

# The Copenhagen cholera epidemics 1853 in contemporary Danish newspaper prose: Some back-of-an-envelope calculations made during April 2020

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## Introduction

Inspired by the fact that we are all hiding away from the Covid-19 I wanted to take a closer look at some other epidemic. My hope was to find patterns of change in language use mirroring sentiments and attitudes expressed in words, bigrams and trigrams and frequency distributions. My first impulse was to analyze the Spanish flu 1918, but since we have as yet little data in our public corpora from that period I turned my attention to the Cholera epidemic in Copenhagen 1853. At the time, Copenhagen had around 130.000<sup>1</sup> inhabitants out of which 7.219 were diagnosed as having the disease out of which 4.737 (56,7%) died. Christian Molbech writes in a letter to Christian Knud Frederik Molbech, the July 3, 1853:

The first cholera case was found as early as the 12th June (i.e., the day before the opening of the parliament in June) — a young man from the area close to the naval barracks, who for quite some time had worked on a dredge. He has recovered, and was released from hospital the 25th. The authorities were able to conceal the earliest few cases for a fortnight.<sup>2</sup>

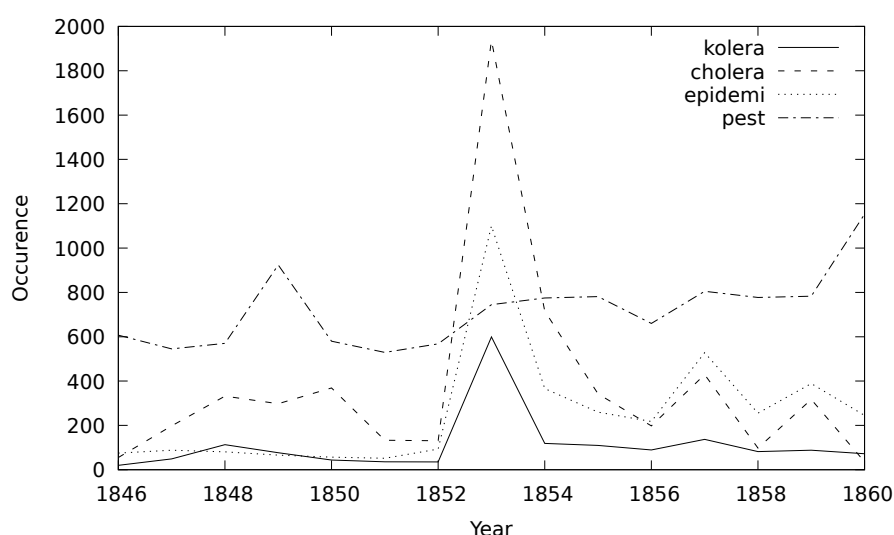


Figure 1. Number of newspaper pages mentioning any of the words *kolera*, *cholera*, *epidemi* or *pest*.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www2.kb.dk/udstillinger/medhist/kolera/koebenhavn1853.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Translated by the author. <https://bit.ly/3cOzIAg>

The epidemic spread from Copenhagen to other areas. Outside the capital 1.951 fatal cases were reported.<sup>3</sup>

The spread of an infectious disease does not occur in a vacuum; the Copenhagen epidemic is a part of the cholera pandemic (1846-1860)<sup>4</sup> which is the third out of seven global outbreaks.<sup>5</sup>

Here I present some data analyses: (1) The number of newspaper articles mentioning *epidemi*, *pest*, *kolera* and *cholera* through the period 1846 to 1860 (Figure 1). (2) I repeated that analysis with the frequencies of words rather than articles in weekly aggregations of texts. (3) Finally I visualize a set of bigrams extracted from the corpus.

## The data

The data was retrieved from Royal Danish Library's LOAR Repository.<sup>6</sup> It comes in csv format, aggregated to yearly chunks. Each line is basically corresponding to one page of text in the newspaper.

