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Seafaring Women in Maritime History:

Masculinity, Femininity, and Sexuality of Anne Bonny and Mary Read in Eighteenth-Century Pirate Culture

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【Abstract】

This paper argues that Anne Bonny and Mary Read by following *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham and Other Pirates...Also the Tryal of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, Alias Boon, on Monday the 28th Day of the said Month of November, at St. Jago de la Vega* as a primary source, which is a document that details maritime justice proceedings held on November 28, 1720, in St. Jago de la Vega. Especially, I analyze masculinity, femininity, and sexuality of Bonny and Read, and gender consciousness in pirate ships from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Anne Bonny and Mary Read can be considered as the most famous female pirates in maritime history, and their adventures have appeared in various types of fiction such as novels, dramas, and poems, and the mysterious female pirates capture people's hearts as a symbol of the freedom of women. Anne Bonny and Mary Read rushed straight toward piracy among males, cross-dressing as men. The purpose of their cross-dressing was to be active in piracy, and their cross-dressing and qualifications as seafarers and pirates gave them the ability to become highly integrated into pirate ships, ships that it would be hard for almost all women to be aboard in general. Both of them had strength in mind and body, and at the same time, they were blessed with qualifications, which had to be recognized as a code and value among seamen and pirates. If what made the two women successes as pirates and seafarers was their androgynous nature, what it was to be female pirates denied a dichotomy between the two sexes under the Jolly Roger as a result of their playing double roles as male and female.

Key Words : seafaring women, masculinity, femininity, sexuality, cross-dressing

I. Introduction

Although in recent years gender studies has been established as a discipline and we can encounter research achievements about gender, sexuality, and feminist thinking, there are few studies about women at sea. Originally, studies about history and culture at sea have been marginalized compared to those onshore. This should also hold true with regard to gender studies. However, it may be no exaggeration to say that the first globalization in human history got underway during the Age of Discovery. Considering that the sea has been a crossing place for various cultures in the world, it is regrettable that sea culture has been undervalued in studies. I believe that it is absolutely necessary to trace the history of women at sea and analyze gender formation and consciousness in gender studies. This paper demonstrates that the stereotype of the sea, which has been regarded as male dominant, is incorrect, and in early maritime history there were two famous women who participated actively on a pirate ship. In this paper, I argue that Anne Bonny and Mary Read by following *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham and Other Pirates...Also the Tryal of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, Alias Boon, on Monday the 28th Day of the said Month of November, at St. Jago de la Vega* (Hereafter I mention as *The Tryals of*

Captain John Rackham) as a primary source, which is a document that details maritime justice proceedings held on 28 November 1720 in St. Jago de la Vega. Especially, I analyze masculinity, femininity, and sexuality of Bonny and Read, and gender consciousness in pirate ships from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

II. Western Pirate Culture from Seventeenth Century to the Eighteenth Century

The reason why Bonny and Read are recognized as the most famous female pirates in history relates to the fact that they were actively involved in piracy early in the eighteenth century. Because this was the Golden Age of Pirates, there are many official records about pirates. Piracy is an act of robbery or criminal violence by ship or boat-borne attackers upon another ship or a coastal area, typically with the goal of stealing cargo and other valuable items or properties. Those who engage in acts of piracy are called pirates. In English, there are several different names for the act of piracy. Pirate could be the most popular name for those who participated in piracy; other names include buccaneer, privateer, and corsair. A privateer was a private person or ship that engaged in maritime warfare under a commission of war. The commission, also known as a letter of marque, empowered the person to carry on all forms of hostility permissible at sea during war, including attacking foreign vessels during wartime and taking them as prizes. As is

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commonly known, European imperialistic powers waged a long battle for expansion in the Caribbean Sea from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, and it was privateers who contributed considerably to it. However, after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 created temporary peace, pirates, who had played an important role in war as privateers, lost the meaning of their existence. They had little option but to return to their previous position. Thus, the Golden Age for Pirates began. Although the age lasted only thirty years, from the 1690s to 1722, when many pirates were executed, many accurate records for famous pirates have been kept, including records for William Kidd, Bartholomew Roberts, and Edward Teach. Anne Bonny and Mary Read appear among these records.

As I have mentioned before, in the age when pirates contributed to establishing colonies for European imperialistic powers, they were guaranteed their status as privateers by the authorities, so that robbery and attack were appreciated not as criminal acts but as a part of battle. Because their depravities had considerable effect on territorialities and trading among the powers in a complicated structure, they were not disorganized and private but systematically controlled by authorities. That is, whether the depravities of privateers were regarded as criminal or heroic achievements depends on their status at that time. For example, Sir Francis Drake, an English sea captain and privateer of the Elizabethan who vanquished the Spanish Armada in 1588, was known as a heroic vice-admiral according to the English but as nothing more than a pirate in the eyes of the Spanish. In the eighteenth century, with the expansion of Britain's colonies, maritime life became extremely active, and working at sea was considered one of the three major areas of employment, along with agriculture and textiles. The sea was a great site not only for getting booty by piracy but also for countercharging against the world by people stricken by poverty. Needless to say, a main cause of piracy was a desire to deprive other people of their property, but we can mention another factor: a rebellion against a structure in which wealth and power cannot be equally distributed to all, and the wealthy dominate and oppress the poor. People who suffer from poverty and cannot emerge from it often resort to stealing to get their bread. Furthermore, the more oppressed they become, the more vengeful they may be. Thus crime occurs. Pirates were more vulnerable to criticism than a gang of robbers onshore because they were not only scoundrels but also an unstable group of workers operating outside the main social structure. Joe Stanley states that "robbery was one way for seafarers to survive. Pirates were part of a huge sailor population which was deeply involved in crime..."¹⁾. The early eighteenth century, the Golden Age for Pirates, was a two-sided age: while European imperialistic powers prospered from the expansion of colonial territories, the fact that many robbery groups at sea exploded indicates that there was a large, impoverished population in those countries. The century should be recognized as a symbol of pirates.

