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ADDRESS

BY

SIR CHARLES LYELL, BART., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION,—The place where we have been invited this year to hold our Thirty-fourth Meeting is one of no ordinary interest to the cultivators of physical science. It might have been selected by my fellow-labourers in geology as a central point of observation, from which, by short excursions to the east and west, they might examine those rocks which constitute, on the one side, the more modern, and on the other the more ancient records of the past, while around them and at their feet lie monuments of the middle period of the earth's history. But there are other sites in England which might successfully compete with Bath as good surveying stations for the geologist. What renders Bath a peculiar point of attraction to the student of natural phenomena is its thermal and mineral waters, to the sanatory powers of which the city has owed its origin and celebrity. The great volume and high temperature of these waters render them not only unique in our island, but perhaps without a parallel in the rest of Europe, when we duly take into account their distance from the nearest region of violent earthquakes or of active or extinct volcanos. The spot where they issue, as we learn from the researches of the historian and antiquary, was lonely and desert when the Romans first landed in this island, but in a few years it was converted into one of the chief cities of the newly conquered province. On the site of the hot springs was a large morass from which clouds of white vapour rose into the air; and there first was the spacious bath-room built, in a highly ornamental style of architecture, and decorated with columns, pilasters, and tessellated pavements. By its side was erected a splendid temple dedicated to Minerva, of which some statues and altars with their inscriptions, and ornate pillars are still to be seen in the Museum of this place. To these edifices the quarters of the garrison, and in the course of time the dwellings of new settlers, were added; and they

were all encircled by a massive wall, the solid foundations of which still remain.

A dense mass of soil and rubbish, from 10 to 20 feet thick, now separates the level on which the present city stands from the level of the ancient *Aquæ Solis* of the Romans. Digging through this mass of heterogeneous materials, coins and coffins of the Saxon period have been found; and lower down, beginning at the depth of from 12 to 15 feet from the surface, coins have been disinterred of Imperial Rome, bearing dates from the reign of Claudius to that of Maximus in the fifth century. Beneath the whole are occasionally seen tessellated pavements still retaining their bright colours, one of which, on the site of the Mineral-water Hospital, is still carefully preserved, affording us an opportunity of gauging the difference of level of ancient and modern Bath.

On the slopes and summits of the picturesque hills in the neighbourhood rose many a Roman villa, to trace the boundaries of which, and to bring to light the treasures of art concealed in them, are tasks which have of late years amply rewarded the researches of Mr. Scarth and other learned antiquaries. No wonder that on this favoured spot we should meet with so many memorials of former greatness, when we reflect on the length of time during which the imperial troops and rich colonists of a highly civilized people sojourned here, having held undisturbed possession of the country for as many years as have elapsed from the first discovery of America to our own times.

One of our former Presidents, Dr. Daubeny, has remarked that nearly all the most celebrated hot springs of Europe, such as those of Aix-la-Chapelle, Baden-Baden, Naples, Auvergne, and the Pyrenees, have not declined in temperature since the days of the Romans; for many of them still retain as great a heat as is tolerable to the human body, and yet when employed by the ancients they do not seem to have required to be first cooled down by artificial means. This uniformity of temperature, maintained in some places for more than 2000 years, together with the constancy in the volume of the water, which never varies with the seasons, as in ordinary springs, the identity also of the mineral ingredients which, century after century, are held by each spring in solution, are striking facts, and they tempt us irresistibly to speculate on the deep subterranean sources both of the heat and mineral matter. How long has this uniformity prevailed? Are the springs really ancient in reference to the earth's history, or, like the course of the present rivers and the actual shape of our hills and valleys, are they only of high

antiquity when contrasted with the brief space of human annals? May they not be like Vesuvius and Etna, which, although they have been adding to their flanks, in the course of the last 2000 years many a stream of lava and shower of ashes, were still mountains very much the same as they now are in height and dimensions from the earliest times to which we can trace back their existence? Yet although their foundations are tens of thousands of years old, they were laid at an era when the Mediterranean was already inhabited by the same species of marine shells as those with which it is now peopled; so that these volcanos must be regarded as things of yesterday in the geological calendar.

Notwithstanding the general persistency in character of mineral waters and hot springs ever since they were first known to us, we find on inquiry that some few of them, even in historical times, have been subject to great changes. These have happened during earthquakes which have been violent enough to disturb the subterranean drainage and alter the shape of the fissures up which the waters ascend. Thus during the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, the temperature of the spring called *La Source de la Reine* at Bagnères de Luchon, in the Pyrenees, was suddenly raised as much as 75° F., or changed from a cold spring to one of 122° F., a heat which it has since retained. It is also recorded that the hot springs at Bagnères de Bigorre, in the same mountain-chain, became suddenly cold during a great earthquake which, in 1660, threw down several houses in that town.

It has been ascertained that the hot springs of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and many other regions are situated in lines along which the rocks have been rent, and usually where they have been displaced or "faulted." Similar dislocations in the solid crust of the earth are generally supposed to have determined the spots where active and extinct volcanos have burst forth; for several of these often affect a linear arrangement, their position seeming to have been determined by great lines of fissure. Another connecting link between the volcano and the hot spring is recognizable in the great abundance of hot springs in regions where volcanic eruptions still occur from time to time. It is also in the same districts that the waters occasionally attain the boiling-temperature, while some of the associated stufas emit steam considerably above the boiling-point. But in proportion as we recede from the great centres of igneous activity, we find the thermal waters decreasing in frequency and in their average heat, while at the same time they are most conspicuous in those territories where, as in Central France or the Eifel in

Germany, there are cones and craters still so perfect in their form, and streams of lava bearing such a relation to the depth and shape of the existing valleys, as to indicate that the internal fires have become dormant in comparatively recent times. If there be exceptions to this rule, it is where hot springs are met with in parts of the Alps and Pyrenees which have been violently convulsed by modern earthquakes.

