the site. The "exterior open" consists of scrapers outside the palisade. Lastly, scrapers located directly along the palisade are classified within the "palisade" location class. Based on these classifications, the majority of the scrapers were located near or within structures, and along the Palisade (Figure 12). These two location classes consist of 93 scrapers or 83% of the assemblage. The remaining 19 scrapers were found directly along or outside the palisade boundaries.

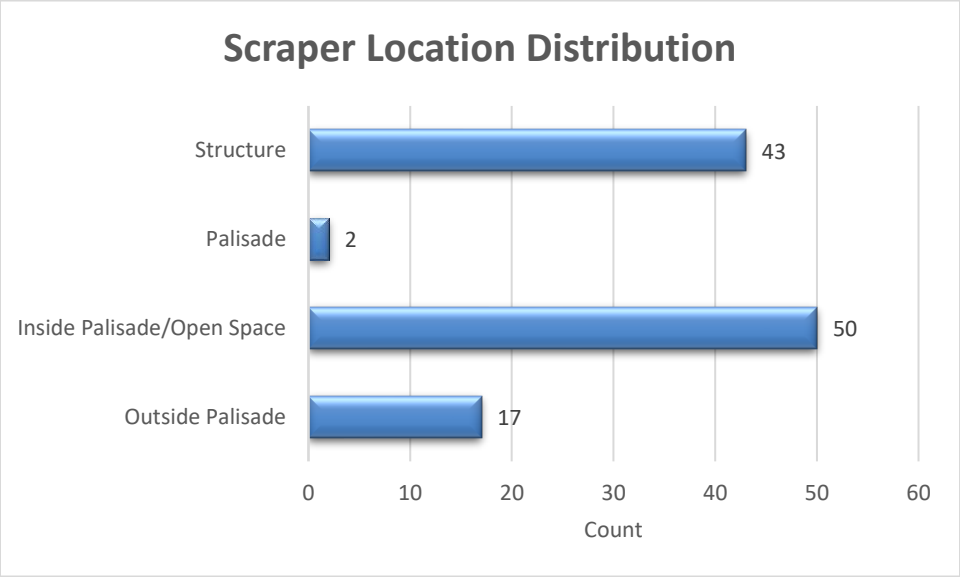

Figure 12: Total scraper location distribution

A more in-depth location distribution analysis was done using the scraper and blank types classifications. As discussed previously, end scrapers were the most prevalent type among the assemblage. Forty-five end scrapers were found inside the palisade and within the open

space (Figure 13). Among the structures, 32 end scrapers were found. Only two end scrapers were discovered along the palisade, while 16 end scrapers were found outside the palisade boundaries.

Although side scrapers only make up 15% of the assemblage (Figure 10), 11 side scrapers were found among structures at the site. Additionally, five side scrapers were found within the interior open, and one was in the exterior open (Figure 13).

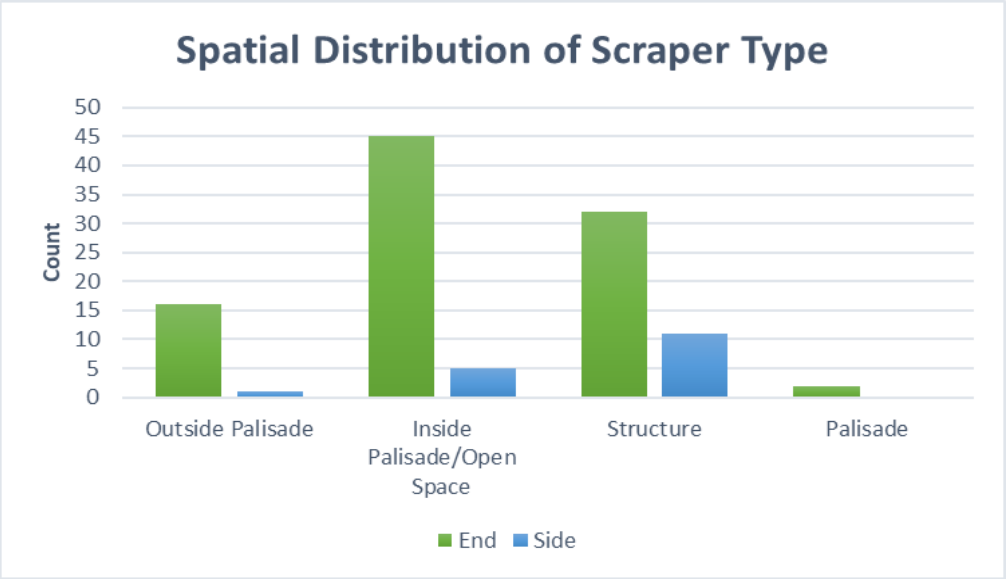

Figure 13: Spatial distribution of scraper types at the Simmons site

6.1.5 Additional analysis:

The following classification was determined based on blank type. Initially, the assemblage was organized into five categories: biface scraper, complete flake (CF), broken flake (BF), flake fragment (FF), and debris (D). For the analysis, I combined the scrapers classified as complete flake and broken flake into one category of platform bearing scrapers. Based on these categories, 45% of the assemblage is comprised of flake fragments (Figure 14), 17% of the

assemblage are bifacial scrapers, and 32% are platform-bearing scrapers. The remaining 6% was determined to be debris.