Marcus Rediker points out that piracy "was a way of life

voluntarily chosen, for the most part, by large numbers of men who directly challenged the ways of the society from which they expected themselves"²⁾. He considers pirates "as free wage laborers and as members of an uncontrolled, freewheeling subculture [that] gave pirates the perspective and occasion to fight back against brutal and unjust authority and construct a new social order where King Death would not reign supreme"³⁾, and he gives us an important suggestion that "Almost without exception, pirates, like the larger body of seafaring men, came from the lowest social classes. They were, as a royal official condescendingly observed, 'desperate Rogues' who could have little hope in life ashore"⁴⁾. If his suggestions are true for all pirates, the same could be said for female pirates. As Jo Stanley suggests, "Women seafarers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were mostly working-class women who would have been expected to stay on land and keep house"⁵⁾. Women met ships because they lived near sea, met seamen, and went straight to sea, or simply because they were to be on board as wives or lovers of captains. Of course, the latter were not always from a lower socioeconomic group. Mary Patten and Grace Darling happened to be members of seafaring families, and their purposes for going to sea were not to escape poverty. However, when it comes to a pirate ship that had women on board, we can notice a distinctive equation: pirates had a nature of robbery along with their roles as seafarers, which should be true of all, regardless of gender, who were marginalized onshore and as a result became outlaws, passing into an unruled domain. Stanley insists that "there is no such typical, timeless as a 'woman pirate'..." According to her, "there are simply women in different periods and countries whose temporary livelihood was piracy"⁶⁾. In other words, for both men and women, piracy was not much more than an option that they chose by chance. If there is a common factor among pirates, it is that piracy seemed the best available option in their situation⁷⁾. There was, however, one important difference between male and female pirates: while men had only to go beyond the boundaries of the discipline required onshore, female pirates had to overcome gender bias as well.

I point out that women were excluded from various kinds of ships from the seventeenth to eighteenth century, and that the reasons for it were the necessity of physical strength in maritime labor being inappropriate for women and a superstition that women could bring misfortune to ships. This concept persisted among seamen, and pirates were no exception. Rediker states that "the ship was a sharply gendered workplace, reserved almost exclusively for male labor. Seafaring was a line of work long thought to 'make a man' of anyone who entered"⁸⁾, but at the same time, as he points out, pirate ships were more open to women than any other ships. The reason, he argues, is that women really existed in pirate ships in small numbers. Moreover, they did not cross-dress at all times, unlike women aboard naval ships. Anne Bonny and Mary Read were representative examples. Considering the nature of the tasks of seafaring and of the situations involved in being a pirate, even if women were aboard pirate ships, it is easily guessed that

only women with masculine characteristics would be qualified for the work. For that reason, female pirates had to go beyond not only the boundaries of discipline required onshore but also gender differences. Female pirates could be recognized as a symbol of women who passed into a lifestyle that was traditionally not regarded as women's, that is, a daring, masculine, sea-roving life.

III. Anne Bonny and Mary Read as Real People

Throwing off bondage ashore, refusing the forced marriage system, and claiming the endless expanse of sea as their own, the adventures of Anne Bonny and Mary Read have appeared in various types of fiction such as novels, dramas, and poems, and the mysterious female pirates capture people's hearts as a symbol of the freedom of women. Of course, it cannot be denied that almost all these pieces are fictitious because there are few historical documents about their lives. That is, there is a strong possibility that their legend has stood alone because there are not enough records and evidence indicating their authenticity. Under such circumstances, the lives of Bonny and Read in *A General History of the Robberies & Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* by Captain Charles Johnson (hereafter I mention as *A General History*), which was published just four years after the trial of Captain John Rackham, has partly passed as truth and has been considered something between a fiction and a historical document.

Much of what is known about Bonny and Read at present seems to be based on Johnson's *A General History*. This was published in two volumes in 1724 and 1728, and tells of the lives and adventures of thirty-four pirates from the end of the seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. It has become the most important and reliable text in pirate study. In the text, Bonny and Read appear in distinctive chapters in the first volume, which suggests that Johnson was driven by his fascination in telling the story the two female pirates. At the beginning of the chapter, he emphasizes that their stories are not fiction but true stories.