To pursue still further our comparison between the hot spring and the volcano, we may regard the water of the spring as representing those vast clouds of aqueous vapour which are copiously evolved for days, sometimes for weeks, in succession from craters during an eruption. But we shall perhaps be asked whether, when we contrast the work done by the two agents in question, there is not a marked failure of analogy in one respect—namely a want, in the case of the hot spring, of power to raise from great depths in the earth voluminous masses of solid matter corresponding to the heaps of scorïæ and streams of lava which the volcano pours out on the surface. To one who urges such an objection it may be said that the quantity of solid as well as gaseous matter transferred by springs from the interior of the earth to its surface is far more considerable than is commonly imagined. The thermal waters of Bath are far from being conspicuous among European hot springs for the quantity of mineral matter contained in them in proportion to the water which acts as a solvent; yet Professor Ramsay has calculated that if the sulphates of lime and of soda, and the chlorides of sodium and magnesium, and the other mineral ingredients which they contain, were solidified, they would form in one year a square column 9 feet in diameter, and no less than 140 feet in height. All this matter is now quietly conveyed by a stream of limpid water, in an invisible form, to the Avon, and by the Avon to the sea; but if, instead of being thus removed, it were deposited around the orifice of eruption, like the siliceous layers which encrust the circular basin of an Icelandic geyser, we should soon see a considerable cone built up, with a crater in the middle; and if the action of the spring were intermittent, so that ten or twenty years should elapse between the periods when solid matter was emitted, or (say) an interval of three centuries, as in the case of Vesuvius between 1306 and 1631, the discharge would be on so grand a scale as to afford no mean object of comparison with the intermittent outpourings of a volcano.

Dr. Daubeny, after devoting a month to the analysis of the Bath waters in 1833, ascertained that the daily evolution of nitrogen gas amounted to no

less than 250 cubic feet in volume. This gas, he remarks, is not only characteristic of hot springs, but is largely disengaged from volcanic craters during eruptions. In both cases he suggests that the nitrogen may be derived from atmospheric air, which is always dissolved in rain-water, and which, when this water penetrates the earth's crust, must be carried down to great depths, so as to reach the heated interior. When there, it may be subjected to deoxidating processes, so that the nitrogen, being left in a free state, may be driven upwards by the expansive force of heat and steam, or by hydrostatic pressure. This theory has been very generally adopted, as best accounting for the constant disengagement of large bodies of nitrogen, even where the rocks through which the spring rises are crystalline and unfossiliferous. It will, however, of course be admitted, as Professor Bischoff has pointed out, that in some places organic matter has supplied a large part of the nitrogen evolved.

Carbonic-acid gas is another of the volatilized substances discharged by the Bath waters. Dr. Gustav Bischoff, in the new edition of his valuable work on chemical and physical geology, when speaking of the exhalations of this gas, remarks that they are of universal occurrence, and that they originate at great depths, becoming more abundant the deeper we penetrate. He also observes that, when the silicates which enter so largely into the composition of the oldest rocks are percolated by this gas, they must be continually decomposed, and the carbonates formed by the new combinations thence arising must often augment the volume of the altered rocks. This increase of bulk, he says, must sometimes give rise to a mechanical force of expansion capable of uplifting the incumbent crust of the earth; and the same force may act laterally so as to compress, dislocate, and tilt the strata on each side of a mass in which the new chemical changes are developed. The calculations made by this eminent German chemist of the exact amount of distention which the origin of new mineral products may cause, by adding to the volume of the rocks, deserve the attention of geologists, as affording them aid in explaining those reiterated oscillations of level—those risings and sinkings of land—which have occurred on so grand a scale at successive periods of the past. There are probably many distinct causes of such upward, downward, and lateral movements, and any new suggestion on this head is most welcome; but I believe the expansion and contraction of solid rocks, when they are alternately heated and cooled, and the fusion and subsequent consolidation of mineral masses, will continue to rank, as heretofore, as the most influential causes of such movements.

The temperature of the Bath waters varies in the different springs from 117° to 120° F. This, as before stated, is exceptionally high, when we duly allow for the great distance of Bath from the nearest region of active or recently extinct volcanos and of violent earthquakes. The hot springs of Aix-la-Chapelle have a much higher temperature, viz. 135° F., but they are situated within forty miles of those cones and lava-streams of the Eifel which, though they may have spent their force ages before the earliest records of history, belong, nevertheless, to the most modern geological period. Bath is about 400 miles distant from the same part of Germany, and 440 from Auvergne—another volcanic region, the latest eruptions of which were geologically coëval with those of the Eifel. When these two regions in France and Germany were the theatres of frequent convulsions, we may well suppose that England was often more rudely shaken than now; and such shocks as that of October last, the sound and rocking motion of which caused so great a sensation as it traversed the southern part of the island, and seems to have been particularly violent in Herefordshire, may be only a languid reminder to us of a force of which the energy has been gradually dying out.

If you consult the geological map of the environs of this city, coloured by the Government surveyors, you will perceive that numerous [lines of fault or displacement of the rocks are there laid down, and one of these has shifted the strata vertically as much as 200 feet. Mr. Charles Moore pointed out to me last spring, when I had the advantage of examining the geology of this district under his guidance, that there are other lines of displacement not yet laid down on the Ordnance Map, the existence of which must be inferred from the different levels at which the same formations crop out on the flanks of the hills to the north and south of the city. I have therefore little doubt that the Bath springs, like most other thermal waters, mark the site of some great convulsion and fracture which took place in the crust of the earth at some former period—perhaps not a very remote one, geologically speaking. The uppermost part of the rent through which the hot water rises is situated in horizontal strata of Lias and Trias, 300 feet thick; and this may be more modern than the lower part, which passes through the inclined and broken strata of the subjacent coal-measures, which are unconformable to the Trias. The nature and succession of these rocks penetrated by the Bath waters was first made out by the late William Smith in 1817, when a shaft was sunk in the vicinity in search for coal. The shock which opened a communication through the upper rocks may have been of a much later date than that which fractured the older and underlying strata; for there is a tendency in the

earth's crust to yield most readily along lines of ancient fracture, which constitute the points of least resistance to a force acting from below.

