cook about 5 minutes. Add the tomato paste, sugar, and 1¼ cup of water, bring to a boil and simmer for about 10 minutes. Stir in the sauerkraut and put the Madame Jeanette pepper on the sauerkraut. Put a lid on the pan and simmer for about 20 minutes (until the potatoes are done). Remove the Madame Jeanette pepper after 5 to 10 minutes.

Remark: Surinamese chili peppers, Madame Jeanette, but also *adjuma*, are exceptionally hot (among the world's hottest peppers, similar to habanero).

Place in American Culture

Suriname, itself, and Surinamese American foodways are little known in the United States. If found, it might be perceived as Caribbean, Creole, or even related to Indonesian cuisine.

Noted Restaurants and Chefs

Currently, there seem to be no Surinamese restaurants in the United States. There was one that is now closed in New York (Queens), Warung Kario. This Indonesian-Surinamese eatery served a blend of the most popular national Surinamese dishes and is representative of the cuisine of immigrants from the Indonesian island of Java that arrived in Suriname after 1863.

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Karin Vaneker

SWAZILAND

(Southern Africa) Swazi American Food

See also: South Africa, Lesotho.

Swaziland is one of the smallest countries in Africa, measuring approximately 120 miles north to south and 81 miles east to west, with a population of a little over one million. The country is almost completely surrounded by its large southern neighbor, South Africa, and it also borders Mozambique. It is the last absolute monarchy in Africa. For its size, it has a diverse geography with a cool and mountainous highveld and a hot and dry lowveld. The largest portion of its population is ethnic Swazis whose language is siSwati.

The cuisine of Swaziland is very similar to that of other Southern African countries, including maize (corn) and millet as staples, and leafy vegetables and fruits. In the past, food was seasonal and sometimes scarce, with cattle being slaughtered and eaten only for special occasions. The introduction of supermarkets means that meat and other products are available throughout the year. The Swazi traditionally observed several food taboos, including one on a fish, along with a taboo on egg consumption for women, a dairy taboo for wives, and clan-specific food taboos on particular birds and wild animals.

Very few Swazis immigrated to the United States. Swazi Americans may find dishes and products they are familiar with at South African restaurants and shops in the United States. There are several collections of Swazi recipes available online as well. The organization Southern African Community USA includes Swazis in its membership.

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Betty J. Belanus

SWEDEN

(Northern Europe) Swedish American Foodways

See also: Denmark, Norway.

Nearly four million Americans reported Swedish ancestry in the 2000 census, 1.4 percent of the population. Swedish Americans have largely adopted mainstream American foodways, enjoying traditional dishes, primarily in holiday seasons. This culinary assimilation was hastened by the remarkably high number of single, young Swedish women who emigrated during the late nineteenth century and worked as cooks in American households.

Background

The earliest migration of Swedes to North America was in 1633, when six hundred Swedish and Finnish settlers established the colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River. New Sweden, however, left no lasting effect upon the foodways of the New World: the settlement was unsuccessful in providing its own food and was conquered by and absorbed into the Dutch New Netherland colony to its north in 1655 and subsequently into the English colonies when New Netherland was surrendered to England in 1664.

A much more significant influx of Swedish immigrants occurred in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, beginning in 1840 and extending through 1920. During this period, 1.3 million Swedes emigrated, roughly a quarter of the population of the entire country. This massive exodus from Sweden was made possible by the repeal in 1830 of a national law banning emigration. Though some Swedes left their homeland in search of religious or political freedom, the primary factor spurring emigration was a vast increase in population: between 1750 and 1850 the population of Sweden nearly doubled. This growth was due to a sustained period of peace after decades of war; improvements in health care, including the practice of vaccination against smallpox beginning in 1801; and to the introduction of the potato into Sweden during the eighteenth century, which improved nutrition for the poorer classes. The expanded population could not be supported on the available farmland, nor was there sufficient employment for the rural poor who moved to Swedish cities. Famines in Sweden during the 1860s sharply increased the flow of departures, making the period of 1870 to 1900 the peak years for immigration to the United States.

