

# 1 Hydrology and beyond: The scientific work of August Colding revisited

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8 **Abstract.** August Colding was one of the three pioneers, who in the mid-1800s almost  
9 simultaneously and independently formulated the first law of thermodynamics, the two others being  
10 Robert Mayer and James Joule. This first, significant achievement was followed by a sequence of  
11 other ground-breaking discoveries within a broad range of disciplines: magnetism, steam power, gas  
12 production, hydraulics, soil physics, hydrology, heating and ventilation, meteorology and  
13 oceanography. Moreover, he gave a significant contribution to the understanding of the spread of  
14 cholera. In hydrology, he used evaporation experiments to obtain water balances. Independently, he  
15 formulated Darcy's law and was the first to calculate the water table between drainpipes and the  
16 piezometric surface in confined aquifers. His main occupation, however, was chief engineer in  
17 Copenhagen, where he modernised the city by introducing groundwater-based water supply and  
18 building a waterworks delivering pressured, clean water into the houses, a gasworks and gas-based  
19 street lightening, and a citywide sewage system. Colding has not been recognised internationally as  
20 he might deserve, probably because most of his publications were written in Danish. Even in  
21 Denmark, he seems today almost forgotten. This paper highlights his most important scientific  
22 contributions, in particular his achievements in hydrology, hydraulics, meteorology and  
23 oceanography.

24

## 25 1. Introduction

26 Ludvig August Colding (1815-88) grew up on a farm close to Copenhagen but showed no interest in  
27 becoming a farmer. Instead, he was trained as a cabinet-maker after advice from Hans Christian  
28 Ørsted (the world-renowned physicist who discovered electro-magnetism) to whom his father was  
29 acquainted. This first training raised his interest for engineering, and, having passed the entrance  
30 examination, he started at the Polytechnic School, where Ørsted was director. During his study, he  
31 assisted Ørsted by measuring the heat released from compression of water. He graduated in 1841,  
32 and after a couple of years with miscellaneous teaching activities, he was employed by the city of  
33 Copenhagen, first as road/bridge inspector and from 1845 as water inspector. In 1857, he was  
34 promoted to become the first chief engineer in Copenhagen, a position he held until retirement in  
35 1883. A photo of August Colding is seen in Fig. 1.

36

## 37 2. The first law of thermodynamics

38 During Colding's studies and his work as Ørsted's protégé, he became strongly interested in the  
39 nature of forces (motive force, heat, electricity and chemical forces), and their possible  
40 disappearance. In 1843, he submitted a treatise concerning forces to the Royal Danish Academy of

41 Sciences and Letters, but this was not printed before 1856 (Colding 1843/1856). He knew  
42 d’Alembert’s principle for the equilibrium of lost forces. However, Colding’s belief was that when  
43 and wherever a force seems to vanish in performing certain mechanical, chemical, or other work,  
44 the force then merely would undergo a transformation and reappear in a new form, but of the  
45 original amount (Caneva, 1997). Thus, Colding claimed the imperishability of forces. The term  
46 “force” has here been used in the same way as Colding did. In parallel, he also used the term  
47 “activity” of forces. In the first half of the 1800s, the term “energy” was not yet introduced as the  
48 work of a force.

49 To prove his statement, he performed a series of experiments, where a sled loaded with different  
50 cannonballs was dragged on rails of different metals. By measuring the heat expansion of the rails,  
51 he concluded that when we employ a motive force to overcome the resistance, which a body  
52 experiences in sliding over other bodies of quite different nature, the heat evolved from the friction  
53 is strictly proportional to the work expended (Dahl, 1972). Later experiments using an improved  
54 experimental setup, see Fig. 2, enabled him to estimate the mechanical equivalent of heat (Colding,  
55 1851a). Unfortunately, Ørsted found it difficult to follow Colding’s idea of imperishability of forces,  
56 which significantly delayed the publication of the treatise. Despite this delay, Colding claimed  
57 priority to the discovery, as did Mayer and Joule (Mayer, 1842; Joule, 1843; Kragh, 2009). The  
58 general perception of today is that all three should be considered equal.

59 In 1851, Colding demonstrated the generality of his theorem by also taking fluids and gasses into  
60 account (Colding, 1851b), and he showed that the theorem could be used to improve the efficiency  
61 of steam engines (Colding 1851c; 1853). He expanded the ideas further by a detailed investigation of  
62 the forces involved in magnetisation of soft iron (Colding, 1851d). Much later the essence of his  
63 work on the first law of thermodynamics was translated into English and French (Colding, 1864a;  
64 1864b; 1871a).

65

### 66 **3. Responsible engineer for water supply, gas lightening and sewerage in Copenhagen**

67 At that time, when Colding was employed by the city of Copenhagen, the water supply was  
68 insufficient and unhygienic. It was based partly on polluted wells in the city and partly on water from  
69 small surrounding lakes that was led into the city through leaky wooden pipes. Moreover, there was  
70 no sewerage, and the smell was terrible. In 1849, the city decided to remedy the situation and  
71 launched international competitions on, respectively, water supply, gas lightening and sewerage  
72 projects. Colding won the water supply competition with an innovative project suggesting that the  
73 surface water from a lake west of Copenhagen should be supplemented with groundwater from  
74 surrounding artesian wells. Sand filtering was introduced, and a water works powered by steam  
75 engines built along with a clean water consumption-equalizing reservoir close to the city.

76 Before the three projects were finally decided, a cholera epidemic hit Copenhagen in 1853. Almost  
77 5000 people died. Together with a younger colleague, Julius Thomsen (later a famous chemist),  
78 Colding immediately investigated the causes for the spread of the disease, and they found that the  
79 spread was strongly correlated to the soil water quality (pollution) and the population density in  
80 different city sections. The path-breaking work was published already the same year (Colding &  
81 Thomsen, 1853). A year later, John Snow in London gave the final proof of cholera being water  
82 borne.