## Some low-hanging fruits

Using the Unix `grep` command makes it easy to count the number of pages containing a given word. So the graph in Figure 1, is simple plot of what is extracted using the shell script in Figure 2.

```
#!/bin/sh
echo "#year kolera cholera epidemi pest farsot"
for file in artikler*
do
    year=$(echo $file | tr -d '[:alpha:][:punct:]')
    kolera=$(grep -i kolera $file | wc -l)
    cholera=$(grep -i cholera $file | wc -l)
    epidemi=$(grep -i epidemi $file | wc -l)
    pest=$(grep -i pest $file | wc -l)
    farsot=$(grep -i farsot $file | wc -l)
    echo "$year $kolera $cholera $epidemi $pest $farsot"
done
```

Figure 2. Script for extracting the data for plotting Figure 1

Three things spring to my mind: (1) The obvious one. People wrote about this cholera outbreak in Copenhagen 1853. They wrote a lot. (2) The effect on the public discourse of the epidemic lasted for years and it did not return to pre-epidemic levels that decade. You see this on the shape of the curves; the incidence of words related to the epidemic rise rapidly from very low levels and then fade out slowly. The fact that the article count in Figure 1 never really decreases to counts before the cholera outbreak. Almost certainly the people felt like we do in relation to the Covid-19 epidemic: Will it ever be the same again? (3) People hadn't settled on how to spell the name of the disease yet, cholera and kolera. (4) The word *pest* seems

<sup>3</sup> [https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koleraepidemien\\_i\\_K%C3%B8benhavn\\_1853](https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koleraepidemien_i_K%C3%B8benhavn_1853)

<sup>4</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1846%E2%80%931860\\_cholera\\_pandemic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1846%E2%80%931860_cholera_pandemic)

<sup>5</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cholera\\_outbreaks\\_and\\_pandemics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cholera_outbreaks_and_pandemics)

<sup>6</sup> Newspapers from Royal Danish Library <https://loar.kb.dk/handle/1902/157>

to be widely used in Danish at the time, possibly as something annoying but also as epidemic disease in general.

I also made another analysis, where I aggregated text by week, and used text tokenized by word, see Figure 3. The week numbering starts with 1 at 1846-01-01 and ends at 1860-12-31 with week 781. The huge peak in the graph starts at 1853-06-24 at week 389. It reaches its highest point at the end of July, 1853-07-29, week 395. From what I can tell it continues until the beginning of October, but the mentions of *cholera* in the corpus is higher than the pre-outbreak into March the following year, week 425. There is a discrepancy between the two analyses, in that the article level analyses (Figure 1) implies a longer effect of the outbreak on the discourse than the per word one (Figure 3.)

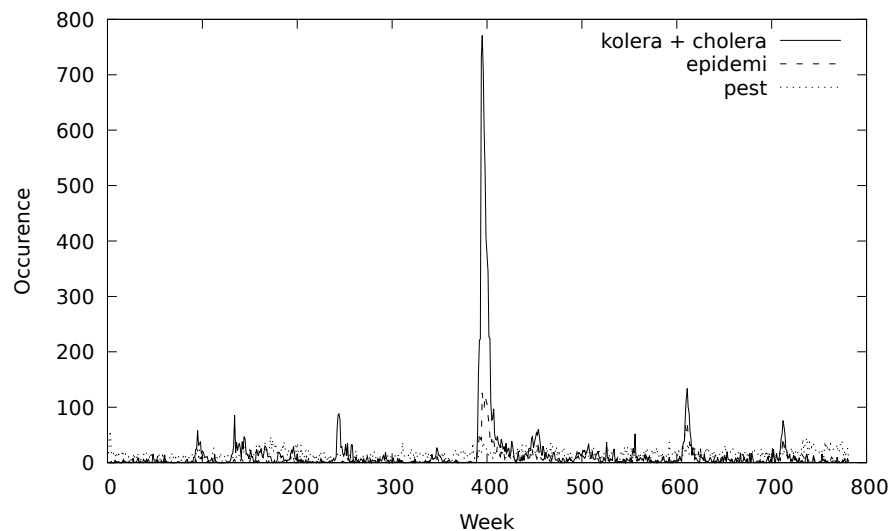


Figure 3. Here I use tokenized text, i.e., there is only one word per line, and I also aggregated the texts by week.