I mean, that of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, alias Bonn, which were the true Names of thee two Pyrates; the odd Incidents of their rambling Lives are such that some may be tempted to think the whole Story no better than a Novel or Romance; but since it is supported by many thousand Witnesses, I mean the People of *Jamaica*, who were present at their Tryals, and heard the Story of their Lives, upon the first Discovery of their Sex; the Truth of it can be no more contested, than that there were such Men in the World, as *Roberts* and *Black-beard*, who were Pyrates⁹⁾.

Bonny and Read appear as if their whole lives, depicted in *The General History*, were true. Although we have no way to know whether his strategy, which highlighted their legendary lives' authenticity in his account, could take effect, at present Anne Bonny and Mary Read are recognized as the most famous female pirates in the history. *The General History* became a bestseller and was translated into Dutch, French, and German, going through several impressions in

London, Dublin, Amsterdam, Paris, and Utrecht¹⁰⁾. That is how the story of the two female pirates has become known throughout the western world, which means that they have been mythologized as the most famous female pirates in the maritime history.

However, even if the element of historical documentation has been recognized in *The General History* and has become an important text in pirate study, one cannot deny that it has an element of fiction because of some inaccuracies in the pirates' lives depicted in it, including Bonny's and Read's. Comparing some accounts in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham* and those in *The General History*, we can notice some subtle inconsistencies and creations in Captain Johnson's, from which we can conclude that it is stretching to regard it as a complete historical document. After all, *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham* should be the only one that could convey what Bonny and Read were really like to us, not as fiction but as a historical document. Here we cannot but face another question, that is, the two female pirates did not appear as flesh-and-blood-people in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*. Although the text conveys accurately the testimonies at the trial about them, it could not provide all the details of the lives of Bonny and Read. Originally, a judicial record for pirates would be based on a distinctive principle, the purpose of which is to emphasize that pirates should be criminals at the bottom of society, and harshly judged.

A mission of political documents, the accounts of pirate trials, might have been propaganda, to give the message that pirates had to be tried as criminals by law, and that people should not lead degenerate lives like pirates¹¹⁾, rather than to convey the way female pirates lived. Therefore, we cannot absolutely find any contents in the documents that demonstrate their validity, and it is natural that there are no accounts of their identity in the accounts of the trials for Bonny and Read. On the contrary, Rediker suggests that admiralty trials of seafarers in the eighteenth century were badly biased. He also states that "the admiralty court system was part of a general design to rationalize the imperial trading network, and a major part of this project was to confine social conflict to legal channels. Jurors on piracy cases had to take into account their public-relations role in discouraging piracy by administering exemplary sentences and the strategic needs of trade"¹²⁾. We can easily guess that such an admiralty court, which was too cruel for male pirates, could not have been compassionate to female pirates. Even when they were not pirates, women have been more marginalized than men in society. It defies the conventional wisdom of that time for women to behave impudently at sea rather than staying ashore. As I have mentioned in the previous section, pirates were nothing but outlaws in a lawless zone from the viewpoint of state powers. Women, who lived as they liked at sea, turned societal roles and rules upside down. To admit that women could match the skills of men in pirate ships means to admit women had abilities being equal to men. As for the state of power, women were expected to always weaker than men; therefore, female pirates were harmful to the patriarchy as well as being

villains toward society, and they had to be eliminated.

IV. Masculinity and Peculiarity of Anne Bonny's and Mary Read's Cross-Dressing in the Pirate Ship

Charles Johnson dealt with each chapter regarding Anne Bonny and Mary Read individually in *A General History*, from which we know their biographical information, ranging from their childhood to their background of becoming pirates, and finally to pirate trials. According to his accounts, their early lives were like this: both were born as children in a fraught family situation and raised as boys. Anne Bonny was an illegitimate daughter of a lawyer, her father, and his servant, her mother, in Cork, Ireland. Her father tried to raise her as his lawful child, but at the same time he felt it shameful to adopt a daughter conceived with his mistress. Of course, her gender was already known to the world, so he decided to make her into a boy in order to mislead the public. Anne had an extremely volcanic temper, which showed that she was not only a masculine rowdy but independent and dependable. She gave up her father's fortune, which she could have received if she had obeyed him, and she rejected her father's arrangement of marriage, running away and getting married to a poor sailor. She moved to New Providence, the Bahamas islands, where she met Captain Calico Jack Rackham, a famous pirate. In 1719, she persuaded her husband to sell her to Captain Rackham because they had fallen in love. After that, she went on board Rackham's pirate ship as both his lover and female pirate (Johnson, 1972, pp. 159-165). Mary Read was also born as an illegitimate child to a wealthy man in London. She was raised as a boy in a desperately poor family because a woman whose son was a lover of Read's mother was persuaded to pay child support if the child was a boy. Like Anne, Mary had volcanic temper and was determined to become a sailor, entering the Royal Navy. After a while she married a colleague, but he was feeble and died soon after their marriage. Even after his death, Mary continued to be a sailor. In 1719, her ship encountered a pirate ship in the Caribbean Sea¹³). During this encounter, Read met Anne Bonny. The two women, whose tempers were extremely volcanic, disguised themselves as men in order to play important roles as pirates and put male pirates to shame. According to Johnson's accounts and the records of the trials, they distinguished themselves enough to have commanding places among male pirates on Captain Rackham's ship¹⁴). On 28 November 1720, they were put on trial for piracy, separate to their male colleagues, who were arrested in advance of them. Although they received death sentences, their executions were stayed because of their pregnancies, under the conditions set forth by law at that time in England that dictated that a woman with child should not be sentenced to death. Read died of a fever in a prison, and Bonny was never heard from again. There is no record to tell whether her punishment was carried out. Both women subsequently disappeared from the historical scene.