83 Colding was appointed managing engineer for all the above three projects. While the water supply  
84 and the gas lightening projects were smoothly approved and initiated, the government heavily

85 delayed the sewerage project despite the tragic cholera epidemic by requiring extensive  
86 modifications. Colding had to revise the winning far-sighted project that was based on separation of  
87 rainwater and sewage water, a project that was 100 years ahead of its time. Instead, a combined  
88 sewer was decided without allowance for water closets. This was, however, still a significant  
89 improvement. The new water supply and the gas lightning projects were inaugurated in 1859, while  
90 the sewerage project was accomplished during the 1860s.

91

#### 92 **4. The laws for water flow in filled and partly filled conduits**

93 At the time when Colding should design the sewerage in Copenhagen, there was no established  
94 practise for dimensioning of conduits, form of the conduits (prismatic, circular or oval-shaped), and  
95 their material. In particular, the capacity of a given pipe (the flow rate) was under discussion. A  
96 sewerage commission in London had performed some full-scale experiments, where they found that  
97 Eytelwein's formula was not applicable (a pre-runner of the formula today known as the Darcy-  
98 Weisbach equation for steady, uniform flow in pipes and canals). Colding was not convinced and  
99 performed a thorough theoretical analysis coming to the opposite conclusion, i.e. that Eytelwein's  
100 formula (Eytelwein, 1842) in fact was valid and that the seemingly divergence was because the pipe  
101 system had to be filled up before the formula was applicable.

102 In Colding (1875b) Eytelwein's formula is presented as

$$103 \quad \gamma H s = \frac{\alpha}{2} \rho c L v^2$$

104 where  $\gamma$  is the specific weight,  $H$  is the head loss,  $s$  is the cross sectional area of the pipe,  $\alpha$  is a  
105 friction factor,  $\rho$  is the density,  $c$  is the wetted perimeter,  $L$  is the length of the pipe and  $v$  is the cross  
106 sectional average velocity. Assuming that the pipe is circular and filled, we get  $s = \pi D^2/4 = \pi D R$ ,  
107 where the hydraulic radius  $R = D/4$  is introduced, and by setting  $H/L = S_f$  (the friction slope) we find  
108 by solving for  $v$

$$109 \quad v = \sqrt{\frac{2g}{\alpha} R S_f}$$

110 which is the Darcy-Weisbach equation, except that  $\alpha = f/4$ , where  $f$  is the more commonly used  
111 friction factor.

112 To obtain a further solid foundation for the project it was decided that Colding should perform large-  
113 scale experiments in Copenhagen with salt-glazed pipes. Two series of circular pipe experiments  
114 were carried out with dimensions of, respectively, 4 inches and 12 inches, see Fig. 3. The length of  
115 the pipes was 297 feet (almost 100 m). The experiments were carried out both with filled and partly  
116 filled pipes. The hydraulic head could be monitored at 12 stations along the pipe, and it was made  
117 possible to add water to a partly filled pipe at intakes along the conduits. Colding found that the  
118 added water only had a local effect, implying the Eytelwein formula to be applicable in general. The  
119 experimental measurements were supplemented by thorough, theoretical considerations including  
120 calculation of the friction factor (Colding, 1857).

121

#### 122 **5. Evaporation, percolation and water balance**

123 To evaluate the available amount of water for the new water supply to Copenhagen, Colding  
124 initiated precipitation measurement near four lakes around Copenhagen during a period of 12 years

125 (1848-1859). He measured outflow from the lakes and invented a system for reliable measurements  
126 of the evaporation from a lake (Colding, 1860). A sheet metal box was placed on a float in the lake,  
127 partly submersed such that the surface of the water in the box was approximately equal to the  
128 surface of the lake. In that way, the error due to different temperature in the lake and the box was  
129 minimised. Moreover, the box was shielded to avoid errors due to wave splash. To assess  
130 evaporation from surroundings of the lake, he supplemented the experiments by monitoring  
131 evaporation from wetted short and long grass, in which case he used weighting of the box, as the  
132 water level in the box was difficult to determine. By measurements of the precipitation on a lake and  
133 the amount of evaporation, and by monitoring the lake outflow, he was able to obtain rather precise  
134 estimates of the lake inflow. Moreover, in addition to monitoring of precipitation and evaporation,  
135 Colding established two sets of tile drain experiments, one in sandy soil and one in clayey soil. By  
136 measuring the drain water flow, he could assess the infiltration and its dependence on soil type,  
137 precipitation and seasonality and establish local water balances, separating the precipitation into  
138 surface runoff, evapotranspiration and percolation, assuming that that the amount of drain water  
139 under natural conditions would percolate to the aquifer. Colding maintained a lifelong interest in  
140 evaporation, and it can be seen in his personal papers that he was working on a formula for  
141 evaporation from a land surface.

142

## 143 **6. The free surface forms in conduits with constant flow**

144 During the experiments with flow in conduits, Colding became interested in investigating the  
145 possible forms of the water table in steady, non-uniform flow in prismatic and cylindrical channels.  
146 The starting point again was Eytelwein's formula for steady, uniform channel flow. He transformed  
147 the coordinates to be parallel and perpendicular to the direction of the conduit and initiated a  
148 complete mathematical-physical analysis. Depending of the slope of the conduit and the inflow and  
149 outflow conditions, he could calculate the surface forms. For rectangular conduits, he identified and  
150 described mathematically six different forms. In addition, the surface form due to damming of water  
151 was considered.

152 Cylindrical conduits were analysed to the same degree of completeness. This resulted in  
153 identification of 14 different water surface forms. This included also minor differences in the forms.  
154 Today, only principally different forms are treated in textbooks. Two examples of the surface forms  
155 in a circular conduit, a concave and a convex, are shown in Fig 4. It is likely that Colding was the first  
156 to present such a complete theory. The treatise (Colding, 1867), however, was written in Danish and  
157 never cited in international literature.