## Bigrams and trigrams

N-grams generation is not an end in itself. They are a starting point for many kinds of statistical and machine learning methods and applications in natural language processing.<sup>7</sup> You extract n-grams by "sliding" through your tokenized text word by word, and sample n words. Bigrams and trigrams are special cases where you sample two or three words. I am a great fan of simplicity and elegance and hence I love Kenneth Ward Church's tool box which he described in his wonderful classic *Unix for Poets*<sup>8</sup> where you are given methods to do a text analyses using simple tools that you find on all Unix/Linux machines. Here are some examples of trigrams containing the word *hovedstaden* across the weeks, i.e., the capital (in decreasing frequency):

```
cholera i hovedstaden
hovedstaden bortriver cholera
hovedstaden er cholera
hovedstaden af cholera
hovedstaden forekomne cholera
```

<sup>7</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/N-gram>

<sup>8</sup> <http://doc.cat-v.org/unix/for-poets/>

choleraepidemien i hovedstaden  
epidemien i hovedstaden  
hovedstaden udbrudte cholera

For some reason, I don't understand why, the actual name of the city Copenhagen, København (or whatever spelling) seem to occur rarely in comparison with the word hovedstaden, which is frequent, in particular 1853. Here is another sequence (containing *cholera er*) and sampled such that they begin with that phrase:

cholera er af  
cholera er afgaaet  
cholera er aften  
cholera er aldeles  
cholera er alter  
cholera er aner  
cholera er at  
cholera er atter  
cholera er begjeert  
cholera erboldes som  
cholera er borlfalden  
cholera er bortfalden  
cholera er cadetfiibs  
cholera ere altsaa  
cholera ere berovede

Figure 4-7 are of a visualizations of the frequencies of various trigrams.

1. Trigrams starting with *kolera i* or *cholera i* ("kolera in" or "cholera in" in English). The third word is often a place name, such as *cholera i hovedstaden* (i.e., "cholera in the capital"). There are other constructs like *cholera i begyndelsen* (i.e., "cholera in the beginning"). Repetitions are excluded, so the heights of the bars are more measures of diversity rather than abundance. See Figure 4.
2. Trigrams starting with *kolera er* or *cholera er* ("kolera" or "cholera" followed by "is" in English). These are constructs like *cholera er udbrudt* ("cholera is broken out"), *cholera er fra* ("cholera is from") etc. See Figure 5.
3. Trigrams starting with *kolera har* or *cholera har* ("kolera" or "cholera" followed by "has") in English). The words following *har* (i.e., "has") is similar to those following "cholera is". After all they are both conjugations of the same verb; "has" is still present tense just like "is" but the cholera has been going on for a while when using "has". For instance, we have *cholera har hersket* ("cholera has ruled") as opposed to the "cholera is broken out" as mentioned in point 2 above.
- 4.
5. of bigrams containing any of the words *epidemi*, *kolera* or *cholera*.

The bigrams are shown as bars in a set of bar diagrams, one diagram per eight weeks interval. It comprises about a year, from 1853-05-27 (my week 386) to 1854-05-06 (my week 435). When the epidemics is worst, the number of bigrams is so high that I decided to **take only the 50 most frequent ones**, or the text would not be readable. Then all the bars are of equal

length, obviously. The bars look somewhat like this, the number is the absolute frequency of the following bigram that week.

46	af	cholera
42	kolera	den
36	kolera	ten
36	a	kolera
23	kolera	hen
15	kolera	
10	kolera	drn
9	sidste	epidemi
9	kolera	i
9	kolera	d