The early years of Swedish emigration saw primarily families traveling together, drawn by the possibility of acquiring cheap, fertile, and easily farmed land in the upper Midwest, much superior to the rocky land of provinces such as Småland in southeast Sweden, from which many of the immigrants originated. Later on, single, young men and women joined the stream of Swedes headed to the New World: the young men eager to find work as carpenters or in factories, and the young women seeking positions as domestic servants. Immigrants arriving without families were likely to head to a city rather than to the countryside, settling particularly in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and in Chicago, which in 1900 had 150,000 Swedes, making it the second-largest Swedish city in the world after Stockholm. In later migrations within the United States, Swedish Americans moved south to Texas for ranchhand work and west to mines in Colorado and lumbering in the Pacific Northwest; others took advantage of newly available farmland in Nebraska and Kansas. In many of the areas of Swedish settlement, Norwegians or Danes were also found, leading to intermarriage between Scandinavian groups and joking rivalries regarding the proper preparation of dishes such as *lutfisk* (see Holiday Feasts).

Newly arrived Swedes encountered relatively little resentment and hostility in the New World. As white Protestants, Swedes were already quite similar to mainstream American culture; furthermore, even the poorer Swedish immigrants

were literate, thanks to church schools preparing children for confirmation in the Swedish Lutheran Church. In contrast to German immigrants to the United States, often associated with anarchism and other radical movements in the nineteenth century, the Swedes appeared unthreatening to the dominant social order. In other words, Swedes were viewed as welcome immigrants; Swedish women were particularly valued as domestic servants, and newspaper ads seeking a domestic cook sometimes specified that the candidate be Swedish.

Foodways

In Swedish American foodways, the role of Swedish domestic cooks in America is significant. As documented in Lintelman 2009, working as a domestic servant was one of the few opportunities available for single, poor women in Sweden; widespread discontent with work conditions there inspired many to undertake the long voyage to America where domestic positions were easily obtained for higher wages, less onerous work, more time off during the week, and without being bound to contracts of one or two years' duration, as was common practice in Sweden. During the emigration period of 1880 to 1920, almost a quarter million of the Swedish passengers were single women. The young women seeking domestic positions typically worked for non-Swedish families in American towns or cities, cooking meals to their employers' preferences. These cooks could consult a bilingual cookbook marketed to Swedish servants, which contained both American and Swedish recipes: *Svensk-amerikansk kokbok samt rådgifvare för svenskt tjenstefolk/Swedish-American Book of Cookery and Adviser for Swedish Servants in America.* This volume was first published in 1882 and was reprinted several times, most recently in 2012 as a curiosity. It presented recipes for purely American dishes such as Boston brown bread and äppel paj, "apple pie," as well as for Swedish classics such as *köttbullar* (meatballs) and *pepparkakor* (ginger cookies). The book also suggested menus for everything from simple seasonal suppers to grand dinners to a Swedish *smörgåsbord.*

For most young Swedish women in America, the period of domestic service was a limited one, ceasing when they married and established their own families. It may be noted that a secondary factor prompting young women to emigrate was the decreased number of single, young men remaining in Sweden. American life presented more opportunities to meet potential husbands at a dance, picnic, or other social activity sponsored by Swedish churches and social organizations, to which Swedish domestic servants were free to go on their Sundays and Thursday afternoons off. From the point of view of single Swedish men in the United States, Swedish women working as domestic servants were desirable marriage partners, sophisticated in the ways of mainstream American culture and skilled in household management and cooking. It is probable that many of the American dishes that the young Swedish cooks had prepared for their employers were incorporated into their repertoire of home cooking once they married and had children. Traditional Swedish foodways fit into the general Northern European pattern upon which mainstream American cuisine is based (stereotypically "meat-and-potatoes" meals); the specific experience of young Swedish women in domestic American service hastened the assimilation of Swedish American cookery into mainstream American patterns.