158

## 159 **7. Outflow of heat from pipes carrying hot water**

160 The reason for Colding to engage in this problem was his disagreement with Dulong and Petit who,  
161 based on a series of experiments, in 1818 had published a treatise casting doubt on Newton's theory  
162 for heat transport. Colding's starting point was the heat equation by Poisson, which he, by  
163 considering heat loss from a pipe with flowing water, integrated and found in complete agreement  
164 with Newton's theory. He also carried out several series of experiments measuring the changing  
165 temperatures throughout a pipe with flowing water. The experiment were outdoor and large-scale  
166 (pipe diameter 2.5 cm and pipe length 63.5 m), see Fig. 5, and performed in wintertime. Having  
167 found complete agreement with his theoretical calculations, he continued with heat emission from  
168 the pipe after cessation of the flow. In this case, the agreement with Newton was not immediately

169 obtained, as the results rather pointed to the correctness of Dulong and Petit. However, by taking  
170 into account the difference in heat transport between flowing and stagnant water in the pipe he  
171 could, using advanced mathematics, explain the apparent deviation (Colding, 1868).

172

## 173 **8. On the laws of currents in ordinary conduits and in the sea**

174 So far, Colding had successfully used Eytelwein's formula for the mean flow in prismatic and  
175 cylindrical conduits with constant slope. He was, however, also interested in the velocity distribution  
176 in a cross-section of the conduit. To that end, he used comprehensive measurements carried out by,  
177 respectively, Boileau (1854), Darcy (1858) and Bazin (1865) to develop a complete theory based on  
178 action and reaction throughout the cross section originating from the wall friction. Boileau had  
179 found that the maximum velocity in an open prismatic conduit might occur slightly below the  
180 surface, which was in accordance with some experiments. Colding showed that this was theoretically  
181 impossible without disturbances of the flow and found that even minor wind effects could be the  
182 reason. Using advanced mathematics, Colding calculated the cross sectional velocity distributions,  
183 which were convincingly verified by the French experiments (Colding, 1870). A couple of examples  
184 are shown in Fig. 6. The developed theory for steady, uniform flow was finally shown also to be valid  
185 for steady, non-uniform flow.

186 In order to extend the theory to apply for currents in the sea with no walls to confine the current, he  
187 collected all available information about the Gulf Stream (i.a., U.S. Coast Survey, 1851; 1855; 1860;  
188 Irminger, 1853; 1861; Maury, 1855; Forchhammer, 1859; Kohl, 1868). He did not agree with Maury  
189 that the Gulf Stream was caused by a larger salinity in the Caribbean Sea than at higher northern  
190 latitudes. Colding showed that the primary cause for the onset of the stream is the high water level  
191 in the Caribbean due to the effect of the trade winds. He put forward a complete  
192 physical/mathematical theory for the progress of the stream, including the total onset volume and  
193 the volumes of the different branches the stream splits into when approaching the European  
194 continent (Colding, 1870). He argued that the progress of the stream is dominated by the effect of  
195 the earth's rotation, but also affected of many other elements like the return of the polar stream,  
196 the net evaporation from the sea, and changing temperatures. Colding discussed in detail all these  
197 factors. An overview of the Gulf Stream from Colding's treatise is shown in Fig. 7. A strongly  
198 abbreviated version of the treatise was later published in *Nature* (Colding, 1871b).

199

## 200 **9. On the flow of air in the atmosphere**

201 Colding had a strong interest in meteorological phenomena and applied the knowledge obtained  
202 from the free currents in the sea to describe flow of air in the atmosphere. First, he showed that the  
203 mathematical description of a rotating water whirl could be used to describe the movement of air in  
204 a cyclone, see Fig. 9. The result was verified using observations of wind speed and air pressure  
205 during the Antigua cyclone of 2 August 1837 (Colding, 1871c). He then described the primary global  
206 weather phenomena using the experience from the analysis of the Gulf Stream. Unfortunately,  
207 Colding did not entirely correctly include the influence of the rotation of the earth, the Coriolis' force  
208 (Coriolis 1835) (not until the 20<sup>th</sup> century did the Coriolis force begin to be applied, first by  
209 meteorologists). This was particularly critical for the large-scale wind systems, but not for the  
210 cyclone theory. When he later realised the mistake, he initiated a revision of the free flow theory,  
211 but died before it was completed.

212 Colding used the cyclone theory once more to assess the wind speeds around St. Thomas during the  
213 cyclone that passed the island on 21 August 1871. Air pressure observations from surrounding ships  
214 were included, which made Colding able to obtain a detailed description of the track of the cyclone  
215 and the wind speeds during the passage. The island was not damaged as much as during the 1837  
216 cyclone, which corresponded well to Colding's assessment of the wind speeds and the storm track  
217 (Colding, 1871d). The airflow theory was later published in German (Colding, 1875a).

218

## 219 **10. On the laws for movement of water in soil**

220 After establishment of a number of artesian groundwater wells with the first one drilled in 1851,  
221 Colding closely followed the yield of the wells during the following years. He observed that the yield  
222 varied seasonally with maximum in wintertime and between wet and dry years. By analysing the  
223 yield as function of the piezometric head, he found the general law for movement of water in soil,  
224 i.e. the proportionality between the head gradient and the velocity known as the Darcy equation.

225 To verify this finding, he established a series of experiments using a measurement box of length 350  
226 cm, depth 42 cm and width 58 cm. The inner cross section was 2165 cm<sup>2</sup>. To distribute the inflow,  
227 the box was divided into a small inlet section of length 30 cm, leaving the length of the experimental  
228 section to 320 cm. In both ends of this section, there was a layer of pebbles to ensure uniform inflow  
229 and outflow implying that the length of soil to be investigated was 260 cm. By varying the soil type  
230 and the slope of the experimental box, Colding was able to verify the proportionality between the  
231 head gradient and the velocity and its dependence on soil type. Colding knew and used the pipe  
232 experiments by Darcy, but was unaware of his groundwater work (Darcy, 1856). Thus, he  
233 independently came to the same conclusion a few years later (Colding, 1972).