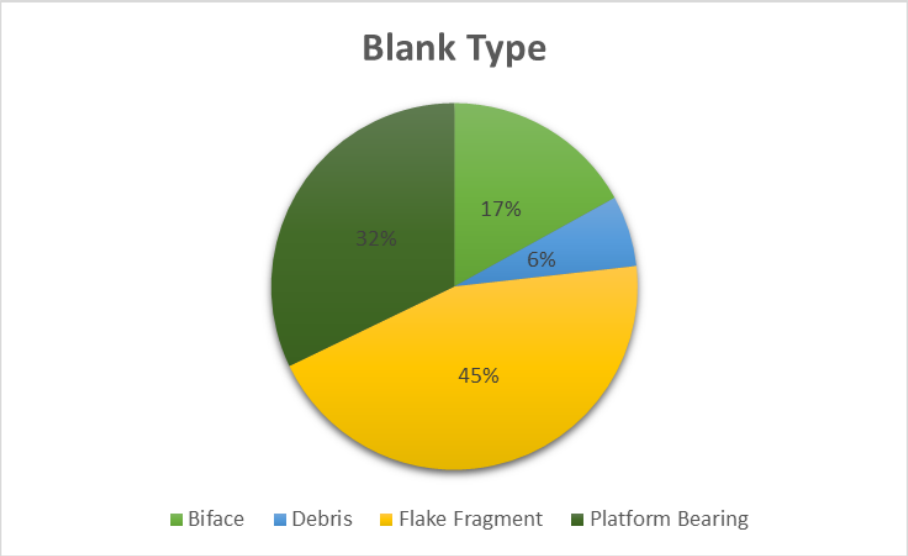

Figure 14: Blank Type at the Simmons Site

The next distribution analysis conducted involved the four determined blank types found among the assemblage. This was done to determine the spatial location of lithic reduction across the site. Of the scrapers found within the open space, 16 were platform-bearing, 24 were flake fragments, three were debris, and seven were biface (Figure 15). Among the structures were 17 platform-bearing, 17 flake fragments, three debris, and six bifaces. Along the palisade, two were identified, one flake fragment and one biface. Lastly, two platform-bearing, nine flake fragments, one debris, and five bifaces were located outside the palisade.

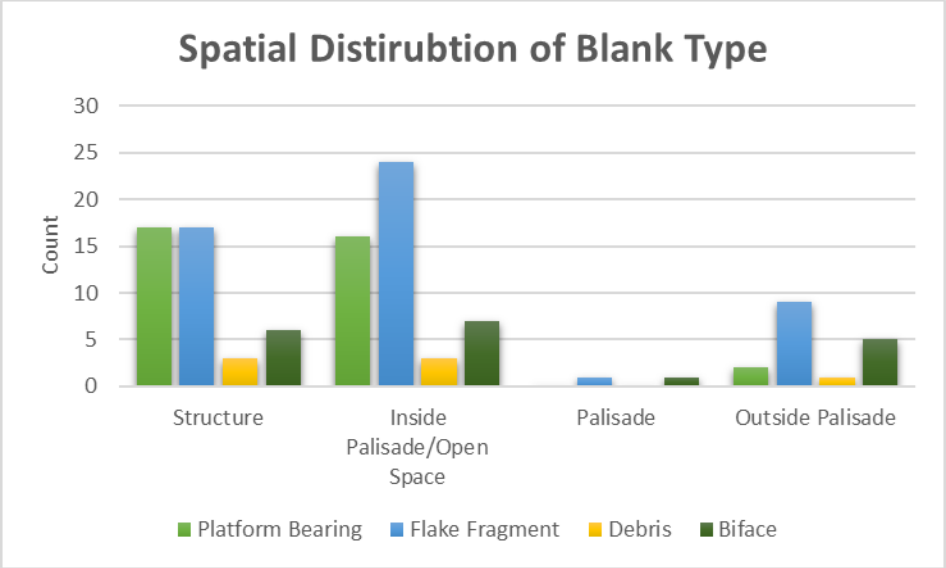

Figure 15: Spatial Distribution of Blank Type at the Simmons Site

The weights of scrapers found at the Simmons site range from 1.2 g to 68.91 g. Most of the scrapers fall between 1 and 16 g, with the highest concentration between 8 and 16 g (Figure 16). The average end scraper weight was 14.3 g. As for distribution of weight across the site, there was no distinct pattern. Large end scrapers were scattered randomly across the site therefore there was notable pattern representing broken or whole end scrapers.

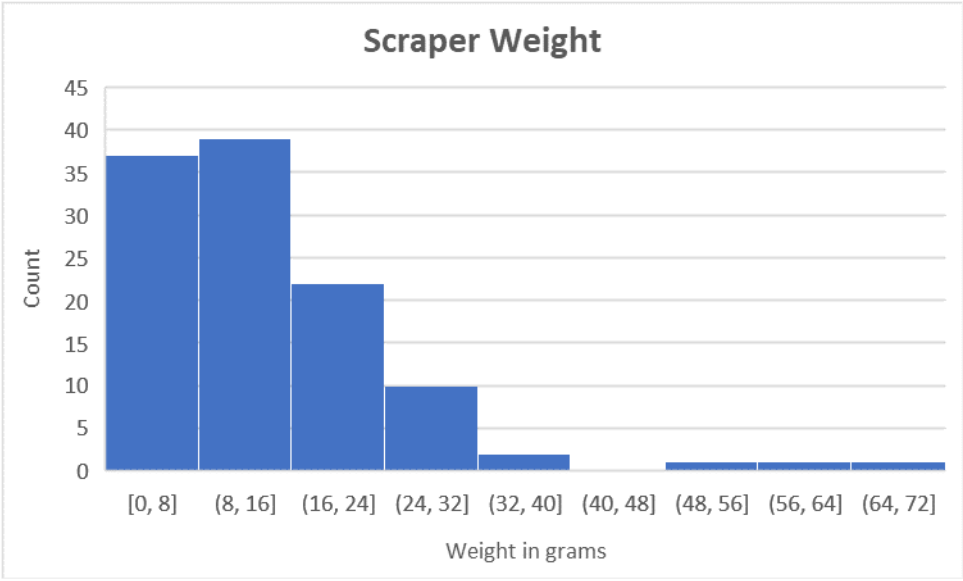

Figure 16: Weight of scrapers at the Simmons Site

6.2 Spatial Analysis

Before conducting spatial statistics of the scraper data from the Simmons site, I used ArcGIS to create a visual map of the scraper-type distribution. Based on the map of end scrapers (Figure 17) and the side scrapers (Figure 18), both scraper types appear to be concentrated around Longhouse M. Due to the large concentration of scrapers around Longhouse M, I examined the distribution of scrapers within the boundaries of the longhouse and the surrounding areas (Figure 19). There are several scrapers found in the interior of the longhouse as well as directly along the outside. There are several identified hearths and a pit within the interior of the longhouse, as well.