Foodstuffs

Ingredients for Swedish American and traditional Swedish cooking may be found in specialty shops in cities with significant Swedish populations (e.g., Ingebretsen's in Minneapolis, Scandinavian Specialties in Seattle, or Erickson's Delicatessen in Chicago) or nationwide in the food market department of IKEA stores. Many Swedish ingredients and dishes are similar or identical to Norwegian or Danish foodstuffs.

Traditional Swedish food, originating in a land with long winters, is characterized by many preserved ingredients, including pickled herring (*inlagd sill*), salmon cured with salt, sugar, and dill (*gravlax*), smoked salmon, cured sprats (*ansjovis*), and dried cod, which receives a soaking in lye as part of its reconstitution before cooking (*lutfisk*). A range of sausages is also made, including potato sausage (*potatiskorv*), with potato added to the pork of the sausage mixture; small pork and veal sausages known as *prinskorv*; a pork and beef summer sausage known as Göteborg sausage; and *falukorv*, similar to American ring bologna. Condiments for sausages may include mustard (*senap*) and horseradish (*pepparrot*).

Dairy products are also prominent in Swedish and Swedish American cooking, with butter used as a spread on bread, as the fat for sautéing, and in baked sweets. Sauces are frequently based upon cream or sour cream. A favorite cheese is *bondost*, "farmer's cheese," a firm, mild cow's milk cheese sometimes flavored with cumin or caraway.

A range of breads are found, including light and dark rye bread, also *limpa*, slightly sweet and flavored with anise and sometimes orange peel; soft, flat potato bread called *lefsa*; and crisp, cracker-like bread called *knäckebröd*.

Potatoes are a ubiquitous element, appearing as accompaniment to most meals as well as a key ingredient in *potatiskorv* and *lefsa* mentioned above. The distilled beverage *akvavit* is often made from potatoes (grain may also be used). Other important root vegetables include rutabagas and beets. In general, vegetables typical of Swedish and Swedish American cuisine are ones that can be stored for long periods during the winter, such as cabbage (*kål*) and brown beans (*bruna bönor*).

Fruit (often preserved or dried) is also prominent in the cuisine, appearing not only in desserts and in beverages (including the mulled wine *glögg*) but also as a condiment to the savory main course of a meal (especially lingonberries), or—in the case of fruit soup (*fruktsoppa*)—as the main course itself.

Characteristic flavors and ingredients in the Swedish baking tradition include cardamom, almonds and almond paste, and pearl sugar as decoration. Allspice is used in making sausages and headcheese (*sylta*). Other characteristically Swedish flavorings are cumin and caraway, often used to flavor *akvavit*.

Swedes and Swedish Americans are devoted coffee drinkers and typically take their coffee black. A midmorning or midafternoon coffee break (*fika*) is common, with a pastry or slice of coffeecake accompanying the beverage. An old-fashioned method of preparing coffee still found in some Swedish American communities is "egg coffee," where a beaten whole raw egg (and optionally the eggshell as well) is combined with ground coffee before adding the mixture to boiling water. The egg serves to clarify the brewed coffee and reduce acidity.

Preparation

In general, Swedish Americans in the immigration period conformed to typical gender roles in the preparation of dishes and foodstuffs. The women of the family cooked everyday meals and baked coffeecakes and holiday sweets, while men operated butcher shops or did the butchering on farms. In the early days of rural settlement, some foods required communal efforts. For example, Lintelman describes rural women coming together to prepare *julost* (Christmas cheese). Nowadays a woman known to be a skilled baker might be hired by a neighbor to prepare the elaborate dessert *kransakaka* (multilayered baked rings flavored with almond paste forming a cone about eighteen inches high).