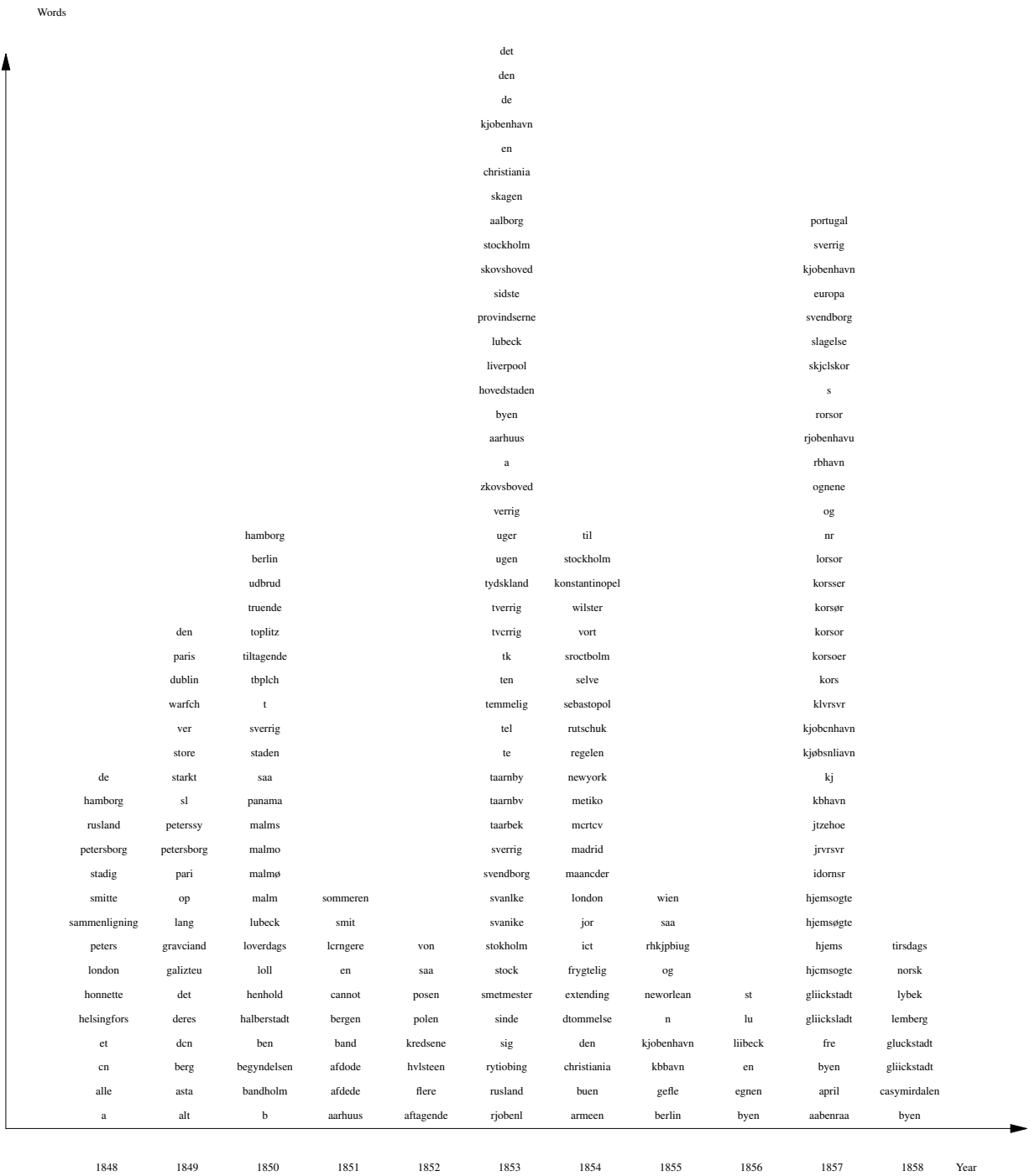


Figure 4. Trigrams per year with the text beginning with `cholera i`. The highest bar is slightly massaged. I removed repetitions and incomprehensible OCR errors in order to make it fit into the page.