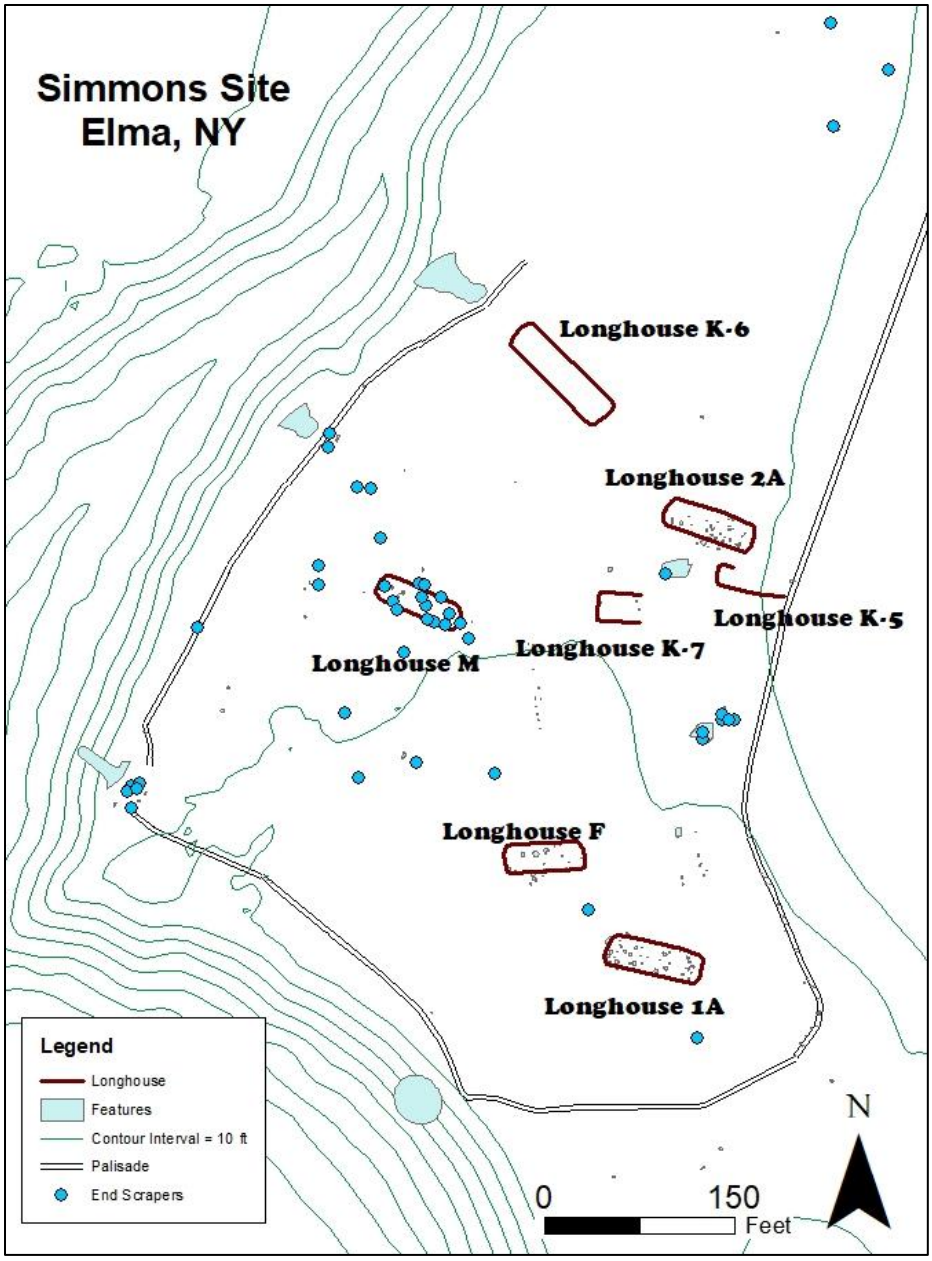

Figure 17: End Scrapers at the Simmons Site

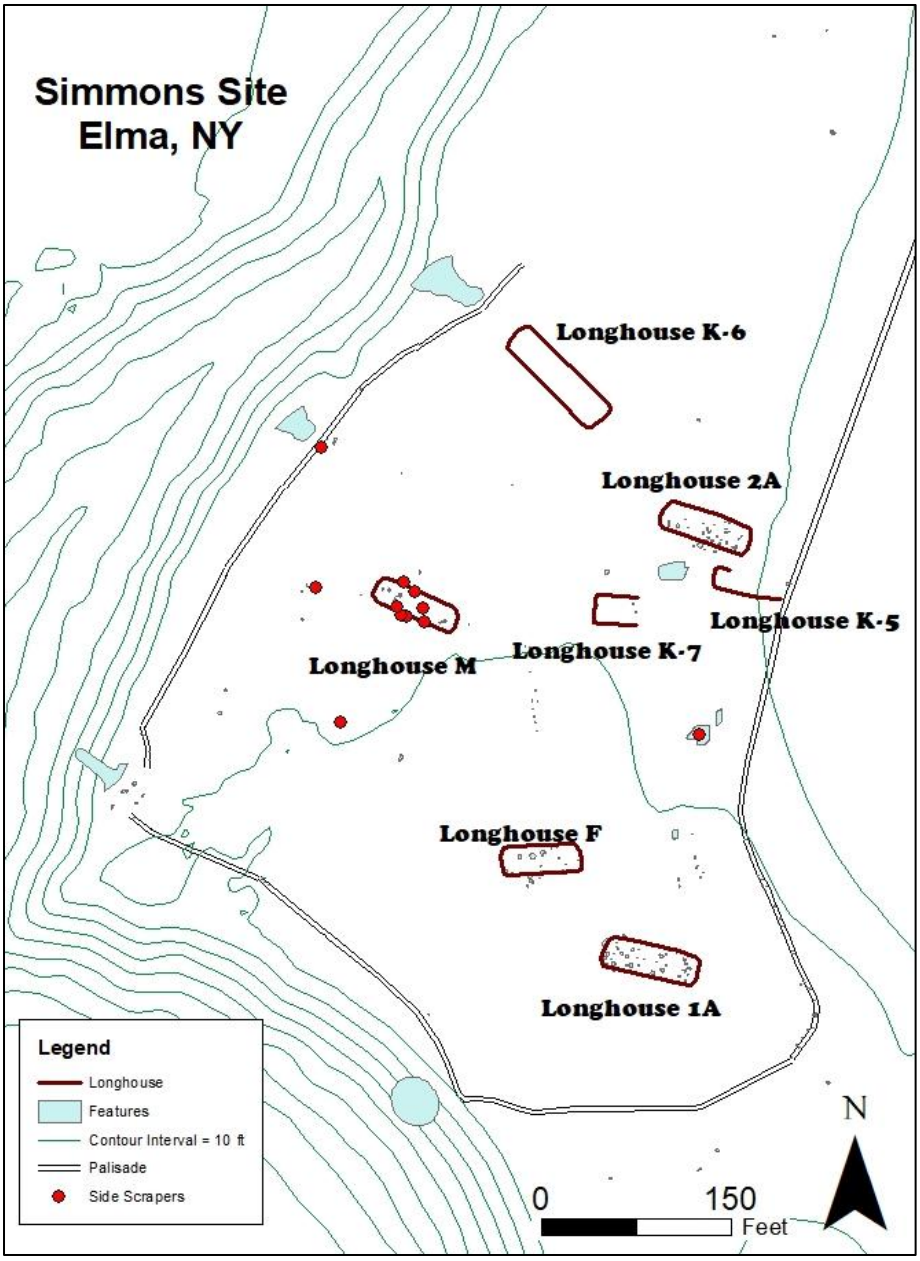

Figure 18: Side Scrapers at the Simmons Site

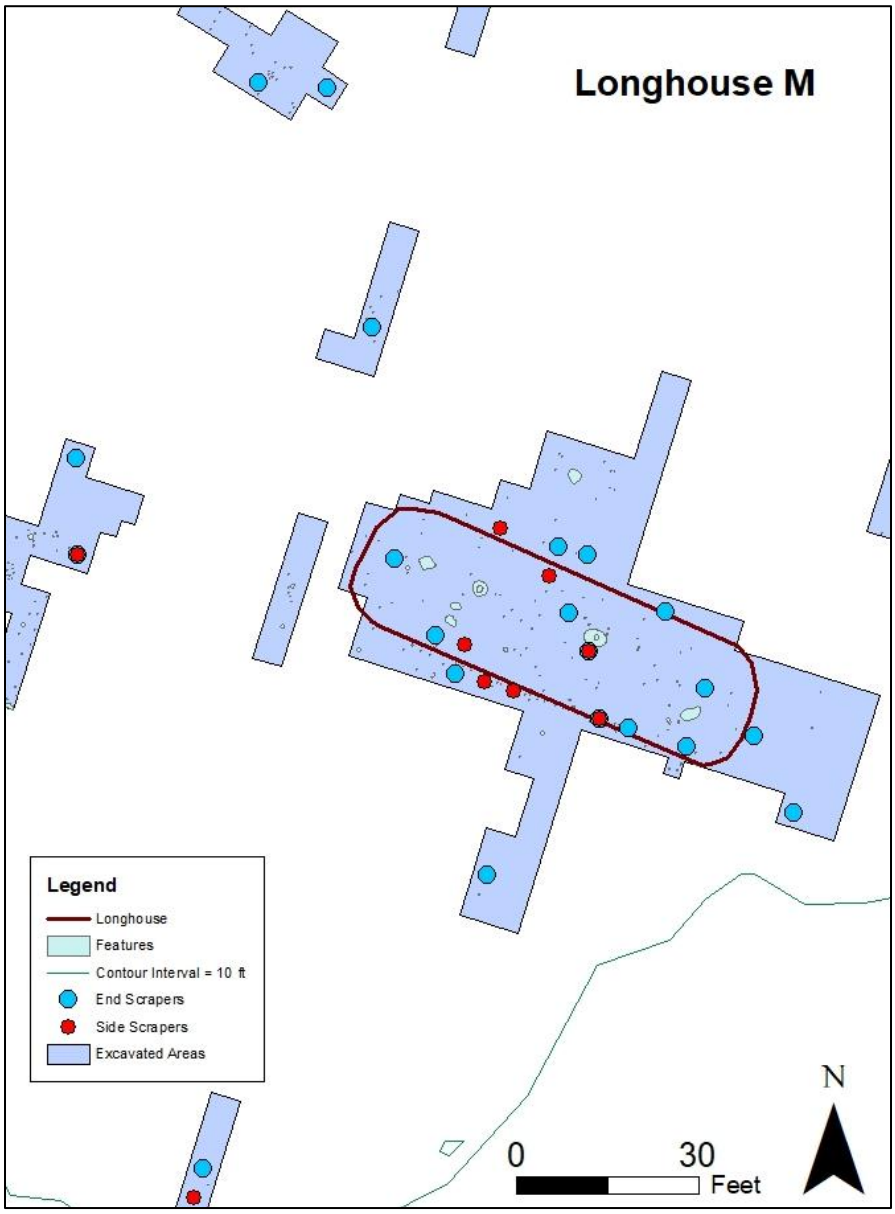

Figure 19: End and Side Scrapers at Longhouse M

6.2.1 Spatial Autocorrelation and Kernel Density

Using the ArcMap spatial statistics function, Spatial Autocorrelation (Global Moran's I), I ran a report to calculate the Moran's I Index, z-score, and p-value of the scrapers documented across the site. This was used to evaluate whether the pattern of scrapers is clustered, dispersed, or random. The report indicated a Moran's Index of 0.136, a z-score of 2.746, and a p-value of 0.006 (Figure 20). Given the p-value and z-score of this report, it was determined that the scrapers among this site are clustered, and there is less than a 1% likelihood that this clustered pattern could result from random chance.