If we adopt the theory already alluded to, that the nitrogen is derived from the deoxidation of atmospheric air carried down by rain-water, we may imagine the supply of this water to be furnished by some mountainous region, perhaps a distant one, and that it descends through rents or porous rocks till it encounters some mass of heated matter by which it is converted into steam, and then driven upwards through a fissure. In its downward passage the water may derive its sulphate of lime, chloride of calcium, and other substances from the decomposition of the gypseous, saline, calcareous, and other constituents of the rocks which it permeates. The greater part of the ingredients are common to sea-water, and might suggest the theory of a marine origin ; but the analysis of the Bath springs by Merck and Galloway shows that the relative proportion of the solid matter is far from agreeing with that of the sea, the chloride of magnesium being absolutely in excess, that is, 14 grains of it per gallon for 12 of common salt ; whereas in sea-water there are 27 grains of salt, or chloride of sodium, to 4 of the chloride of magnesium. That some mineral springs, however, may derive an inexhaustible supply, through rents and porous rocks, from the leaky bed of the ocean, is by no means an unreasonable theory, especially if we believe that the contiguity of nearly all the active volcanos to the sea is connected with the access of salt water to the subterranean foci of volcanic heat.

Professor Roscoe, of Manchester, has been lately engaged in making a careful analysis of the Bath waters, and has discovered in them three metals which they were not previously known to contain—namely copper, strontium, and lithium ; but he has searched in vain for cæsium and rubidium, those new metals, the existence of which has been revealed to us in the course of the last few years by what is called spectrum analysis. By this new method the presence of infinitesimal quantities, such as would have wholly escaped detection by ordinary tests, are made known to the eye by the agency of light. Thus, for example, a solid substance such as the residue obtained by evaporation from a mineral water is introduced on a platinum wire into a colourless gas-flame. The substance thus volatilized imparts its colour to the flame, and the light, being then made to pass through a prism, is viewed through a small telescope or spectroscope, as it is called, by the aid of which one or more bright lines or bands are seen in the spectrum, which, according to their position and colour, indicate the presence of different elementary bodies.

Professor Bunsen, of Heidelberg, led the way, in 1860, in the application of this new test to the hot waters of Baden-Baden and of Dürkheim in the Palatinate. He observed in the spectrum some coloured lines of which he could not interpret the meaning, and was determined not to rest till he had found out what they meant. This was no easy task, for it was necessary to evaporate fifty tons of water to obtain 200 grains of what proved to be two new metals. Taken together, their proportion to the water was only as one to three million. He named the first *cæsium*, from the bluish-grey lines which it presented in the spectrum; and the second *rubidium*, from its two red lines. Since these successful experiments were made, *thallium*, so called from its green line, was discovered in 1861 by Mr. Crookes; and a fourth metal named *indium*, from its indigo-coloured band, was detected by Professor Richter, of Freiberg, in Saxony in a zinc ore of the Hartz. It is impossible not to suspect that the wonderful efficacy of some mineral springs, both cold and thermal, in curing diseases, which no artificially prepared waters have as yet been able to rival, may be connected with the presence of one or more of these elementary bodies previously unknown; and some of the newly found ingredients, when procured in larger quantities, may furnish medical science with means of combating diseases which have hitherto baffled all human skill.

While I was pursuing my inquiries respecting the Bath waters, I learned casually that a hot spring had been discovered at a great depth in a copper-mine near Redruth in Cornwall, having about as high a temperature as that of the Bath waters, and of which, strange to say, no account has yet been published. It seems that, in the year 1839, a level was driven from an old shaft so as to intersect a rich copper-mine at the depth of 1350 feet from the surface. This lode or metalliferous fissure occurred in what were formerly called the United Mines, and which have since been named the Clifford Amalgamated Mines. Through the contents of the lode a powerful spring of hot water was observed to rise, which has continued to flow with undiminished strength ever since. At my request, Mr. Horton Davey, of Redruth, had the kindness to send up to London many gallons of this water, which have been analyzed by Professor William Allen Miller, F.R.S., who finds that the quantity of solid matter is so great as to exceed by more than four times the proportion of that yielded by the Bath waters. Its composition is also in many respects very different; for it contains but little sulphate of lime, and is almost free from the salts of magnesium. It is rich in the chlorides of calcium and sodium, and it contains one of the new metals—

caesium, never before detected in any mineral spring in England: but its peculiar characteristic is the extraordinary abundance of lithium, of which a mere trace had been found by Professor Roscoe in the Bath waters; whereas in this Cornish hot spring this metal constitutes no less than a twenty-sixth part of the whole of the solid contents, which, as before stated, are so voluminous. When Professor Miller exposed some of these contents to the test of spectrum analysis, he gave me an opportunity of seeing the beautiful bright crimson line which the lithium produces in the spectrum.

Lithium was first made known in 1817 by Arfvedsen, who extracted it from petalite; and it was believed to be extremely rare, until Bunsen and Kirchhoff, in 1860, by means of spectrum analysis, showed that it was a most widely diffused substance, existing in minute quantities in almost all mineral waters and in the sea, as well as in milk, human blood, and the ashes of some plants. It has already been used in medicine, and we may therefore hope that, now that it is obtainable in large quantities, and at a much cheaper rate than before the Wheal-Clifford hot spring was analyzed, it may become of high value. According to a rough estimate which has been sent to me by Mr. Davey, the Wheal-Clifford spring yields no less than 250 gallons per minute, which is almost equal to the discharge of the King's Bath or chief spring of this city. As to the gases emitted, they are the same as those of the Bath water—namely carbonic acid, oxygen, and nitrogen.