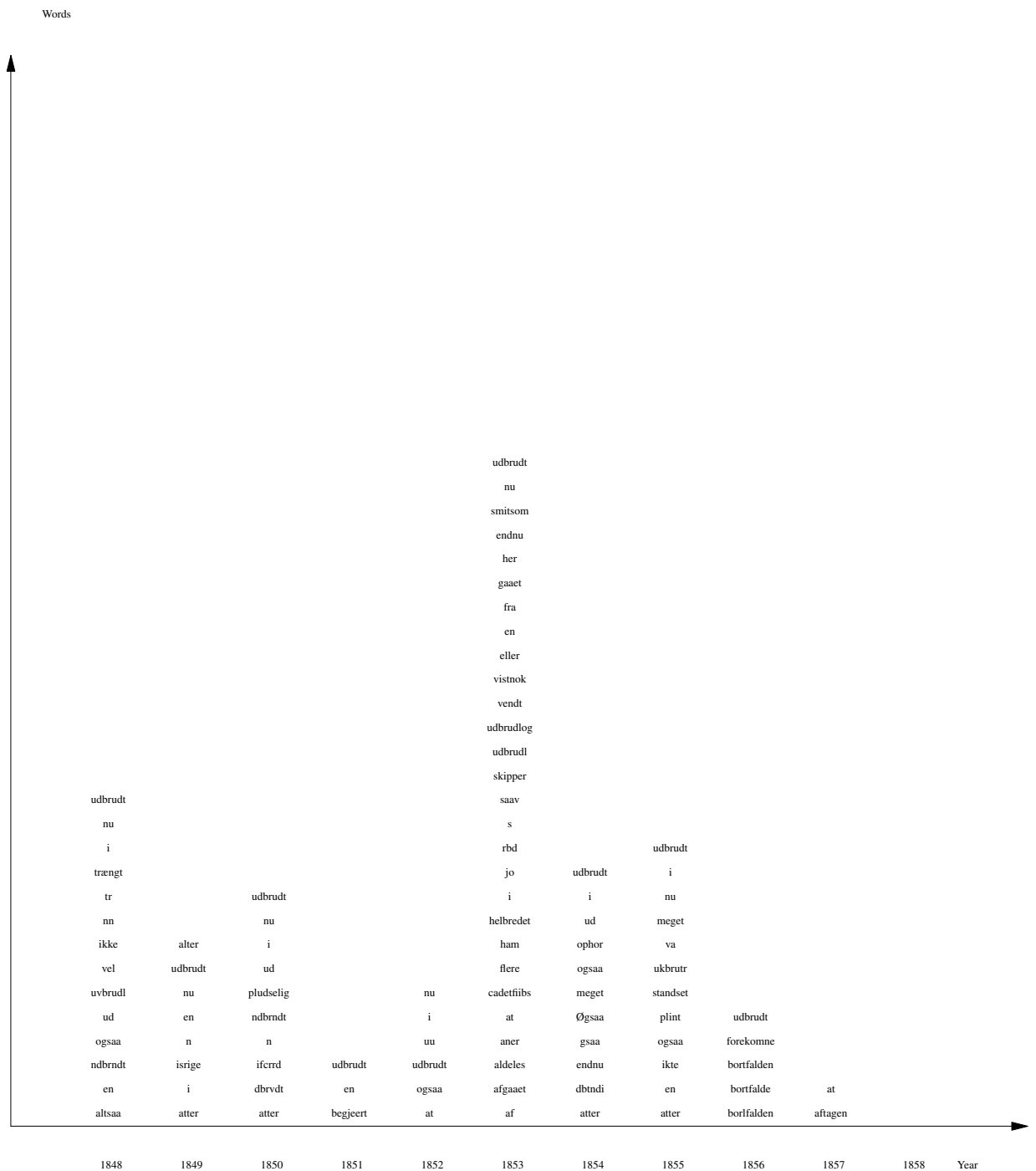


Figure 5. Trigrams per year with the text beginning with *cholera* er. The highest bar is slightly massaged. I removed repetitions and incomprehensible OCR errors in order to make it fit into the page.