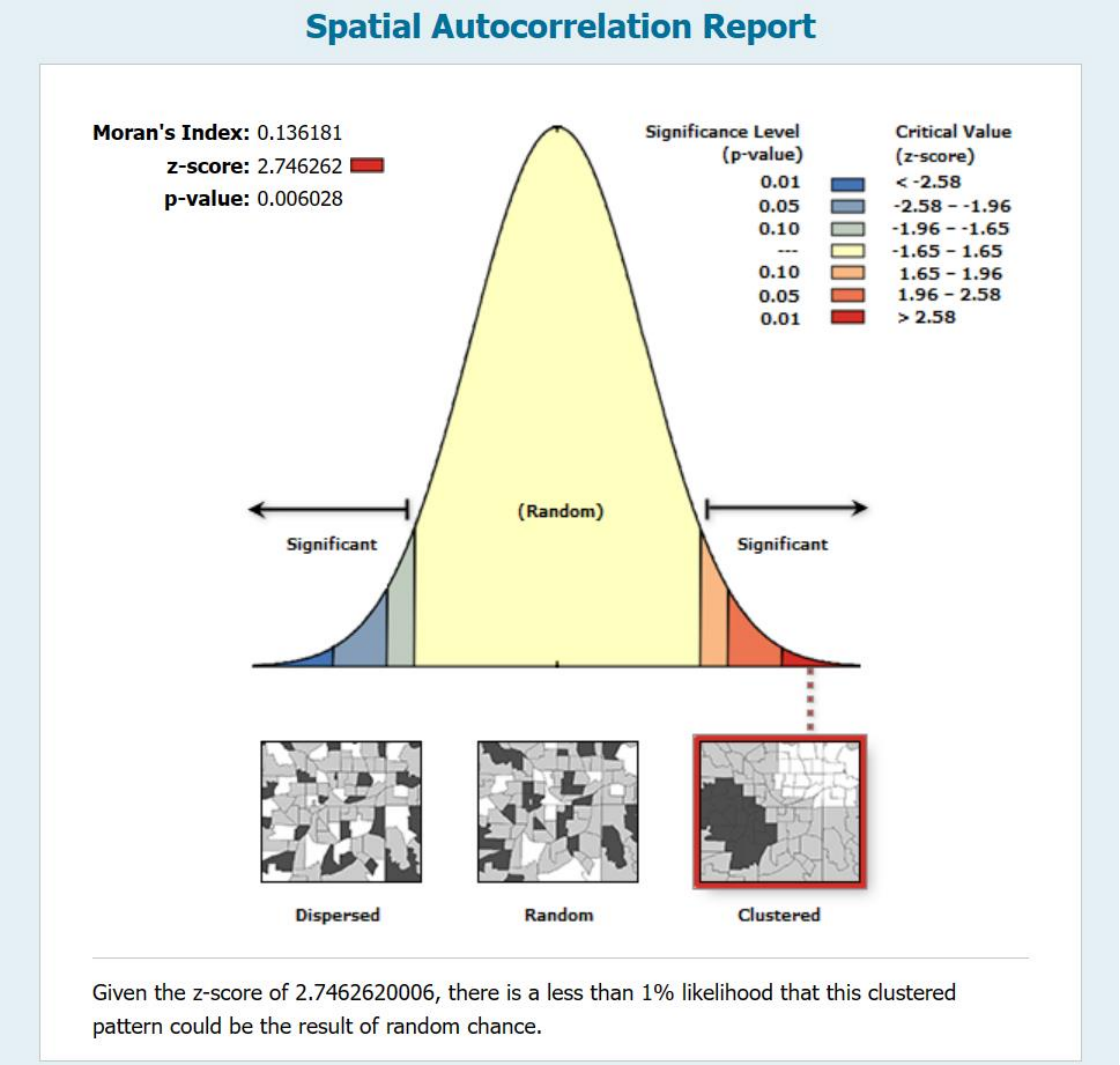

Figure 20: Spatial Autocorrelation Report from ArcMap

After running the Spatial Autocorrelation report, I created density maps using the Kernel Density tool in ArcMap. This was done to demonstrate the areas with the highest density of scrapers across the site. Before running the Kernel Density tool for individual scraper types, I ran the tool on the total number of scrapers to see the highest density areas for the entire assemblage (Figure 21). This map revealed three high-density areas. These density areas surround Longhouse M, a midden located in the southwest corner of the site, and a midden located south of Longhouse K-7. Additionally, a medium-density area surrounds a midden between Longhouse 2A and Longhouse K-7. Additionally, there is a medium-density spot along the northwestern palisade wall near another midden. (Figure 21).

The following Kernel Density maps were created based on the most prominent scraper type determined by analysis previously discussed in this chapter. I created a density map focusing primarily on end scrapers' spatial density. Based on this map, there are four areas of high density. Like the total scraper data, the high-density areas of end scrapers include the midden in the southwest corner of the site, Longhouse M, and the midden located south of Longhouse K-7 (Figure 22). In addition to these three areas, there is a high-density area in the northeastern corner of the site. This area includes a hearth, a small midden, and several small unidentified features. The medium-density areas of this map include the midden between Longhouse 2A and Longhouse K-7, a small area below Longhouse M, and a section of the Northwestern palisade (Figure 22).