Everyday Meals

A traditional Swedish American dinner might feature pea soup with ham, or cabbage rolls (*kåldolmar*), or potato dumplings filled with onion and bacon or pork (*kroppkakor*). An-

other dish featuring potatoes is Jansson's Temptation (*Janssons frestelse*), potatoes baked with sprats (*ansjovis* in Swedish), onions, and cream. The well-known dish of Swedish meatballs (*köttbullar*) consists of small pork and beef meatballs served with a cream sauce. Potatoes and lingonberries are traditional accompaniments. Another traditional dish is brown beans (*bruna bönor*) cooked with vinegar and brown sugar.

In Sweden, pancakes (*pannkakor*) are similar to French crepes and are served either as a dessert or in savory versions as part of supper (e.g., after pea soup). Pancakes are not a breakfast item in Sweden. In the United States, crepe-like pancakes are sometimes found on the dessert menus of Swedish restaurants, but this is not the norm. Instead, most Swedish Americans have adopted the mainstream American classification of pancakes as a breakfast food. Swedish pancakes in an American context are, moreover, not necessarily crepelike: the term sometimes refers to small, thin pancakes, also known as "silver dollar pancakes."

Many Swedish Americans faithfully carry on the Swedish *fika* tradition of coffee plus a pastry for midmorning or midafternoon breaks. An enticing variety of sweet baked goods may be found at Swedish American bakeries or produced by home cooks, including coffeecakes in rings or braids, often flavored with cardamom, cinnamon, or saffron and garnished with almonds; cinnamon buns, almond tortes, butter cookies, or cookies with almonds or other nuts. Shrove Tuesday is marked by special cream-filled buns known as *semlor*.

Holiday Feasts

Though many Swedish Americans have assimilated almost completely to mainstream American foodways during the majority of the year, Christmas is a time when ethnic food traditions are remembered and practiced.

For Swedes the Christmas season may be said to begin in earnest with St. Lucia Day on December 13; traditionally the eldest daughter in a family wears a crown of candles and serves the parents a breakfast of coffee and *lussekatter* buns. The buns (literally, "Lucia cats") are sweet saffron buns twisted into figure eights or other shapes and dotted with currants.

The Swedish *smörgåsbord* buffet of traditional dishes may occur for festive occasions any time during the year, but at Christmas time an especially elaborate smorgasbord known as a *julbord* (Christmas table) is common during the weeks preceding Christmas Day. A *julbord* may be offered by a Swedish restaurant, by a church or other organization, or by a family for Christmas Eve dinner. The number of dishes can vary, but in a lavish spread a first course would consist of various types of herring, *gravlax*, or smoked salmon with mustard sauce, hard-boiled eggs and cold salads; a second round consists of ham and other cold meats, preparations such as headcheese (*sylta*), cheese, and bread; and finally, hot dishes such as Swedish meatballs, sausages, *lutfisk*, red cabbage, and Janssons Temptation are enjoyed. Holiday cookies and other sweets (see below) are traditional desserts, as is rice pudding: the guest who receives the almond hidden in the rice pudding will have good luck during the year. Beer and aquavit are traditional beverages for the *julbord*; the mulled wine *glögg* is also a favorite Christmastime drink.

Lutfisk, preserved cod, is part of many Swedish Americans' Christmas traditions, even if they forgo the extravagant *julbord* for a simpler Christmas Eve dinner. To prepare *lutfisk* the dried fish is first soaked in water for three days, then in a mixture of lye and water for another three days, and then soaked in water again for four days to remove the lye, changing the water every day. Soaking in lye results in the fish having a gelatinous texture, much prized by aficionados. *Lutfisk* evokes strong emotions both for and against: many Swedish Americans eagerly seek out chances to eat it, while others find it repulsive.

Special *lutfisk* dinners are often sponsored by Scandinavian churches and social clubs in the upper Midwest as fund-raisers during the Christmas season or even as early as mid-October. These social occasions may be seen as adaptations of the traditional *julbord*. Though these dinners are more likely nowadays to be organized by Norwegian institutions, Swedes participate as well. Besides *lutfisk* (*lutefisk* in Norwegian, the form more widely known in the United States), other traditional foods may be served, such as salmon, Swedish meatballs, Swedish sausage, ham, mashed or boiled potatoes, rutabagas, *lefsa*, rice pudding, and homemade Christmas cookies. The joking rivalry between Norwegians and Swedes is perpetuated through these dinners. Norwegian Americans eat their lutefisk with butter, while Swedes are thought to prefer dressing the fish with a sauce. Announcements of a Norwegian-hosted event may thus include an admonition such as "Swede alert: bring your own cream sauce."