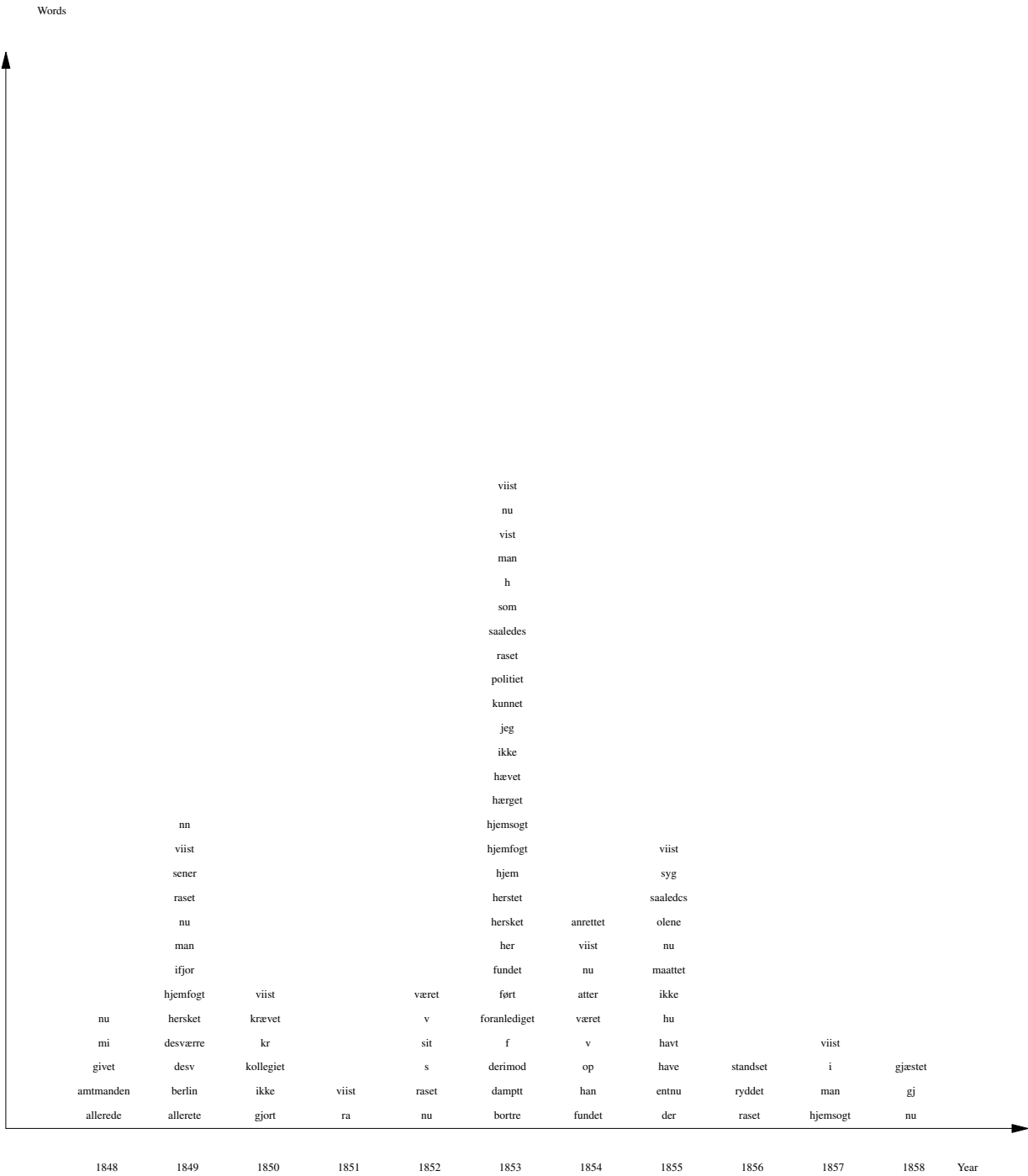


Figure 6. Trigrams per year with the text begining with cholera har.





Figure 7. Trigrams per year with the text begining with cholera havde.

### Lessons learned

- 1 My idea was that just inspection of the words in their context should give information about emotions or sentiments. I suppose that this was just due to my naivete when it

comes to languages, since I cannot really find anything of that kind.

- 2 The tools coming with a standard Linux distribution isn't as unicode compliant one would wish. Some twenty years later, the nice utility `tr` is still not really UTF-8. Neither is the GNU implementation of Brian Kernighans graphics language `pic` which I used for the bigrams.
- 3 There is another big problem connected with the use of our newspaper text corpora for computational linguistics. The poor OCR quality.