Mr. Warington Smyth, who had already visited the Wheal-Clifford lode in 1855, re-examined it in July last, chiefly with the view of replying to several queries which I had put to him; and, in spite of the stifling heat, ascertained the geological structure of the lode and the exact temperature of the water. This last he found to be 122° Fahr. at the depth of 1350 feet; but he scarcely doubts that the thermometer would stand two or three degrees higher at a distance of 200 feet to the eastward, where the water is known to gush up more freely. The Wheal-Clifford lode is a fissure varying in width from 6 to 12 feet, one wall consisting of elvan or porphyritic granite, and the other of killas or clay-slate. Along the line of the rent, which runs east and west, there has been a slight throw or shift of the rocks. The vein-stuff is chiefly formed of cellular pyrites of copper and iron, the porous nature of which allows the hot water to percolate freely through it. It seems, however, that in the continuation upwards of the same fissure little or no metalliferous ore was deposited, but, in its place, quartz and other impermeable substances, which obstructed the course of the hot spring, so as to prevent its flowing out on the surface of the country. It has been always

a favourite theory of the miners that the high temperature of this Cornish spring is due to the oxidation of the sulphurets of copper and iron, which are decomposed when air is admitted. That such oxidation must have some slight effect is undeniable; but that it materially influences the temperature of so large a body of water is out of the question. Its effect must be almost insensible; for Professor Miller has scarcely been able to detect any sulphuric acid in the water, and a minute trace only of iron and copper in solution.

When we compare the temperature of the Bath springs, which issue at a level of less than 100 feet above the sea, with the Wheal-Clifford spring found at a depth of 1350 feet from the surface, we must of course make allowance for the increase of heat always experienced when we descend into the interior of the earth. The difference would amount to about 20° Fahr., if we adopt the estimate deduced by Mr. Hopkins from an accurate series of observations made in the Monkwearmouth shaft, near Durham, and in the Dukinfield shaft, near Manchester, each of them 2000 feet in depth. In these shafts the temperature was found to rise at the rate of only 1° Fahr. for every increase of depth of from 65 to 70 feet. But if the Wheal-Clifford spring, instead of being arrested in its upward course, had continued to rise freely through porous and loose materials so as to reach the surface, it would probably not have lost anything approaching to 20° Fahr., since the renewed heat derived from below would have warmed the walls and contents of the lode, so as to raise their temperature above that which would naturally belong to the rocks at corresponding levels on each side of the lode. The almost entire absence of magnesium raises an obvious objection to the hypothesis of this spring deriving its waters from the sea; or if such a source be suggested for the salt and other marine products, we should be under the necessity of supposing the magnesium to be left behind in combination with some of the elements of the decomposed and altered rocks through which the thermal waters may have passed.

Hot springs are, for the most part, charged with alkaline and other highly soluble substances, and, as a rule, are barren of the precious metals, gold, silver, and copper, as well as of tin, platinum, lead, and many others, a slight trace of copper in the Bath waters being exceptional. Nevertheless there is a strong presumption that there exists some relationship between the action of thermal waters and the filling of rents with metallic ores. The component elements of these ores may, in the first instance, rise from great depths in a state of sublimation or of solution

in intensely heated water, and may then be precipitated on the walls of a fissure as soon as the ascending vapours or fluids begin to part with some of their heat. Almost everything, save the alkaline metals, silica, and certain gases, may thus be left behind long before the spring reaches the earth's surface. If this theory be adopted, it will follow that the metalliferous portion of a fissure, originally thousands of feet or fathoms deep, will never be exposed in regions accessible to the miner until it has been upheaved by a long series of convulsions, and until the higher parts of the same rent, together with its contents and the rocks which it had traversed, have been removed by aqueous denudation. Ages before such changes are accomplished thermal and mineral springs will have ceased to act; so that the want of identity between the mineral ingredients of hot springs and the contents of metalliferous veins, instead of militating against their intimate relationship, is in favour of both being the complementary results of one and the same natural operation.

But there are other characters in the structure of the earth's crust more mysterious in their nature than the phenomena of metalliferous veins, on which the study of hot springs has thrown light—I allude to the metamorphism of sedimentary rocks. Strata of various ages, many of them once full of organic remains, have been rendered partially or wholly crystalline. It is admitted on all hands that heat has been instrumental in bringing about this re-arrangement of particles, which, when the metamorphism has been carried out to its fullest extent, obliterates all trace of the imbedded fossils. But as mountain-masses many miles in length and breadth, and several thousands of feet in height, have undergone such alteration, it has always been difficult to explain in what manner an amount of heat capable of so entirely changing the molecular condition of sedimentary masses could have come into play without utterly annihilating every sign of stratification, as well as of organic structure.

Various experiments have led to the conclusion that the minerals which enter most largely into the composition of the metamorphic rocks have not been formed by crystallizing from a state of fusion, or in the dry way, but that they have been derived from liquid solutions, or in the wet way—a process requiring a far less intense degree of heat. Thermal springs, charged with carbonic acid and with hydro-fluoric acid (which last is often present in small quantities), are powerful causes of decomposition and chemical reaction in rocks through which they percolate. If, therefore, large bodies of hot water

permeate mountain-masses at great depths, they may in the course of ages superinduce in them a crystalline structure; and in some cases strata in a lower position and of older date may be comparatively unaltered, retaining their fossil remains undefaced, while newer rocks are rendered metamorphic. This may happen where the waters, after passing upwards for thousands of feet, meet with some obstruction, as in the case of the Wheal-Clifford spring, causing the same to be laterally diverted so as to percolate the surrounding rocks. The efficacy of such hydro-thermal action has been admirably illustrated of late years by the experiments and observations of Sénarmont, Daubrée, Delesse, Scheerer, Sorby, Sterry Hunt, and others.

