

commerce of such nation. It is usually the latter purpose that is spoken of, and to this end the various naval nations of the world are now spending over \$750,000,000 a year. This outlay is described as an insurance of sea-commerce. Sea-commerce is a system of conveying across the ocean between the various countries the produce and materials needed for the life and comfort of the inhabitants of the earth. All the civilized nations are both willing buyers and willing sellers of these products and raw materials—in fact, the people cannot live without them under present industrial conditions. So that the commercial definition of "Sea Power" and the "Control of the Sea" is a system by which we spend our \$750,000,000 a year to secure the power to destroy that without which no modern nation can exist. This is insurance as laid down by some high naval authorities; but it is not based on the theory of mercantile insurance. In fire insurance the companies protect the insured from loss by fire, but they do not do it by taking the power themselves to destroy the property of their own clients. That is only done in international politics.

Another definition of sea power is that it is a visible demonstration of offensive power by warships whose purpose is to maintain the peace of the world. This means that if the peace is maintained it is through fear, because the force in question is a physical force. Is there any permanent peace based on fear? And this fear is not always on one side. The side using the most machinery and spending the most money is likely to experience fear also, since it has most to lose.

Again, can command of the sea—meaning by sea, the oceans of the world—really be exercised by any nation? All the ocean outside the three-mile limit is open to all nations. "It has become an uncontested principle of modern international law," says Hall in his treatise on that subject, "that the sea, as a general rule, cannot be subjected to appropriation." This freedom