234 For a confined aquifer draining to open water he found approximately a parabolic piezometric  
235 surface, see Fig. 9. After some calculations he arrives with an equation "... der, som man seer, er  
236 Ligningen for en Parabel, hvis Axe er vertikal og hvis Toppunkt ligger paa det Sted i Terrainet, hvor  
237 Hastigheden  $v = 0$ , og hvor altsaa Vandskjellet for de underjordiske Strømme findes, hvorfra Vandet  
238 bevæger sig til begge Sider; ... " (...which, as can be seen, is the equation for a parabola with vertical  
239 axis located where the velocity  $v = 0$ , and where the water divide for the subterranean streams can  
240 be found, and from where the water moves in both directions; ...).

241 The drain experiments Colding used to assess percolation was subject to a more profound analytical  
242 analysis, where he could show that the water table between the pipes was elliptic, see Fig. 10. "Af  
243 formel (14) fremgaar, at Grundvandsspeilet har Form som af en Ellipse, hvis ene Axe ( $\lambda$ ) er  
244 horizontal, beliggende i Strømmens Retning, og hvis anden Axe ( $U$ ) staar lodret på den første."  
245 (Formula (14) shows that the groundwater table has form of an ellipse, whose first axis ( $\lambda$ ) is  
246 horizontal, located in the direction for the stream, and second axis perpendicular to the first.) The  
247 theoretical findings for drainage through drainpipes were accompanied by general  
248 recommendations for establishment of drainpipe systems in agricultural fields. As noticed by  
249 Brutsaert (2005), Colding was the first to determine the elliptic water table between parallel  
250 drainpipes, see Fig. 10. However, Brutsaert did not provide a reference to Colding's work. Linking  
251 Colding's name to the elliptic water table ("Colding's drain model"?) might allow him a deserved  
252 recognition in hydrological science.

253

## 254 **11. On the wind-induced currents in the sea**

255 The background for the last ground-breaking work of Colding was a partial flooding of the southern  
256 Danish islands Lolland and Falster during a severe storm 12-14 November 1872, where 80 people  
257 died and about 500 ships stranded. Colding wanted to describe the cause of the flooding and  
258 hypothesized that the wind forces' impact on the sea could fully explain the incident, as the tidal  
259 influence in the Baltic Sea is minimal. As a first necessary step, he developed a complete theory for  
260 wind set-up in a wide channel including expressions for the set-up depending on the wind speed  
261 relative to the original flow velocity (Colding, 1876).

262 Immediately after the storm, he had initiated a wide data collection, both nationally and  
263 internationally, to get information on water levels, air pressure, and wind speed and direction. On  
264 this basis, he developed synoptic weather maps including water levels for each six hours during the  
265 storm. An example is shown in Fig. 11. For a number of sections in the Baltic Sea he subsequently  
266 calculated the wind set-up according to his previous developed theory. This resulted in a remarkable  
267 match proving that in fact it was the wind that caused the flooding. Using the synoptic maps, he was  
268 able to explain the storm development in detail. Finally, he added calculations of the water flow  
269 through the Danish straits during the storm (Colding, 1881). Subsequent design of dikes to prevent  
270 future flooding was based on Colding's theory.

271

## 272 **12. Final remarks**

273 Every second year between 1865 and 1883 Colding taught a course at the Polytechnic School on the  
274 basic laws for discharge of sewage, water and gas supply, and heating and ventilation. His  
275 handwritten lecture notes (Colding, 1875b) are still kept, see Fig. 12. In 1869, he was appointed as  
276 Professor at the school. Two years earlier he was made a knight of the Order of Dannebrog, and in  
277 1871 he received an honorary doctoral degree at the University of Edinburgh simultaneously with  
278 Joule. Since 1856, he had been a member of the Royal Danish Society of Sciences and Letters, and in  
279 1875, he also joined the Royal Swedish Academy of Science. It is evident that Colding nationally  
280 became highly valued in his lifetime both for his scientific achievements and for his endeavours for  
281 the city of Copenhagen. However, even though he was a scientific frontrunner in many respects, he  
282 seems nowadays almost forgotten. Maybe the above overview of his extremely diversified and  
283 original research can lead to a renewed interest and appreciation?

284

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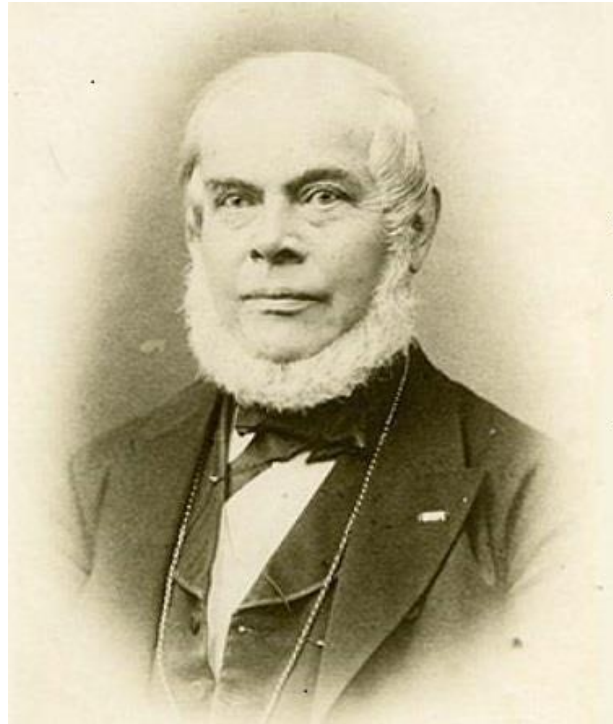


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- 373 Note: "Videnskabernes Selskab" refers to "The Royal Danish Society of Sciences and Letters"  
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376 **Figures**

377



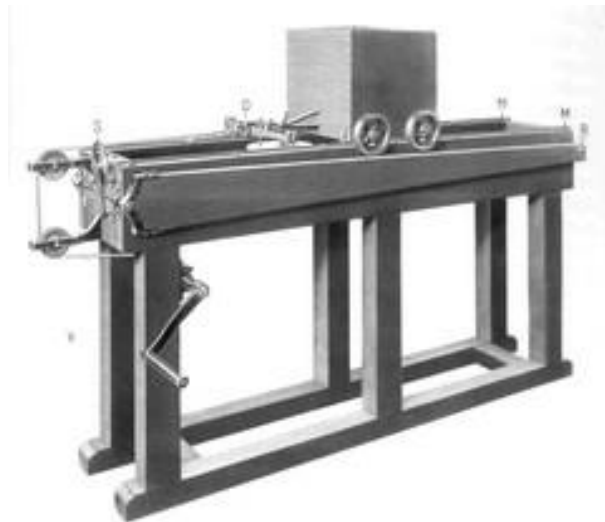
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Fig. 1. August Colding (Wikipedia).