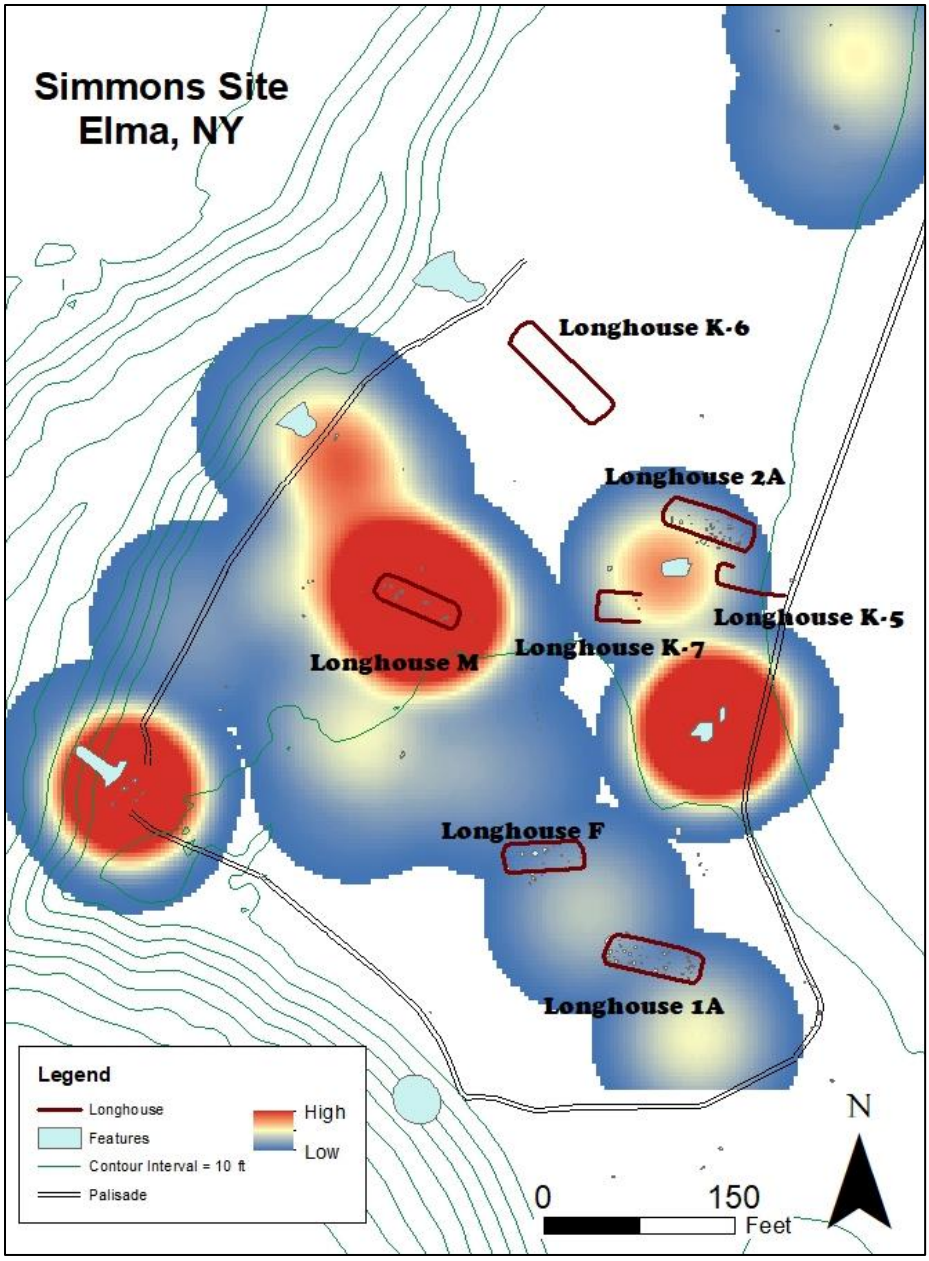

Figure 21: Kernel Density map of total number of scrapers at the Simmons site

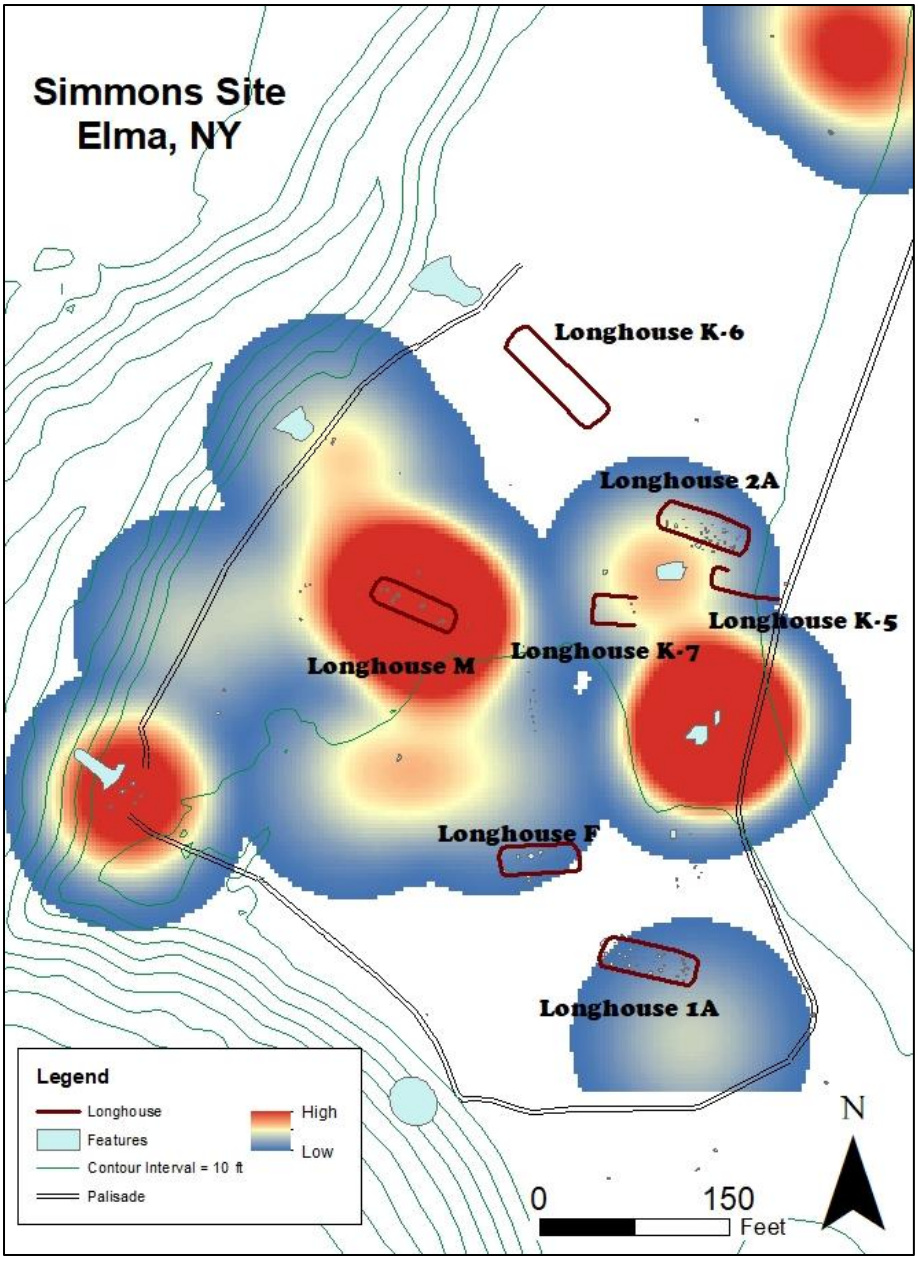

Figure 22: Kernel Density map of end scrapers at the Simmons site

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 Hide Processing

Based on the archaeological analysis presented in the last chapter, it is evident that the scrapers found at the Simmons site were predominantly distally retouched, end scrapers found within the open areas and around or within some of the identified structures of the site. As end scrapers have commonly been identified as tools used during hide production (Brandt and Weedman 2002; Engelbrecht et al. 2020; Hayden 1986; Shott1995; Weedman 2010), I argue that the scrapers found at the Simmons site were primarily being used for hide processing. Among the assemblage, 84% were identified as end scrapers. While there may have been other tasks being performed with these scrapers across the site due to their presence along the palisade wall, hide processing was the most common task at the Simmons Site.

Additionally, there is a degree of specialization occurring across the site. The stone end scrapers were primarily made of Onondaga chert, which has a rating of seven on the Mohs scale. These scrapers were hard and would not have been used on deer hides as they would likely puncture the hide. Instead, the end scrapers at this site were most likely being used on much thicker hides, such as bear hides. This specialized usage is also evident at the Eaton Site (Englebrecht et al. 2020), another Iroquoian village during the mid-sixteenth century.

Based on the spatial distribution analysis, the scrapers are concentrated in three main areas. These three high-density areas include Longhouse M and two middens, one located directly south of Longhouse K-7. The Spatial Autocorrelation Report demonstrates that the scrapers found at this site were clustered and not the product of random placement. Furthermore, end scrapers within Longhouse M are consistent with ethnographic and historical

data on hide processing at Iroquoian sites. There are a few possible reasons for the high density of scrapers around Longhouse M. The main possibility is that Longhouse M was the primary location of bear hide working. The women at Longhouse M were most likely specializing in the scraping and manufacturing of bear hides. The lack of high density at the other longhouses suggests that Longhouse M was the only longhouse responsible for this task. Although, faunal analysis and use-wear analysis would be beneficial in further establishing this argument.