We cannot prove the authenticity of Johnson's accounts about the childhoods of Bonny and Read. Therefore, this paper should attach much value to the testimonies in *The*

Tryals of Captain John Rackham as a primary source because it presupposes that Anne Bonny and Mary Read are real people and that their stories are complete true. Of course, compared to Johnson's *A General History*, there may be have small information, but more episodes other than testimonies, at a High Court of Admiralty in St. Jago de la Vega, on 28 November 1720, as historical documents in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham* could not be more needed for an important theme of this paper. It all comes down to these two facts: that the women were masculine characters and that they wore men's clothes. Moreover, considering the testimonies in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*, what is the most important is that their cross-dressing on their pirate ship was different to the characteristics of most cross-dressing. In maritime history, the most eminent instance of a cross-dressing woman must be Hannah Snell. In terms of the fact that she embarked on a naval ship, disguising herself as a man and that she proved her valor like a man, she is seemingly in the same category as Bonny and Read. However, taking into account the testimonies about their cross-dressing given in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*, it is revealed that they are of a completely different nature from Hannah Snell's. In the history of cross-dressing for women, a denominator should be rejection of their own gender. The purposes of cross-dressing fall into two categories: to disguise one's gender with others, and to pretend to be a man for any reason. Taking some specific examples, Hannah Snell and Mary Anne Talbot can be mentioned as the former, and Jeanne d'Arc and George Sand may be mentioned as the latter. In any case, cross-dressing's purposes are a means to stick to one's beliefs and policies and to gain privileges accorded only to men, for which women have to reject their gender.

Now what kind of cross-dressing did Bonny and Read do on their pirate ship? At a High Court of Admiralty in St. Jago de la Vega, on 28 November 1720, John Besnick and Peter Cornelius, French volunteers, testified to Bonny and Read's appearances and actions in attacking other ships: Furthermore, Dorothy Thomas, captured and made a prisoner by Rackham's crews, was one of the witnesses against Bonny & Read, testifying as follows:

That the Two Women, prisoners at the Bar, were then on Board the said Sloop, and wore men's Jackets, and long Trouzers, and Handkerchiefs tied about their Heads; and that each of them had a Machet and Pistol in their Hands, and cursed and swore at the men, to murder the Deponent; and that they should kill her, to prevent her coming against them; and the Deponent further said, That the Reason of her knowing and believing them to be Women then was, by the largeness of their Breasts¹⁵).

Considering several testimonies in *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*, it must be true that Bonny and Read disguised themselves as men, and were in commanding positions among male pirates. But what is more important here is that they were in female clothes in usual condition.

Regardless of whether they were pirate ships, the construction of ships in the eighteenth century, with no mechanical powers, unlike in the present age, meant that physical strength and stamina were absolutely required for sailors. It would have been rational for women to be in men's clothes instead of wearing skirts in order to carry out work that was physically very demanding, even for men, such as "assisting in the loading and unloading of cargo (using pulleys and tackle), setting heavy canvas sails, and operating the ship's pump to eliminate the water that oozed through the seams of always-leaky vessels"¹⁶). Additionally, fighting must have been required as well as on-board labor in general in the case of pirate ships. Therefore, we should consider that the purpose of Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing was not to conceal their gender but to get through their work as pirates, which was a means to reinforce their masculinity. Bonny and Read were rich in talents as pirates, comparing well with male pirates, and it should be interpreted that their talents and qualities seem to have to be intrinsic to them, not through dressing. In other words, they were intrinsically masculine even when they were not cross-dressing, which indicates that their cross-dressing was nothing but a facility that served them on pirate ships. The testimonies provide solid evidence to support this interpretation. It is apparent from these testimonies that Bonny and Read were not always in men's, but wore women's clothing in peacetime. This is an explanation of why I pointed out that what is more important is not their cross-dressing but their ordinary appearances. That is, there is no doubt that their male colleagues had an idea about their gender, and with knowledge of it, they accepted them as their colleagues. Interpreting the facts provided by testimonies at *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*, it should be conspicuous that their cross-dressing was completely different to the characteristics of cross-dressing in history so their cross-dressing should not be added to the tradition of female cross-dressing on the condition that Bonny and Read did not reject their own gender.

Elizabeth Wilson suggests a negative aspect of female cross-dressing:

...women remain unequal, so while the trouser for women might symbolize a myth in western societies that women have achieved emancipation, it can hardly be interpreted as unproblematic of their status. If it were interpreted in this literal way it would certainly lead us to believe what many feminists believe is the case, that in so far women have made terms and within the parameter of masculine values¹⁷).