The changes which Daubrée has shown to have been produced by the alkaline waters of Plombières, in the Vosges, are more especially instructive. These thermal waters have a temperature of 160° F., and were conveyed by the Romans to baths through long conduits or aqueducts. The foundations of some of their works consisted of a bed of concrete made of lime, fragments of brick, and sandstone. Through this and other masonry the hot waters have been percolating for centuries, and have given rise to various zeolites—apophyllite and chabazite among others; also to calcareous spar, arragonite, and fluor spar, together with siliceous minerals, such as opal,—all found in the interspaces of the bricks and mortar, or constituting part of their rearranged materials. The quantity of heat brought into action in this instance in the course of 2000 years has, no doubt, been enormous, although the intensity of it developed at any one moment has been always inconsiderable.

The study, of late years, of the constituent parts of granite has in like manner led to the conclusion that their consolidation has taken place at temperatures far below those formerly supposed to be indispensable. Gustav Rose has pointed out that the quartz of granite has the specific gravity of 2.6, which characterizes silica when it is precipitated from a liquid solvent, and not that inferior density, namely 2.3, which belongs to it when it cools and solidifies in the dry way from a state of fusion.

But some geologists, when made aware of the intervention on a large scale, of water, in the formation of the component minerals of the granitic and volcanic rocks, appear of late years to have been too much disposed to dispense with intense heat when accounting for the formation of the crystalline and unstratified rocks. As water in a state of solid combination enters largely into the aluminous and some other minerals, and therefore plays no

small part in the composition of the earth's crust, it follows that, when rocks are melted, water must be present, independently of the supplies of rain-water and sea-water which find their way into the regions of subterranean heat. But the existence of water under great pressure affords no argument against our attributing an excessively high temperature to the mass with which it is mixed up. Still less does the point to which the melted matter must be cooled down before it consolidates or crystallizes into lava or granite afford any test of the degree of heat which the same matter must have acquired when it was melted and made to form lakes and seas in the interior of the earth's crust.

We learn from Bunsen's experiments on the Great Geyser in Iceland, that at the depth of only seventy-four feet, at the bottom of the tube, a column of water may be in a state of rest, and yet possess a heat of 120° Centigrade, or 248° F. What, then, may not the temperature of such water be at the depth of a few thousand feet? It might soon attain a white heat under pressure; and as to lava, they who have beheld it issue, as I did in 1858, from the south-western flanks of Vesuvius, with a surface white and glowing like that of the sun, and who have felt the scorching heat which it radiates, will form a high conception of the intense temperature of the same lava at the bottom of a vertical column several miles high, and communicating with a great reservoir of fused matter, which, if it were to begin at once to cool down, and were never to receive future accessions of heat, might require a whole geological period before it solidified. Of such slow refrigeration hot springs may be among the most effective instruments, abstracting slowly from the subterranean molten mass that heat which clouds of vapour are seen to carry off in a latent form from a volcanic crater during an eruption, or from a lava-stream during its solidification. It is more than forty years since Mr. Scrope, in his work on volcanos, insisted on the important part which water plays in an eruption, when intimately mixed up with the component materials of lava, aiding, as he supposed, in giving mobility to the more solid materials of the fluid mass. But when advocating this igneo-aqueous theory, he never dreamt of impugning the Huttonian doctrine as to the intensity of heat which the production of the unstratified rocks, those of the plutonic class especially, implies.

The exact nature of the chemical changes which hydrothermal action may effect in the earth's interior will long remain obscure to us, because the regions where they take place are inaccessible to man; but the manner in

which volcanos have shifted their position throughout a vast series of geological epochs—becoming extinct in one region and breaking out in another—may, perhaps, explain the increase of heat as we descend towards the interior, without the necessity of our appealing to an original central heat or the igneous fluidity of the earth's nucleus.

I hinted, at the beginning of this Address, that the hot springs of Bath may be of no high antiquity, geologically speaking,—not that I can establish this opinion by any positive proofs, but I infer it from the mighty changes which this region has undergone since the time when the British seas, rivers, and lakes were inhabited by the existing species of Testacea. It is already more than a quarter of a century since Sir Roderick Murchison first spoke of the Malvern Straits, meaning thereby a channel of the sea which once separated Wales from England. That such marine straits really extended, at a modern period, between what are now the estuaries of the Severn and the Dee has been lately confirmed in a satisfactory manner by the discovery of marine shells of recent species in drift covering the watershed which divides those estuaries. At the time when these shells were living, the Cotswold Hills, at the foot of which this city is built, formed one of the numerous islands of an archipelago into which England, Ireland, and Scotland were then divided. The amount of vertical movement which would be necessary to restore such a state of the surface as prevailed when the position of land and sea were so different would be very great.

Nowhere in the world, according to our present information, is the evidence of upheaval, as manifested by upraised marine shells, so striking as in Wales. In that country Mr. Trimmer first pointed out, in 1831, the occurrence of fossil shells in stratified drift, at the top of a hill called Moel Tryfaen, near the Menai Straits, and not far from the base of Snowdon. I visited the spot last year, in company with my friend Mr. Symonds, and we collected there not a few of the marine Testacea. Mr. Darbishire has obtained from the same drift no less than fifty-four fossil species, all of them now living either in high northern or British seas, and eleven of them being exclusively arctic. The whole fauna bears testimony to a climate colder than that now experienced in these latitudes, though not to such extreme cold as that implied by the fauna of some of the glacial drift of Scotland. The shells alluded to were procured at the extraordinary height of 1360 feet above the sea-level, and they demonstrate an upheaval of the bed of the sea to that amount in the time of the living Testacea. A considerable part of

what is called the glacial epoch had already elapsed before the shelly strata in question were deposited on Moel Tryfaen, as we may infer from the polished and striated surfaces of rocks on which the drift rests, and the occurrence of erratic blocks smoothed and scratched, at the bottom of the same drift.