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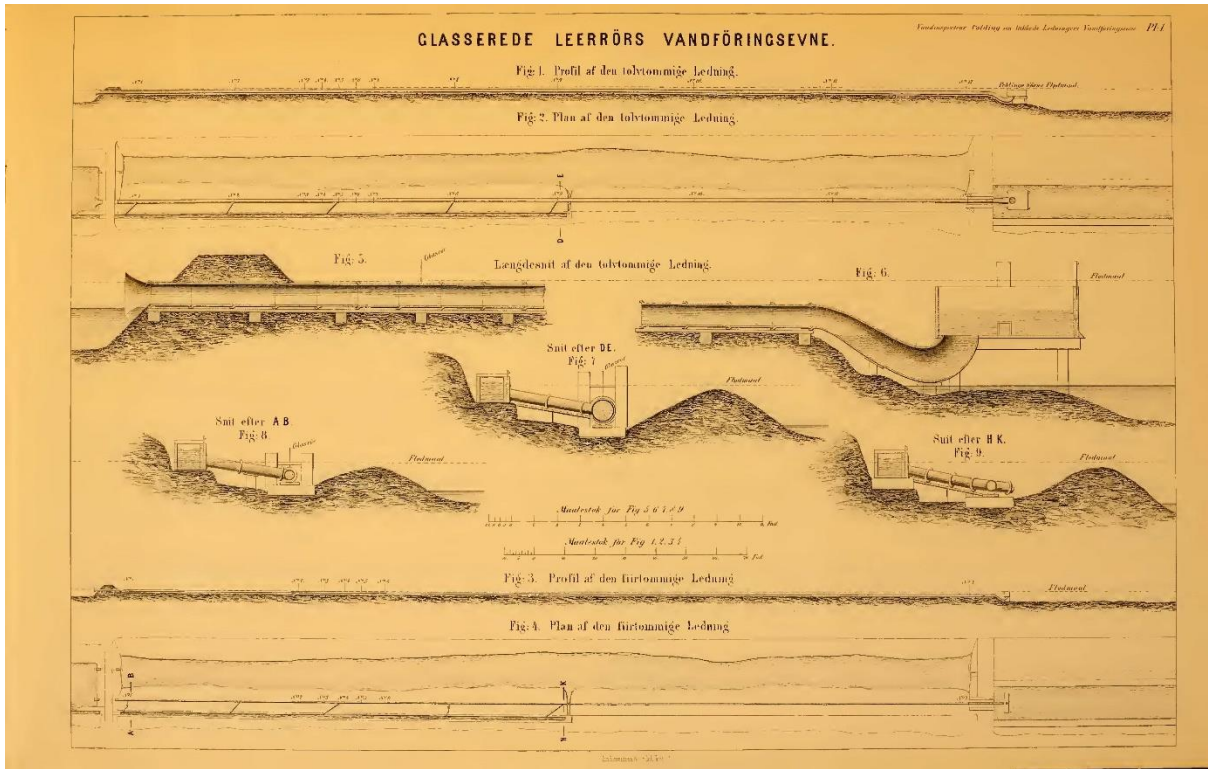
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Fig. 2. The experimental set-up for the first law of thermodynamics; measurements of heat expansion of rails of different metals caused by dragging a sled loaded with cannonballs along the rails (Danish Museum of Science and Technology).

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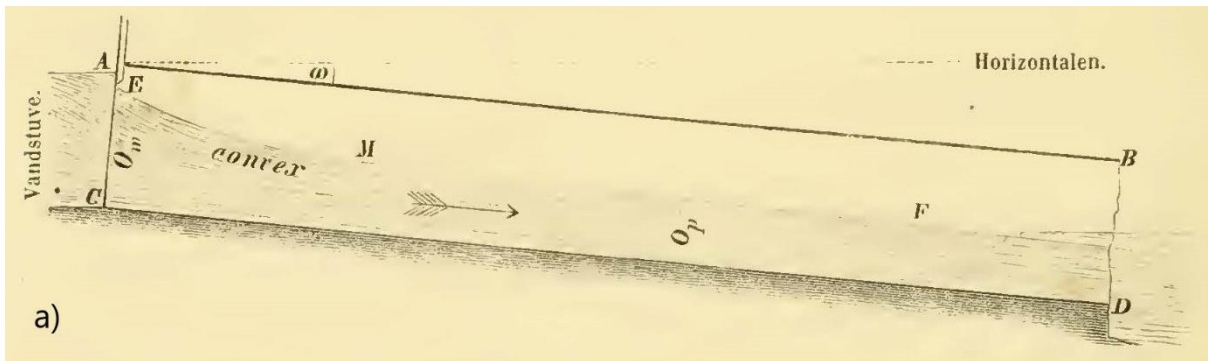
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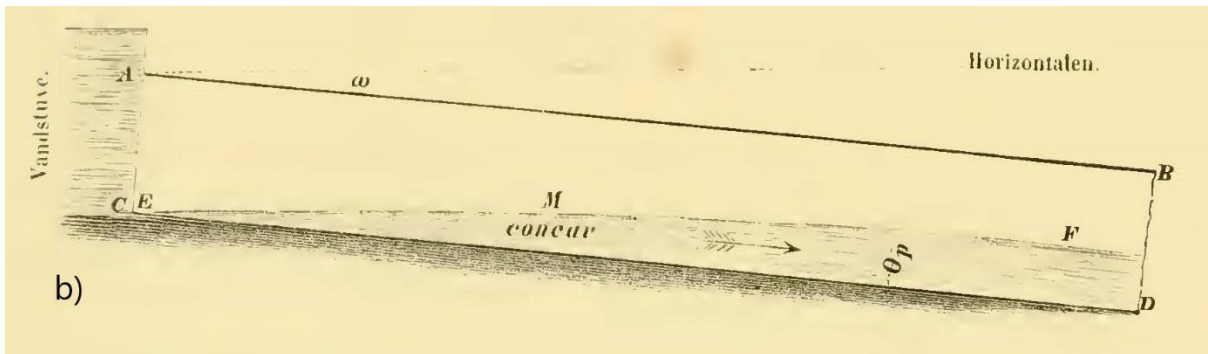
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389 Fig. 3. Large-scale experiments (100 m length) with filled and partly filled conduits (respectively 4 and  
390 12 inches in diameter) including inlets along the pipe (Colding, 1857).