Her suggestion proves that Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing had an absolutely different nature from those of Hannah Snell and Mary Anne Talbot. As long as their original gender is female, when they wear men's clothes, women must conform themselves to men's customs and values. Although this interpretation is valid simply for the case that women disguised themselves as men in order to be intentionally included and approved in a man's world, it is

not the case that women cross-dressed for convenience without concealing their own gender. Wilson's suggestion holds true of the case of Snell and Talbot, because their cross-dressing was a means to penetrate the naval ships, a domain which completely excluded any females, that is, a means to follow men's values, but it is not appropriate for Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing, because theirs was a result of their own values of getting into pirate characters, not from a value of gender conventions.

Moreover, considering the exclusion of women from pirate ships, the characteristics of Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing has an important meaning. It casts doubt about exclusion because they did not reject their own gender. If Bonny and Read always disguised themselves as men like Snell and Talbot, they would have deserved to follow gender conventions, which meant the exclusion of women from pirate ships. If so, as Wilson suggests, their cross-dressing would draw close attention to gender conventions on pirate ships. But the fact that male pirates as well as Bonny and Read themselves were not reluctant to reveal their own gender indicates that a qualified woman as a pirate could exist standing at a par with men on a pirate ship.

Julie Wheelwright states that "the majority of eighteenth-century pirates were recruited from among captured crews or merchantmen, from Royal Naval sailors or privateersmen who turned volunteer to escape the harsh conditions under which they were forced to serve...Aboard pirate ships, there was in many cases a rough egalitarianism; men elected their captain and gave him few privileges, even forbidden him a separate cabin or mess"¹⁸). Charles Johnson recognizes Egalitarianism in pirate ships as "Life of Liberty" in *A General History*, and makes this an important theme of his accounts¹⁹). Suggestions by Stanley and Johnson could be applied to gender. Of course, all women should not be accepted with tolerance. To put it another way, qualified women as pirates did not need to conceal their own gender because their male crews had respect for them on an equal footing. In the light of the fact that captains could not have imperial privileges, it is more logical to interpret that Anne Bonny could make room for herself on her pirate ships through her ability than to conjecture that she could get permission to go aboard because of her situation as Captain Rackham's lover.

Rediker states that even if pirate ships opened their doors to women, there were only four female pirates in the eighteenth century, according to existing historical evidence²⁰). Although this small number can lead us to be deluded that women must have been excluded from pirate ships, which should be a completely male domain, we can yield a contrary conclusion from the characteristics of Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing: a conclusion that the low number of female pirates was not the result of a code that excluded women in pirate ships but of the low number of women who had the qualifications to be pirates.

Anne Bonny and Mary Read rushed straight toward piracy among males, cross-dressing as men. As I mentioned above, the purpose of their cross-dressing was to be active in piracy. It is also true that it resulted in further enhancing their

volcanic, masculine natures. Their cross-dressing and qualifications as seafarers and pirates gave them the ability to become highly integrated into pirate ships, ships that it would be hard for almost all women to be aboard in general. Now what specific qualifications and masculinities did they have? Both of them had strength in mind and body, and at the same time, they were blessed with qualifications, which had to be recognized as a code and value among seamen and pirates: namely, "an unwritten code of courage"²¹). Above all, "among sailors and especially pirates, courage was a principal means of survival, and cowardice was an invitation to disaster and ultimately death"²²). Traditionally, courage has been regarded as a virtue for males, but Bonny and Read demonstrated that women could possess it in abundance. It is apparent from testimonies at trials that their courage was shown most prominently in fighting aboard their pirate ships. In October of 1720, Captain Rackam's pirate ship fought with the British Navy. When it escalated, although male pirates, who were dastardly, took shelter under the hold, Bonny and Read fought bravely to the end. We know from this episode that they apparently radiated their leadership onboard. Although, unlike in naval ships, seamen have not always created titles on pirate ships, Bonny and Read held commanding positions, thanks to their principal values and standards of conduct, fighting bravely and not escaping. Here, in their conduct, we can see a world reversed from an established stereotype. The more they fought courageously in the vanguard, the more the cowardice of Rackam and his male crews was revealed. At the time Rackam was to be hanged, Anne Bonny swore at him: "...that she was sorry to him there, but if had fought like a Man, he need not have been hang'd like a Dog"²³). We have no means to confirm whether she actually said so or not, and if she disappeared from the historical stage after Rackam had been executed, there remains a strong doubt about how Johnson got an idea about such a private conversation between them. But we can draw a conclusion from the two women's masculinity, testified at the trial records, definitely a historic fact, that is that Rackam had to be executed as a result of the most shameful nature as a pirate, his cowardice, not his piracy.

V. Femininity and Sexuality of Anne Bonny and Mary Read

According to *The Tryals of Captain John Rackham*, after witnesses' accounts, Bonny and Read refused cross-examinations, and never justified themselves. As a result, Anne Bonny and Mary Read were accused of having committed "Piracies, Robberies, and Felonies"²⁴) by President Sir Nicholas Lawes and his commissioners. They opened their mouths only when they got death penalties, demanding that, because they were pregnant, their executions should be postponed. It is not clear whether pregnancy tests for them were performed, and if they were, what the results were, but it is historical truth that their executions were not carried out²⁵). As far as a situation of the pirate trials of Bonny and Read are concerned, while the two female pirates fulfilled their lives as pirates, they betrayed a heroism of female pirates at the very end. A fact

has been revealed that the two women, engaging with their masculine lives, were nothing more than common women who fell in love with men and finally became pregnant by. Reading their stories through some fiction, readers may feel deceived at the last minute by Bonny and Read, who expressed their femininity as well as masculinity, so readers may go so far as to feel that much of the blame in the trial should not be their piracy but their femininity. We cannot choose but to have a doubt, when we learn of their pregnancies: after all, were Bonny and Read merely conventional women, dominated by men, even though they lived active pirate lives on board a pirate ship?