Another possibility for the high density is the curation of end scrapers. End scraper deposition within the longhouse could indicate curation as end scrapers were kept, reworked, and reused (Cassell 2005). The distribution of platform bearing and flake fragments across the site supports this. Both blank types are primarily found among structures and within the open space, indicating these areas could have been the primary location of retouching.

7.2 Gendered Labor

Iroquoian villages maintained a strong egalitarian structure that depended on the equal distribution of tasks, wealth, and resources. Additionally, ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence demonstrates the organization of Iroquoian villages into spatial domains. Iroquois women controlled the household and village domain. This level of control included the specialized tasks that occurred within each domain. While there is little archaeological evidence of differential wealth between longhouses (Engelbrecht 2003:108; Warrick 1996:16), it is possible that each longhouse domain was responsible for the production and distribution of goods. Gift exchange, sharing, and gambling are documented mechanisms for distributing goods within these villages (Engelbrecht 2003:108; Engelbrecht et al. 2020; Warrick 1996:16). If the Iroquois were dividing tasks equally based on gender, it is likely that the women were

further dividing tasks based on specialization. This would allow Iroquois women to efficiently complete tasks, especially as the population of the village site grew. Given the amount of time and labor needed to scrape larger hides, not all women at the Simmons site would have the time to produce bear hides. Ethnohistoric and archaeological data have demonstrated the presence of deer and bear hides at Iroquoian village sites. Because of this, I propose that Iroquoian women were participating in a degree of occupational specialization and were redistributing resources.

Task specialization is present across Iroquois villages in various ways. Scrapers have a degree of functional diversity. Although most scrapers found at the Simmons Site are believed to be used for hide processing, there is a possibility that Iroquois men also used the scrapers for defense building along the palisade. Nineteen scrapers were found along the palisade and in the exterior areas of the site, and ethnographic data demonstrates that scrapers are not always used primarily by women. The presence of scrapers in the areas that are not traditionally considered Iroquois women's domain suggests that men used scrapers for other tasks outside of hide processing. The presence of scrapers along the palisade is also evident at the Eaton Site (Jenkins 2004). This further establishes the argument that a degree of task specialization occurred at the Simmons Site.

7.3 Conclusions and Implications

The labor division at the Simmons site was complex. It did not rely on static gender roles but instead depended on the participation of all genders to strengthen and maintain the village's success. Iroquoian women played active roles in the economic and social organization of Iroquoian society. They maintained control over the household and village domain while

actively participating in the activities within these areas. Additionally, they were using and potentially producing formal tools, specifically scrapers. This contradicts gendered task differentiation models that associate women with expedient or non-formal stone tools.

The interpretation that hide production at the Simmons Site was divided based on specialization among Iroquoian women is more consistent with our knowledge of the Iroquoian egalitarian structure dependent on cooperation. This cooperation extended beyond the Iroquoian women and included all genders. Men and women at the Simmons Site were most likely sharing tasks and relying on one another to complete complex projects. By relying on gendered division of labor, the occupants of the Simmons Site were able to maintain economic and social stability. Furthermore, ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence supports the argument that Iroquoian-gendered work heavily influenced the day-to-day activities.

Iroquois women at the Simmons site were not dependent on their male counterparts to carry out complex tasks like processing bear hides. Although this pattern may not be present at all Iroquoian sites due to variations in the performance of Iroquoian gender roles, this study demonstrates that the task differentiation approach can aid in understanding specific site practices and functions. Despite this variation, this study can provide a foundation for gender-focused studies involving Late Woodland Iroquoian sites in the Niagara Frontier. It is hoped that the results of this study will encourage future research of the Simmons Site as there is much more to learn about the social and economic practices of this Late Woodland Iroquoian village.

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APPENDICES

Appendix: Scraper Data

Cat. #	Unit	Retouch[a]	Blank Type[b]	Weight/g.	Cortex[c]	Material	Burned
4984	North Bank Midden	D, L	FF	2.62	0	Seneca	No
4982	North Bank Midden	D	Biface	16.71	0	Onondaga	No
4984	North Bank Midden	D	FF	8.95	0	Onondaga	No
4834	P15N0W	D, L	FF	12.73	0	Onondaga	No
4838	P15N0W	D	Biface	9.00	0	Onondaga	Yes
4849	P15N5E	D, L	FF	12.27	0	Onondaga	No
4874	P15N5E	D	CF	7.95	0	Seneca	No
4882	P15N5E	D, L	Biface	33.60	1	Seneca	No
4885	P20N0W	L	FF	10.02	0	Onondaga	No
4905	P20N5E	D, L	FF	19.31	0	Onondaga	No
4905	P20N5E	D	FF	5.27	0	Onondaga	No
4947	P25N10E	D, L	CF	17.27	0	Onondaga	No
4821	P5N15E	D	Biface	7.27	0	Onondaga	No
5123	S100S85E 100' Trench	D, L	Biface	18.76	0	Onondaga	No
5123	S100S85E 100' Trench	D, L	FF	31.08	0	Edgecliff	No
5123	S100S85E 100' Trench	D	D	31.83	0	Onondaga	No
5127	S150N85E Trench	D	FF	7.15	0	Onondaga	Yes
12901	M100S80E	D	CF	3.12	0	Onondaga	Yes
12860	M55S55E	D, L	FF	20.00	0	Onondaga	No
12358	M5N85E	D, L	Biface	20.52	0	Onondaga	No
12697	M85N40E	D	FF	3.52	0	Onondaga	No
4964	N.P. Material	D	Biface	28.56	0	Onondaga	No
4964	N.P. Material	L	D	17.69	0	Seneca	No
4473	Pick Up 196	D	BF	11.79	1	Onondaga	No
12196	S0S0W	D, L	FF	16.87	0	Onondaga	No
12308	S0S0W	D, L	FF	7.69	0	Onondaga	No
4987	S135N90E	D	FF	4.56	0	Onondaga	No
4988	S135N90E	D	CF	2.40	0	Onondaga	No
4999	S140N90E	D	FF	6.29	0	Onondaga	No
5000	S140N90E	L	CF	11.90	0	Onondaga	No
5022	S150N110E	D, L	CF	24.59	0	Reynales	No
5022	S150N110E	D, L	Biface	14.15	1	Onondaga	No
5027	S150N115E	D	FF	3.82	0	Onondaga	Yes
5026	S150N115E	D	CF	7.35	1	Onondaga	No
5028	S150N120E	D	FF	15.79	0	Onondaga	No
5028	S150N120E	D	FF	20.01	0	Onondaga	No