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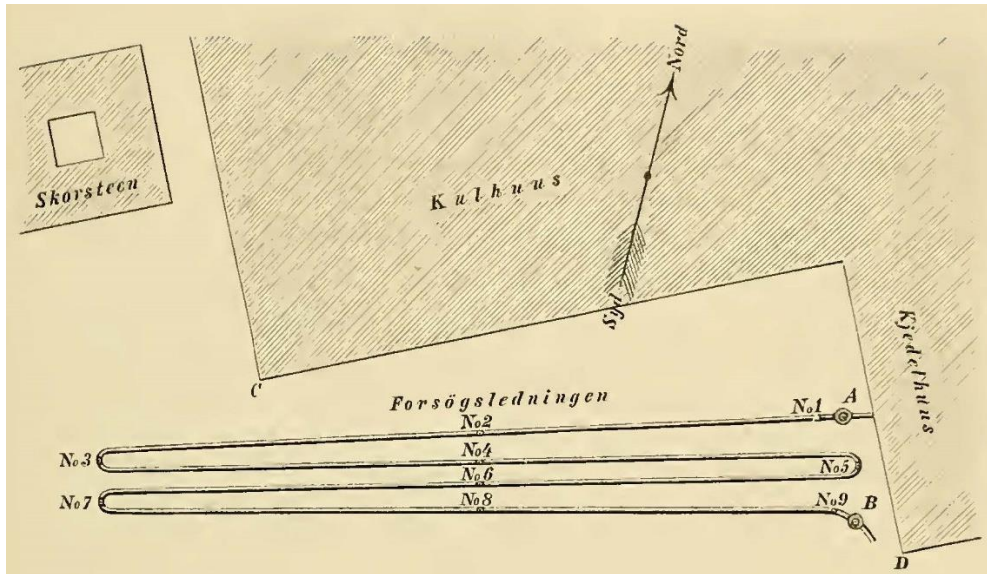


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394 Fig. 4. Examples of surface forms in steady, non-uniform flow in circular conduits (theoretical  
395 results); a) convex surface; b) concave surface (Colding, 1867).