As I have already mentioned in the previous section, cross-dressing is the most important keyword when discussing the masculinity of Bonny and Read. As is well known, cross-dressing is synonymous with wearing trousers, clothes that make it easier to be active, and enable one to go wherever they want and to do whatever they want. Trousers were given only to men in order to enable them to realize their privilege to work in an active way. Consequently, in feminist thought, cross-dressing has been interpreted as means of empowering women to acquire privileges exclusive to men. As I said earlier, regardless of whether its purpose is to deny their own gender, whether one cross-dressed only for reasons of expediency, one thing all cross-dressing, wearing trousers, has in common is the possibility of acting in a manly way and playing a role exclusive to men. We can see one of the most noteworthy examples of the possibilities in the cross-dressing of Anne Bonny and Mary Read. If they succeeded in acquiring privileges limited just to men and having the same authority as men through cross-dressing, as feminist thought suggests, how do we interpret the inconsistency that their final destination was pregnancy? This section analyzes their femininity and sexuality, which were seemingly inconsistent with their masculinity, by focusing on their cross-dressing and virginity.

Taking classic examples of cross-dressing ashore, we should not overlook Jeanne d'Arc and George Sand. The former, particularly, has become an object of analysis in radical feminism, which criticizes patriarchy, opposes the sexual objectification of women, raises public awareness about such issues as rape and violence against women, and challenges the very notion of gender roles. The fact that Jeanne d'Arc fought bravely, straddling a horse while wearing male clothing, may lead us to conclude that she was recognized as being equivalent to men because she was not viewed as a sexual object by the soldiers around her. As a result, she could remain a virgin. Andrea Dworkin argued that Jeanne d'Arc repudiated her female status through cross-dressing and virginity²⁶). If her theory makes sense, it seems to support the interpretation that Anne Bonny and Mary Read, who lost their virginity, were, after all, considered to be women subject to men, which is the total opposite of Jeanne d'Arc. Kate Millett, who is at the forefront of radical feminism thought, observed that the social dominance of women by men originated from sexual practices, which are seemingly private. Dworkin developed

Millett's theory after the second-wave feminist era, in 1980s, analyzing the sort of sexual subordination depicted in pornography as central to men's and women's experiences of heterosexual intercourse in a male supremacist society. Her argument is based on two main points: "one is that the relationship between men and women is completely sexual one," and the other is that the "sexual relationship between men and women is completely sex discrimination." Dworkin thoroughly exposes how women were dominated, possessed, and occupied by men through sexual conduct from the aspects of law, economics, culture, religion, and society.

Men are always located as the rulers and women the ruled in sexual conduct. According to Dworkin, sex could be the very golden opportunity for men to exhibit their superiority to women, and to force them to admit their inferiority. As long as the two sexes have sexual relations with each other, women must become the possessions of men. Therefore, inevitably we may be led to an interpretation as follows: women are to be dominated and possessed by men through sexual conduct so that if they want to avoid it, women have to remain virgins, that is, repudiate their gender to be like men. If this is not so, one wonders how a person who is invaded both physically and mentally can get right of self-determination. After all, Dworkin's argument leads to the conclusion that Bonny and Read, who carried lovers' children, were dominated by men.

A key to deriving a conclusion consistent with their masculinity, as mentioned in the previous section, should be led by their cross-dressing. Take Jeanne d'Arc as a comparative figure, who got high praise from Andrea Dworkin for her repudiation of her female status. It is a matter of course that cross-dressing could not make her a man, but what is important here is whether she was considered as a man or woman by her colleague soldiers. Following Dworkin's argument, it could be said that she could stay virgin because her male soldiers considered her as a same sex peer, and she never stimulated male soldiers' sexual desire in everyday life; that is, she existed as a man in army. However, could the reputation of female status be simply arrived at only by cross-dressing and staying a virgin? Here we arrive at a paradox.

Her male clothing was both symbolic and functional. It was appropriate clothing for her movement and praxis. It protected her bodily privacy even as it declared it. Her body was closed off and covered; between her legs was inaccessible. In armor, which she wore as men did, she was doubly inaccessible, closed off; genital private. The clothes characterized her virginity as militant: hostile to men who would want her for sex and hostile to female status altogether²⁷⁾.

According to Dworkin's suggestion above, the role of d'Arc's cross-dressing was to protect her body and sexual parts, as well as to be functional to engage in military activity. In other words, although her cross-dressing is seemingly a means to get out of being a female in order to be a male, actually it has more important role as a device to

protect her body. Viewed in this light, what she was really was not a masculine woman who was full of activity and on the same footing with men through cross-dressing, but merely a woman who was excessively concerned about being virgin. This excess rejection of her female status rather emphasizes her gender.