The evidence of a period of great cold in England and North America, in the times referred to, is now so universally admitted by geologists, that I shall take it for granted in this Address, and briefly consider what may have been the probable causes of the refrigeration of central Europe at the era in question. One of these causes, first suggested eleven years ago by a celebrated Swiss geologist, has not, I think, received the attention which it well deserved. When I proposed, in 1833, the theory that alterations in physical geography might have given rise to those revolutions in climate which the earth's surface has experienced at successive epochs, it was objected by many that the signs of upheaval and depression were too local to account for such general changes of temperature. This objection was thought to be of peculiar weight when applied to the glacial period, because of the shortness of the time, geologically speaking, which has since transpired. But the more we examine the monuments of the ages which preceded the historical, the more decided become the proofs of a general alteration in the position, depth, and height of seas, continents, and mountain-chains since the commencement of the glacial period. The meteorologist also has been learning of late years that the quantity of ice and snow in certain latitudes depends not merely on the height of mountain-chains, but also on the distribution of the surrounding sea and land even to considerable distances.

M. Escher von der Linth gave it as his opinion in 1852, that if it were true, as Ritter had suggested, that the great African desert, or Sahara, was submerged within the modern or post-tertiary period, that same submergence might explain why the Alpine glaciers had attained so recently those colossal dimensions which, reasoning on geological data, Venetz and Charpentier had assigned to them. Since Escher first threw out this hint, the fact that the Sahara was really covered by the sea at no distant period has been confirmed by many new proofs. The distinguished Swiss geologist himself has just returned from an exploring expedition through the eastern part of the Algerian desert, in which he was accompanied by M. Desor, of Neuchatel, and Professor Martins, of Montpellier. These three experienced observers satisfied themselves, during the last winter, that the Sahara was under water

during the period of the living species of Testacea. We had already learnt in 1856, from a memoir by M. Charles Laurent, that sands identical with those of the nearest shores of the Mediterranean, and containing, among other recent shells, the common cockle (*Cardium edule*), extend over a vast space from west to east in the desert, being not only found on the surface, but also brought up from depths of more than 20 feet by the Artesian auger. These shells have been met with at heights of more than 900 feet above the sea-level, and on ground sunk 300 feet below it; for there are in Africa, as in Western Asia, depressions of land below the level of the sea. The same cockle has been observed still living in several salt-lakes in the Sahara; and superficial incrustations in many places seem to point to the drying up by evaporation of several inland seas in certain districts.

Mr. Tristram, in his travels in 1859, traced for many miles along the southern borders of the French possessions in Africa lines of inland sea-cliffs, with caves at their bases, and old sea-beaches forming successive terraces, in which recent shells and the casts of them were agglutinated together with sand and pebbles, the whole having the form of a conglomerate. The ancient sea appears once to have stretched from the Gulf of Cades, in Tunis, to the west coast of Africa north of Senegambia, having a width of several hundred (perhaps where greatest, according to Mr. Tristram, 800) miles. The high lands of Barbary, including Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, must have been separated at this period from the rest of Africa by a sea. All that we have learnt from zoologists and botanists in regard to the present fauna and flora of Barbary favours this hypothesis, and seems at the same time to point to a former connexion of that country with Spain, Sicily, and South Italy.

When speculating on these changes, we may call to mind that certain deposits, full of marine shells of living species, have long been known as fringing the borders of the Red Sea, and rising several hundred feet above its shores. Evidence has also been obtained that Egypt, placed between the Red Sea and the Sahara, participated in these great continental movements. This may be inferred from the old river-terraces, lately described by Messrs. Adams and Murie, which skirt the modern alluvial plains of the Nile, and rise above them to various heights, from 30 to 100 feet and upwards. In whatever direction, therefore, we look, we see grounds for assuming that a map of Africa in the glacial period would no more resemble our present maps of that continent than Europe now resembles North America. If, then, argues

Escher, the Sahara was a sea in post-tertiary times, we may understand why the Alpine glaciers formerly attained such gigantic dimensions, and why they have left moraines of such magnitude on the plains of northern Italy and the lower country of Switzerland. The Swiss peasants have a saying, when they talk of the melting of the snow, that the sun could do nothing without the Föhn, a name which they give to the well-known sirocco. This wind, after sweeping over a wide expanse of parched and burning sand in Africa, blows occasionally for days in succession across the Mediterranean, carrying with it the scorching heat of the Sahara to melt the snows of the Apennines and Alps.

M. Denzler, in a memoir on this subject, observes that the Föhn blew tempestuously at Algiers on the 17th of July 1841, and then crossing the Mediterranean, reached Marseilles in six hours. In five more hours it was at Geneva and the Valais, throwing down a large extent of forest in the latter district, while in the cantons of Zurich and the Grisons it suddenly turned the leaves of many trees from green to yellow. In a few hours new-mown grass was dried and ready for the haystack; for although in passing over the Alpine snows, the sirocco absorbs much moisture, it is still far below the point of saturation when it reaches the sub-Alpine country to the north of the great chain. MM. Escher and Denzler have both of them observed on different occasions that a thickness of one foot of snow has disappeared in four hours during the prevalence of this wind. No wonder, therefore, that the Föhn is much dreaded for the sudden inundations which it sometimes causes. The snow-line of the Alps was seen by Mr. Irscher, the astronomer, from his observatory at Neuchatel, by aid of the telescope, to rise sensibly every day while this wind was blowing. Its influence is by no means confined to the summer season, for in the winter of 1852 it visited Zurich at Christmas, and in a few days all the surrounding country was stripped of its snow, even in the shadiest places and on the crests of high ridges. I feel the better able to appreciate the power of this wind from having myself witnessed in Sicily, in 1828, its effect in dissolving, in the month of November, the snows which then covered the summit and higher parts of Mount Etna. I had been told that I should be unable to ascend to the top of the highest cone till the following spring; but in thirty-six hours the hot breath of the sirocco stripped off from the mountain its white mantle of snow, and I ascended without difficulty.