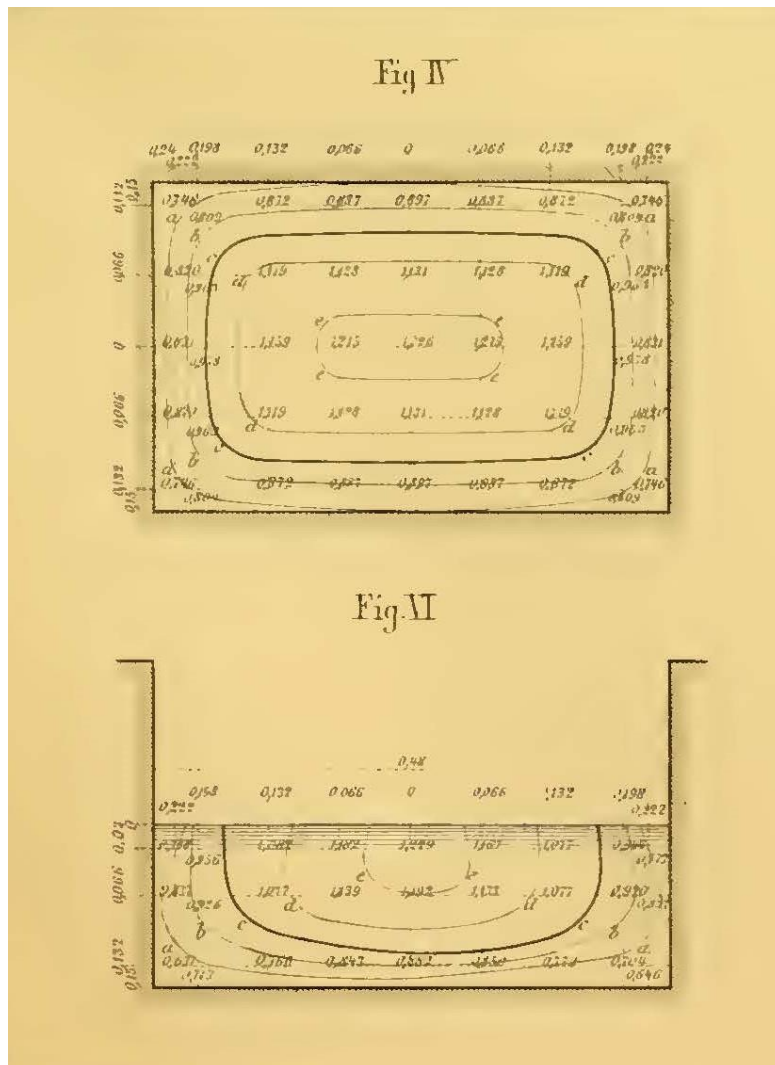


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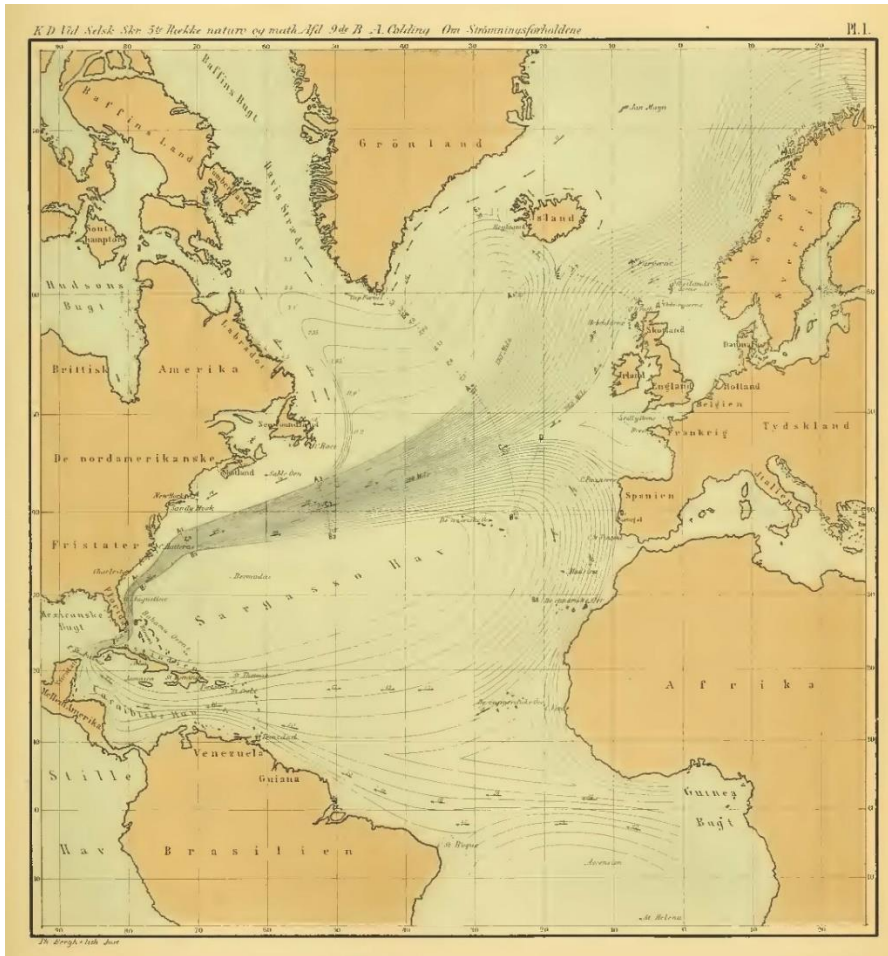
Fig. 5. The large-scale experimental set-up (pipe diameter 1 inch; pipe length 64.5 m) for measuring the heat loss from a pipe carrying hot water (Colding, 1868).



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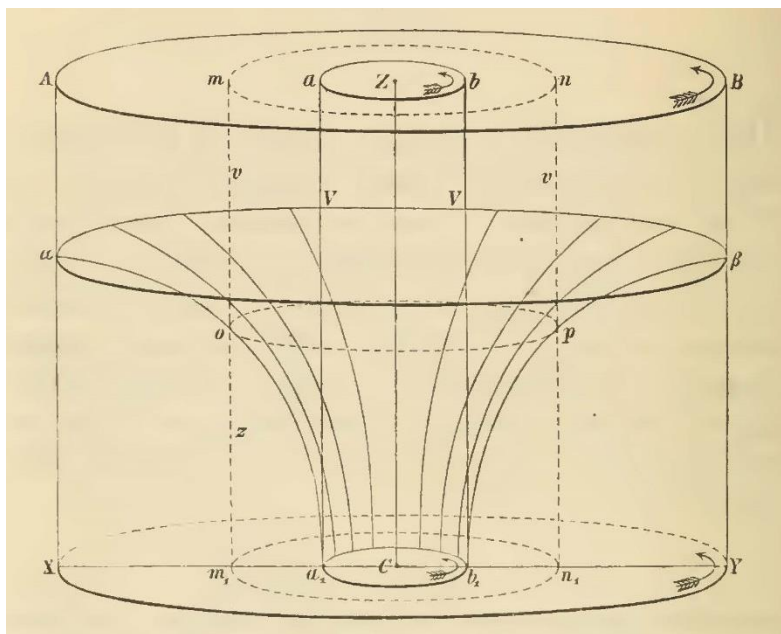
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Fig. 6. The cross-sectional velocity distribution in closed and open conduits (Colding, 1870).



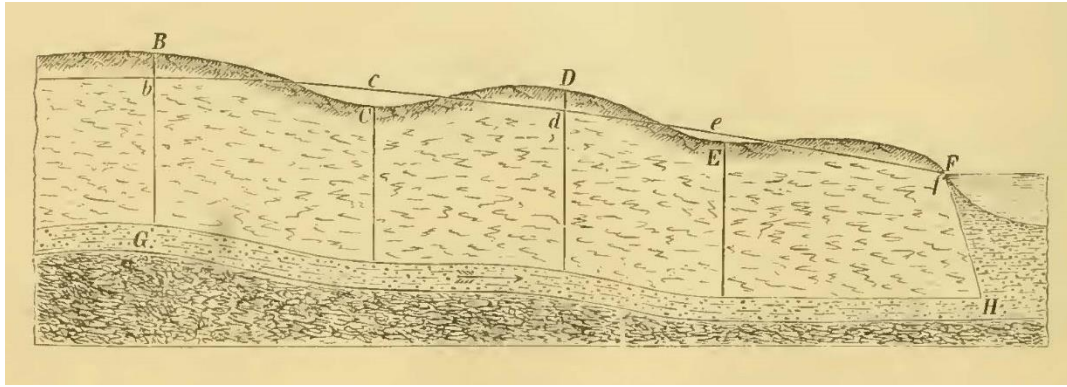
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Fig. 7. The Gulf Stream (Colding, 1870).