Now, how can we interpret Bonny's and Read's cross-dressing? In contradiction to Jeanne d'Arc's, their cross-dressing's purpose was not to free them from their gender. As I mentioned earlier, the fact that their cross-dressing took place only in fighting, and that they dressed in women's clothes in peacetime makes it clear that they wore male clothes in order to strengthen their masculinity, never to reject their own gender. That is, Bonny and Read's cross-dressings show their honesty with their nature, natural-born masculinity instead of repudiation of female status, and persisting in virginity. Undoubtedly, they had intercourse with men, having children as a result, but in case of Bonny and Read, it is hard to conclude that they were dominated and occupied by men, unlike Dworkin's argument. Anne Bonny's joining a pirate ship was triggered by her encounter with Captain Rackam, through which she could acquire an opportunity to express her natural masculinity and courage as a pirate. As a result of the trial, Rackam and the male crew were executed, but Bonny and Read were to follow a divergent destiny, escaping death thanks to women's privilege of pregnancy. Unlike Jeanne d'Arc, they never tried to reject their own gender and find value in virginity. On the contrary, they acted on instinct, living their lives as they liked, which included having lovers. From this viewpoint, we may find their right of self-determination beyond their gender in their way of living. While Bonny and Read rejected a civil worthlessness, they never rejected their sexual conduct. That is to say, sexual conduct does not always mean subjection to men, and escaping from femininity was not used synonymously with virginity for them.

Viewed in the light of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Dworkin's argument, equating escaping femininity with virginity, is weakened. The case of Bonny and Read can reverse radical feminism, arguing power relationships between men and women through sexuality, and functions as an example of liberal feminism, stressing an individualism, focusing on women's ability to maintain their equality through their own actions and choices, and denying conflict of the two sexes as a group.

VI. Conclusion

Both Anne Bonny and Mary Read had enough effect to overthrow gender order among pirates on the implementation of male-specific privileges. They were not only welcomed on a pirate ship by male colleagues, but also stood as leaders. Although there are no historical documents that prove that they played roles as leaders on a ship, the testimonies at the pirate trials offer an idea about statuses of the two women.

While their cross-dressing in fighting shows their masculinity, their female identities in peacetime, falling in

love with lovers, and having children by them symbolize their femininity. Moreover, what is the most important is that their femininity was not subjective to men in its nature but showed a spirit of independence, as mentioned in the previous section. If what made the two women successes as pirates and seafarers was their androgynous nature, what it was to be female pirates denied a dichotomy between the two sexes under the Jolly Roger as a result of their playing double roles as male and female.

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□原著論文□

18世紀の海賊文化におけるジェンダー・イデオロギー：アン・ボニーとメアリー・リードの場合

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【抄録】

本稿では、1720年11月28日にジャマイカで開かれたジョン・ラカムの最高海事裁判記録を一次史料として、海事史上でもっとも有名な女海賊アン・ボニーとメアリー・リードについて論じる。アン・ボニーとメアリー・リードの女海賊としての人生を追いつつ、「女性性」、「男性性」、「セクシュアリティ」をキーワードとして、18世紀から19世紀にかけての海賊船上におけるジェンダー意識について分析する。束縛をかなぐり捨て、強制された結婚を拒み、無限の海の広がりから自らのものと主張し、カリブ海で自由に生きたメアリー・リードとアン・ボニーの物語は、小説、演劇、詩歌など様々なフィクションの世界に描かれ、神秘的な女海賊は女性の自由の象徴として今も生きつづけている。アン・ボニーとメアリー・リードは荒くれ者の中で海賊稼業に突き進んだ。先述したように、彼女たちの男装の背景には、活動的でなくてはならないということもあったが、二人のズボン姿はその激しい気性をさらに強化することになったことも事実であろう。一般的に女の乗船が困難であった海賊船に二人をこれほどまでに融合させたのは男装と、何よりも「海賊」（船乗り）としての彼女たちの資質であったことは言うまでもない。ボニーもリードには、肉体と精神の両面において強靱さを兼ね備えていたが、同時に、船乗りや海賊にとって最も重要な価値観かつ行動規範として重要視される「資質」が備わっていたと考えられる。アン・ボニーとメアリー・リードをして、海賊として、船乗りとして成功させたのは、彼女たちの「両性具有的」な性質だったとすれば、女海賊という存在は、男としての役割と女としての役割の両方を果たすことによって、ジョリー・ロジャーの旗の下では、「男女」という二項対立的な概念を否定する存在であったと言えるのである。

キーワード：女性船員，男性性，女性性，セクシュアリティ，男装

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編集後記

最近の女性活躍の一方、ジェンダー問題は喫緊の課題です。そんな中、本号では、女海賊の人生を追いつつ、ジェンダー意識について分析された原著論本を掲載しています。

さて、この度、前号より新編集委員として編集に携わることとなりました。本学会への入会の動機は、船員として乗船時に、お世話になった方と久しぶりにお話したことがきっかけでした。機械化、自律運航船の進歩が目まぐるしく、「人とは？」が問われる中、「海洋の人間学」、まさに「海洋に関わる人間を軸」として活動している本学会に感銘を受けました。日本海軍軍人 ^{おおたしちへい}太田質平が創ったといわれる、船員に求められる資質について「スマートで目先が利いて几帳面、負けじ魂、これぞ船乗り」と言い伝えられています。「几帳面」には円滑なコミュニケーションも含まれます。

