its action may now perhaps exclaim "O felix culpa," for the failure of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of 1897 has left the field open for something better in 1911.

Two years after this failure came the First Hague Conference, the nearest approach the world has ever seen to a common legislative assembly for all the nations. The facilities and machinery it provided for arbitration have had incalculable results, and every new precedent for this peaceful method of settling international quarrels strengthens the chain by tending to develop the habit of looking to arbitration as the natural alternative of war. From first to last, something like a hundred and fifty disputes between nations have been peacefully adjusted. Some such as the Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration have involved intricate and difficult investigations with mixed questions of law and fact, while others have concerned questions in which the honor and dignity of nations have seemed to be involved. The Dogger Bank incident brought England and Russia to the verge of war, but was peacefully adjusted by the machinery originally suggested by the proceedings at The Hague. Even more dangerous as raising a question about which every nation is honorably sensitive—the right of asylum—was the dispute arising at the beginning of the present year out of the re-arrest of an Indian prisoner on French soil by the officers of an English ship. The Savarkar case was settled amicably by The Hague Tribunal in the course of a very few days.

If there could be any assurance that the Powers could be relied upon to allow serious causes of quarrel to be adjudicated by the permanent tribunal of The Hague, created at the second conference in 1907, there would be little reason to fear for the world's peace. As matters stand today, the weak point of the system is that no Power, or no great Power, is bound, or even pledged by its own promise, to submit serious disputes to arbitration. It was hoped that the Second Hague Conference would result in some common and binding agreement in this respect. Perhaps the time was not ripe. All that was done was to put on record a solemn declaration in favor of compulsory arbitration and to renew the standing invitation to individual Powers to enter into treaties with each other in favor of arbitration. Article 19 ran:

> Independently of existing general or special treaties, imposing the obligation to have recourse to arbitration on the part of any of the signatory powers, these powers reserve to themselves the right to conclude, either before