It is well known that the number of days during which particular winds

prevail, from year to year, varies considerably. Between the years 1812 and 1820 the Föhn was less felt in Switzerland than usual; and what was the consequence? All the glaciers, during those eight or nine years, increased in height, and crept down below their former limits in their respective valleys. Many similar examples might be cited of the sensitiveness of the ice to slight variations of temperature. Captain Godwin-Austen has lately given us a description of the gigantic glaciers of the western Himalaya in those valleys where the sources of the Indus rise, between the latitudes 35° and 36° N. The highest peaks of the Karakorum range attain in that region an elevation of 28,000 feet above the sea. The glaciers, says Captain Austen, have been advancing, within the memory of the living inhabitants, so as greatly to encroach on the cultivated lands, and have so altered the climate of the adjoining valleys immediately below, that only one crop a year can now be reaped from fields which formerly yielded two crops. If such changes can be experienced in less than a century, without any perceptible modification in the physical geography of that part of Asia, what mighty effects may we not imagine the submergence of the Sahara to have produced in adding to the size of the Alpine glaciers? If, between the years 1812 and 1820, a mere diminution of the number of days during which the sirocco blew could so much promote the growth and onward movement of the ice, how much greater a change would result from the total cessation of the same wind! But this would give no idea of what must have happened in the glacial period; for we cannot suppose the action of the south wind to have been suspended: it was not in abeyance, but its character was entirely different, and of an opposite nature, under the altered geographical conditions above contemplated. First, instead of passing over a parched and scorching desert, between the twentieth and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude, it would plentifully absorb moisture from a sea many hundreds of miles wide. Next, in its course over the Mediterranean, it would take up still more aqueous vapour; and when, after complete saturation, it struck the Alps, it would be driven up into the higher and more rarified regions of the atmosphere. There the aerial current, as fast as it was cooled, would discharge its aqueous burden in the form of snow, so that the same wind which is now called "the devourer of ice" would become its principal feeder.

If we thus embrace Escher's theory, as accounting in no small degree for the vast size of the extinct glaciers of Switzerland and Northern Italy, we are by no means debarred from accepting at the same time Charpentier's

suggestion, that the Alps in the glacial period were 2000 or 3000 feet higher than they are now. Such a difference in altitude may have been an auxiliary cause of the extreme cold, and seems the more probable now that we have obtained unequivocal proofs of such great oscillations of level in Wales within the period under consideration. We may also avail ourselves of another source of refrigeration which may have coincided in time with the submergence of the Sahara, namely, the diversion of the Gulf-stream from its present course. The shape of Europe and North America, or the boundaries of sea and land, departed so widely in the glacial period from those now established, that we cannot suppose the Gulf-stream to have taken at that period its present north-western course across the Atlantic. If it took some other direction, the climate of the north of Scotland would, according to the calculations of Mr. Hopkins, suffer a diminution in its average annual temperature of 12° F., while that of the Alps would lose 2° F. A combination of all the conditions above enumerated would certainly be attended with so great a revolution in climate as might go far to account for the excessive cold which was developed at so modern a period in the earth's history. But even when we assume all three of them to have been simultaneously in action, we have by no means exhausted all the resources which a difference in the geographical condition of the globe might supply. Thus, for example, to name only one of them, we might suppose that the height and quantity of land near the north pole was greater at the era in question than it is now.

The vast mechanical force that ice exerted in the glacial period has been thought by some to demonstrate a want of uniformity in the amount of energy which the same natural cause may put forth at two successive epochs. But we must be careful, when thus reasoning, to bear in mind that the power of ice is here substituted for that of running water. The one becomes a mighty agent in transporting huge erratics, and in scoring, abrading, and polishing rocks; but meanwhile the other is in abeyance. When, for example, the ancient Rhone glacier conveyed its moraines from the upper to the lower end of the Lake of Geneva, there was no great river, as there now is, forming a delta many miles in extent, and several hundred feet in depth, at the upper end of the lake.

The more we study and comprehend the geographical changes of the glacial period, and the migrations of animals and plants to which it gave rise, the higher our conceptions are raised of the duration of that subdivision of time, which, though vast when measured by the succession of events comprised in it,

was brief, if estimated by the ordinary rules of geological classification. The glacial period was, in fact, a mere episode in one of the great epochs of the earth's history; for the inhabitants of the lands and seas, before and after the grand development of snow and ice, were nearly the same. As yet we have no satisfactory proof that man existed in Europe or elsewhere during the period of extreme cold; but our investigations on this head are still in their infancy. In an early portion of the postglacial period it has been ascertained that man flourished in Europe; and in tracing the signs of his existence, from the historical ages to those immediately antecedent, and so backward into more ancient times, we gradually approach a dissimilar geographical state of things, when the climate was colder, and when the configuration of the surface departed considerably from that which now prevails.

Archeologists are satisfied that in central Europe the age of bronze weapons preceded the Roman invasion of Switzerland; and prior to the Swiss-lake dwellings of the bronze age were those in which stone weapons alone were used. The Danish kitchen-middens seem to have been of about the same date; but what M. Lartet has called the reindeer period of the South of France was probably anterior, and connected with a somewhat colder climate. Of still higher antiquity was that age of ruder implements of stone such as were buried in the fluviatile drift of Amiens and Abbeville, and which were mingled in the same gravel with the bones of extinct quadrupeds, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, bear, tiger, and hyena. Between the present era and that of those earliest vestiges yet discovered of our race, valleys have been deepened and widened, the course of subterranean rivers which once flowed through caverns has been changed, and many species of wild quadrupeds have disappeared. The bed of the sea, moreover, has in the same ages been lifted up, in many places hundreds of feet, above its former level, and the outlines of many a coast entirely altered.