本学会誌を通じ、「掲載・投稿する人」と「見る人」の架け橋（コミュニケーション）となれるよう、別学会での編集委員としての経験も生かしながら、海に関わる全ての人が親しみのもてる学会誌になるよう励んでいきます。

本学会誌への投稿、宜しくお願い申し上げます。

(遠藤小百合)

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“海洋人間学雑誌”は日本海洋人間学会の機関誌であり、海洋における人間の健康と安全ならびに海洋スポーツ競技と海洋教育の進歩と発展に寄与することを目的とするものである。

本誌の英文名は“Japanese Journal of Maritime Activity”とし、略称は“Jpn J Marit Activity”とする。

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投稿論文には以下の種類を設ける。1-①原著、1-②短報、1-③総説、1-④研究資料、1-⑤報告書（事例、調査、視察、事業・活動等）、1-⑥その他（Letter to the Editor、学会大会抄録など）。

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例 2、ファイル名 「原著投稿本文_海洋太郎」、「原著投稿図表_海洋太郎」

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J. 投稿料は、1-①原著、1-③総説、1-④研究資料、1-⑤報告書については1編あたり10,000円とする。1-②短報については1編あたり5,000円とする。1-⑥その他は無料とする。投稿料の支払いについては、学会事務局の郵便振込口座に振り込むこと。なお振込用紙には内訳（例：原著投稿料として）を記入すること。

K. 後述の「Ⅲ. 原稿作成要項」を大幅に逸脱するものは受け付けられない場合もある。

3. 依頼原稿

- A. 他誌に未掲載の原稿であることを原則とする。
- B. 筆頭者および共著者が、本学会の会員であるか否かは問わない。
- C. 抄録は、2-①依頼総説、2-②依頼報告書について和文もしくは英文で作成を依頼する場合もある。
- D. 章立ては、Ⅱ-2-F を参考とすること。
- E. 原稿の長さは、基本的にⅡ-2-G に準じる。
- F. 原稿の郵送方法、著者校正、最終稿の提出等に関しては、依頼者へ個別に連絡する。
- G. 投稿料はすべて学会の負担とする。

Ⅲ. 原稿作成要項

- 1. 原稿はワードプロセッサなどによる機械仕上げのものとし、書式は下記の事項に準拠して作成すること。用紙：A4判、文字数/1頁：1200字（40字×30行）、余白：上下端および左右端を広くとること、図表位置の指定：右の余白に挿入位置を赤字で指定すること、行数：左の余白にページ毎に表示させること、ページ数：下端（フッター）中央に、表紙および和文、英文の抄録を除いた本文のみのページ数について記載すること。ランニングタイトル：上端（ヘッダー）右端に20文字以内で記載すること。以上、学会ホームページよりダウンロードできる投稿原稿の見本を参照のこと。
- 2. 日本語原稿は現代かなづかい、常用漢字とし、外国語、引用文献等の外国固有名詞はその言語を用いること。数字はアラビア数字を用いることを原則とし、単位符号はCGS単位（mm、sec、cm、ml、 μ gなど）を用いること。
- 3. 引用文献は、本文中の引用箇所右肩上付で、文献番号を片括弧にて記載すること（例：佐野ら¹⁾Ferrignoら²⁾）。また原稿の最後には出現順にまとめたリストを掲載すること。なお引用していない文献を記載してはならない。表記は以下の例を参照し、スペースはすべて半角、「,」と「.」ともにすべて半角を用いること。

例 1. 雑誌の場合

- 1) 佐野裕司, 菊地俊紀, 阿保純一 : 加速度脈波を用いた簡便な潜水反射試験法の開発. スポーツ整復療法学研究, 8(3):103-110, 2007.
- 2) Ferrigno M, Ferretti G, Ellis A, Warkander D, Costa M, Cerretelli P, Lundgren CE : Cardiovascular changes during deep breath-hold dives in a pressure chamber. J Appl Physiol, 83(4):1282-1290, 1997.

例 2. 書籍およびプロシーディング等の場合

- 3) 篠宮龍三 : ブルーゾーン. 牧野出版, 東京, pp134-137, 2010.
- 4) Agostoni E: Limitation to depth of diving. In: Rahn H. et al. (Eds.), Physiology of breath-hold diving and the ama of Japan, National Academy of Sciences - National Research Council, 139-145, 1965.
- 4. 図表の作成は本文とは別のファイルに、1つごとに1ページを用いて鮮明に作成すること。図表内の文字、タイトルおよび説明については、英文表記を用いることが望ましい。なお刷り上がり時の横寸法の大きさ（片段横寸法7cm、段抜き横寸法16cm）に留意すること。また受理後に寸法および鮮明さに関する問題が生じた場合、著者に再作成を依頼する場合もある。

本誌に掲載された著作物の著作権は、著者と本学会の両者が保持するものとする。著作権に関する詳細は、編集委員会に問い合わせること。

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