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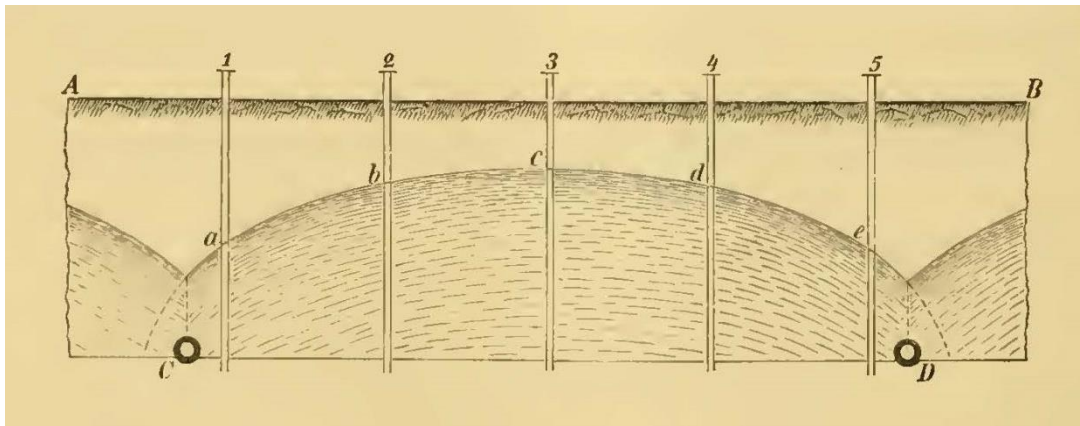
Fig. 8. The water whirl used as an analogue to a cyclone (Colding, 1871c).



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408 Fig. 9. Approximate parabolic piezometric surface for a confined aquifer draining to open water. The  
 409 soil surface is marked B-C-D-E-F; the piezometric surface b-c-d-e-f and the confined aquifer G-H  
 410 (Colding, 1872).

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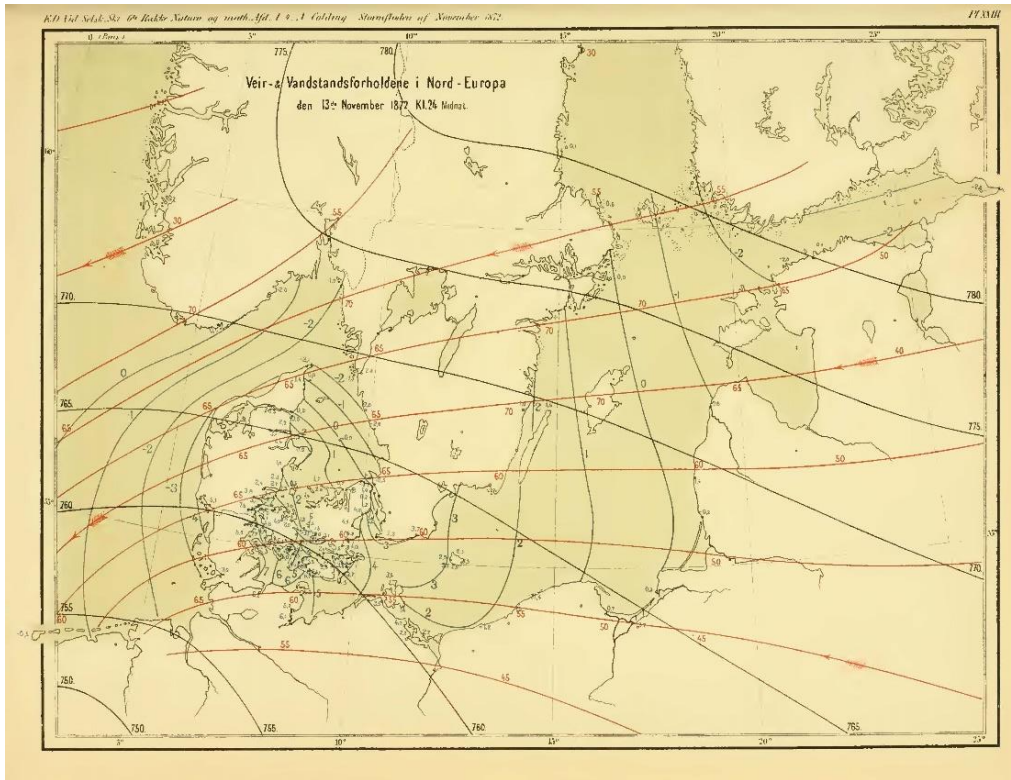


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413 Fig. 10. Elliptic water table (a-b-c-d-e) between drainpipes (Colding, 1872).

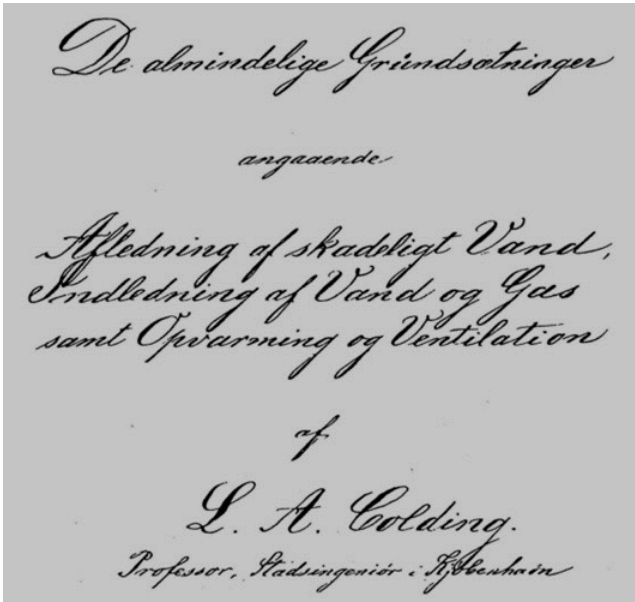
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Fig. 11. One of several synoptic weather maps from the 1872 storm in the Baltic Sea (Colding, 1881).



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Fig. 12. Front page of Colding's handwritten 310 pages long lecture notes (Colding, 1875b).