Cat. #	Unit	Retouch[a]	Blank Type[b]	Weight/g.	Cortex[c]	Material	Burned
5045	S155N110E	D	CF	9.84	0	Onondaga	No
5045	S155N110E	D	FF	8.92	1	Onondaga	No
5054	S265N60E	D, L	D	7.01	0	Onondaga	No
5054	S265N60E	D, L	FF	59.63	0	Seneca	No
5054	S265N60E	D	FF	5.15	0	Onondaga	No
5054	S265N60E	D	Biface	28.69	1	Onondaga	No
5054	S265N60E	D, L	Biface	26.30	1	Onondaga	No
3251	Surface	D, L	D	17.51	0	Reynales	No
4469	Surface	D	CF	8.33	0	Onondaga	No
3251	Surface	L	FF	8.93	0	Onondaga	No
5112	Trench K2 Feature B1	D	CF	9.07	0	Onondaga	No
5112	Trench K2 Feature B1	D	FF	7.00	0	Onondaga	Yes
C20646	X0S0W	D, L	CF	10.52	0	Onondaga	No
C20645	X0S0W	L	FF	18.94	0	Exotic	No
C20614	X10S0W	D, L	CF	11.79	0	Onondaga	No
C20635	X10S5W	D	CF	7.50	0	Onondaga	No
4610	X15N45W	D	FF	4.87	0	Onondaga	No
4601	X5N40W	D, L	FF	14.57	0	Onondaga	No
4800	X5N45W	L	FF	5.79	0	Edgecliff	No
C20624	X5S0W	D	FF	14.53	0	Onondaga	No
C20604	X5S5E	D, L	CF	28.45	0	Onondaga	No
C20639	X5S5E	D	CF	1.67	0	Onondaga	No
C20546	Area X Surface	D, L	FF	13.34	0	Onondaga	No
C20576	Area X Surface	D, L	FF	13.45	0	Onondaga	No
C20587	Area X Surface	D, L	FF	68.91	0	Onondaga	No
C20576	Area X Surface	D	FF	15.72	0	Onondaga	No
5071	B	D, L	FF	16.24	1	Onondaga	No
4586	D	D	Biface	7.59	0	Onondaga	No
4586	D	D	Biface	7.87	0	Onondaga	No
5153	E	D	BF	31.85	0	Onondaga	No
13011	E	D	CF	17.13	0	Edgecliff	No
5097	P20N10E	D	BF	3.78	0	Onondaga	No
4774	W	D	Biface	13.14	0	Onondaga	No
4818	F375S40W	D	FF	32.48	0	Edgecliff	No
5179	K6	L	CF	12.06	0	Onondaga	No
5130	Longhouse 1A	D, L	Biface	13.41	0	Onondaga	No
4434	Longhouse 1A	D	CF	8.64	0	Onondaga	No
5130	Longhouse 1A	D	D	6.93	0	Onondaga	No
5131	Longhouse 1A	D	FF	19.68	0	Seneca	No
5130	Longhouse 1A	D, L	CF	10.32	1	Onondaga	No

Cat. #	Unit	Retouch[a]	Blank Type[b]	Weight/g.	Cortex[c]	Material	Burned
4434	Longhouse 1A	D	Biface	19.86	1	Onondaga	No
5130	Longhouse 1A	D	D	17.54	1	Onondaga	No
5130	Longhouse 1A	D	FF	30.20	1	Onondaga	No
5166	Longhouse 2A	D	Biface	15.99	0	Edgecliff	No
5161	Longhouse 2A	D, L	CF	20.77	1	Onondaga	No
5161	Longhouse 2A	D, L	CF	20.78	1	Onondaga	No
12383	M30N130E	D	FF	11.54	0	Onondaga	Yes
12442	M35N100E	D, L	CF	1.23	0	Onondaga	No
12442	M35N100E	D	CF	1.20	0	Onondaga	No
12445	M35N110E	D	BF	1.70	0	Onondaga	No
4694	M35N5E	D	FF	8.51	0	Onondaga	No
4698	M35N5E	L	CF	4.74	0	Onondaga	No
12419	M35N70E	D	FF	5.15	0	Onondaga	No
12421	M35N75E	L	BF	9.75	0	Onondaga	No
12425	M35N80E	L	CF	24.10	1	Onondaga	No
12439	M35N95E	D	CF	9.66	0	Onondaga	No
12439	M35N95E	L	CF	5.53	0	Onondaga	No
12510	M40N120E	D, L	FF	10.66	0	Onondaga	No
12468	M40N65E	D	FF	4.93	0	Onondaga	No
12473	M40N70E	L	Biface	17.85	0	Edgecliff	No
12586	M45N110E	D, L	CF	16.22	0	Onondaga	No
12566	M45N90E	L	FF	7.11	0	Onondaga	No
12566	M45N90E	D	FF	1.18	0	Onondaga	No
12566	M45N90E	L	CF	14.94	0	Edgecliff	No
4763	M50N0W	D, L	Biface	12.40	0	Onondaga	No
12621	M50N55E	D	FF	50.88	1	Onondaga	Yes
12638	M50N85E	D	FF	7.11	0	Onondaga	No
12708	M55N100E	D	CF	10.60	0	Onondaga	Yes
12687	M55N80E	L	FF	18.60	0	Onondaga	No
12721	M60N70E	L	Biface	8.78	0	Reynales	No
12730	M60N80E	D, L	FF	20.77	0	Onondaga	No
12734	M60N85E	D	CF	11.66	0	Onondaga	No
12864	M60S55E	L	D	8.45	0	Onondaga	No
13403	M75S120E	D	FF	6.83	0	Onondaga	No
5142	S35S80E Pit E	D	FF	8.45	0	Onondaga	No
5142	S35S80E Pit E	D	FF	6.45	0	Onondaga	No

[a] Location of retouch: D = distal margin, L = lateral margin.

[b] Blank Type: CF = complete flake, BF = broken flake, FF = flake fragment, D = debris.

[c] Cortex: 0 = absent, 1 = present.