MM. de Verneuil and Louis Lartet have recently found, near Madrid, fossil teeth of the African elephant, in old valley-drift, containing flint implements of the same antique type as those of Amiens and Abbeville. Proof of the same elephant having inhabited Sicily in the Postpliocene and probably within the Human period had previously been brought to light by Baron Anca, during his exploration of the bone-caves of Palermo. We have now, therefore, evidence of man having co-existed in Europe with three species of elephant, two of them extinct (namely, the mammoth and the *Elephas antiquus*), and a third the same as that which still survives in

Africa. As to the first of these—the mammoth—I am aware that some writers contend that it could not have died out many tens of thousands of years before our time, because its flesh has been found preserved in ice, in Siberia, in so fresh a state as to serve as food for dogs, bears, and wolves; but this argument seems to me fallacious. Middendorf, in 1843, after digging through some thickness of frozen soil in Siberia, came down upon an icy mass, in which the carcase of a mammoth was imbedded, so perfect that, among other parts, the pupil of its eye was taken out, and is now preserved in the Museum of Moscow. No one will deny that this elephant had lain for several thousand years in its icy envelope; and if it had been left undisturbed, and the cold had gone on increasing, for myriads of centuries, we might reasonably expect that the frozen flesh might continue undecayed until a second glacial period had passed away.

When speculations on the long series of events which occurred in the glacial and postglacial periods are indulged in, the imagination is apt to take alarm at the immensity of the time required to interpret the monuments of these ages, all referable to the era of existing species. In order to abridge the number of centuries which would otherwise be indispensable, a disposition is shown by many to magnify the rate of change in prehistoric times, by investing the causes which have modified the animate and inanimate world with extraordinary and excessive energy. It is related of a great Irish orator of our day, that when he was about to contribute somewhat parsimoniously towards a public charity, he was persuaded by a friend to make a more liberal donation. In doing so he apologized for his first apparent want of generosity, by saying that his early life had been a constant struggle with scanty means, and that “they who are born to affluence cannot easily imagine how long a time it takes to get the chill of poverty out of one’s bones.” In like manner, we of the living generation, when called upon to make grants of thousands of centuries in order to explain the events of what is called the modern period, shrink naturally at first from making what seems so lavish an expenditure of past time. Throughout our early education we have been accustomed to such strict economy in all that relates to the chronology of the earth and its inhabitants in remote ages, so fettered have we been by old traditional beliefs, that even when our reason is convinced, and we are persuaded that we ought to make more liberal grants of time to the geologist, we feel how hard it is to get the chill of poverty out of our bones.

I will now briefly allude, in conclusion, to two points on which a gradual

change of opinion has been taking place among geologists of late years. First, as to whether there has been a continuous succession of events in the organic and inorganic worlds, uninterrupted by violent and general catastrophes; and secondly, whether clear evidence can be obtained of a period antecedent to the creation of organic beings on the earth. I am old enough to remember when geologists dogmatized on both these questions in a manner very different from that in which they would now venture to indulge. I believe that by far the greater number now incline to opposite views from those which were once most commonly entertained. On the first point it is worthy of remark that although a belief in sudden and general convulsions has been losing ground, as also the doctrine of abrupt transitions from one set of species of animals and plants to another of a very different type, yet the whole series of the records which have been handed down to us are now more than ever regarded as fragmentary. They ought to be looked upon as more perfect, because numerous gaps have been filled up, and in the formations newly intercalated in the series we have found many missing links and various intermediate gradations between the nearest allied forms previously known in the animal and vegetable worlds. Yet the whole body of monuments which we are endeavouring to decipher appears more defective than before. For my own part, I agree with Mr. Darwin in considering them as a mere fraction of those which have once existed, while no approach to a perfect series was ever formed originally, it having never been part of the plan of Nature to leave a complete record of all her works and operations for the enlightenment of rational beings who might study them in after-ages.

In reference to the other great question, or the earliest date of vital phenomena on this planet, the late discoveries in Canada have at least demonstrated that certain theories founded in Europe on mere negative evidence were altogether delusive. In the course of a geological survey, carried on under the able direction of Sir William E. Logan, it has been shown that northward of the river St. Lawrence there is a vast series of stratified and crystalline rocks of gneiss, mica-schist, quartzite, and limestone, about 40,000 feet in thickness, which have been called Laurentian. They are more ancient than the oldest fossiliferous strata of Europe, or those to which the term primordial had been rashly assigned. In the first place, the newest part of this great crystalline series is unconformable to the ancient fossiliferous or so-called primordial rocks which overlies it; so that it must have undergone disturbing movements before the latter or primordial set were formed. Then

again, the older half of the Laurentian series is unconformable to the newer portion of the same. It is in this lowest and most ancient system of crystalline strata that a limestone, about a thousand feet thick, has been observed, containing organic remains. These fossils have been examined by Dr. Dawson, of Montreal, and he has detected in them, by aid of the microscope, the distinct structure of a large species of Rhizopod. Fine specimens of this fossil, called *Eozoon Canadense*, have been brought to Bath by Sir William Logan, to be exhibited to the members of the Association. We have every reason to suppose that the rocks in which these animal remains are included are of as old a date as any of the formations named azoic in Europe, if not older, so that they preceded in date rocks once supposed to have been formed before any organic beings had been created.

But I will not venture on speculations respecting "the signs of a beginning," or "the prospects of an end," of our terrestrial system—that wide ocean of scientific conjecture on which so many theorists before my time have suffered shipwreck. Without trespassing longer on your time, I will conclude by expressing to you my thanks for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside over this Meeting. I have every reason to hope, from the many members and distinguished strangers whom I already see assembled here, that it will not be inferior in interest to any of the gatherings which have preceded it.

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have preceded it. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
 Your obedient servant,
 Wm. Logan