Christmas is also the season for extensive baking. Home bakers turn out a variety of Christmas cookies, above all *pepparkakor* (ginger cookies), as well as the deep-fried *fattigmann*, spritz butter cookies made with a cookie press; *sandbakkels*, shortbread cookies pressed into small tart molds; and the delicate *krumkake*, made with a special iron and rolled into cylinders. Another traditional treat is *julkaka*, a sweet Christmas bread flavored with cardamom and studded with dried fruits and raisins.

Julkaka (Christmas Bread)

For one round loaf:

1 package dry yeast
¼ cup warm water
1 cup milk
¼ cup butter
¼ cup sugar
1 teaspoon salt
1 to 1½ teaspoons ground cardamom, to taste
1 egg, beaten
3½ to 4 cups flour
1 cup dried fruit and/or raisins
glaze: 1 egg, beaten
pearl sugar or granulated sugar for sprinkling on top

Instructions:

Scald the milk and melt the butter in it. Let cool to lukewarm.

In a mixing bowl, dissolve the yeast in the warm water and let stand a few minutes until bubbles appear. Add all ingredients except flour and raisins/fruit, and mix well. Add flour a cup at a time, beating thoroughly after each addition, until the dough forms a soft ball.

Turn dough out onto a floured board and knead for about 10 minutes. Knead in the raisins or fruits, form the dough into a ball, and let rise in a greased bowl covered with a clean kitchen towel until doubled in size.

Punch down the dough, form it into a round loaf for baking, and let rise again on a greased baking sheet until doubled in size.

Preheat the oven to 375°F. Brush the beaten egg over the loaf to glaze, then sprinkle the loaf with sugar. Bake for 30 minutes or until the loaf sounds hollow when tapped on the bottom.

Place in American Culture

For mainstream America outside of areas with a large Swedish population, the most well-known aspects of Swedish American foodways are the smorgasbord, Swedish meatballs, and Swedish pancakes.

Noted Restaurants and Chefs

In the mid-twentieth century, smorgasbord restaurants offering traditional Swedish dishes could be found in some cities—for example, Little Sweden in San Francisco (1950s–1970s), or the Sweden House chain with locations in the Midwest and Florida (1940s–1970s). These days, however, the label *smorgasbord* is likely to refer to an all-you-can-eat buffet of traditional American-style dishes, with no connection to Swedish cookery. To find Swedish food

in the United States nowadays the most accessible source is the IKEA chain of furniture stores, which features a restaurant in each of its numerous US locations. IKEA's menu is limited but always includes a platter of Swedish meatballs served with potatoes and lingonberries. Moreover, IKEA stores also host special culinary events, such as a festival of crayfish prepared Swedish style in mid-August.

Cities and towns with substantial Swedish American population are likely to have at least one restaurant featuring traditional Swedish food—for example, Café Broder in Portland, Oregon; Fika, the café at the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis; or Tre Kronor in Chicago, which offers a *julbord* during the entire month of December. There are now also restaurants such as the Bachelor Farmer in Minneapolis and Pläj in San Francisco, incorporating traditional Swedish ingredients into new, creative dishes. The high-end Aquavit in New York offers classic Swedish dishes such as *gravlax* and Swedish meatballs on its lunch menu, while its dinner menu experiments with novel interpretations of modern Nordic cuisine.

Marcus Samuelsson, the Ethiopian-born Swedish celebrity chef and cookbook author, was formerly the executive chef of Aquavit in New York City and remains a part owner of the restaurant; he also is involved with the restaurant Norda in Gothenburg and the American restaurant Red Rooster in Harlem, New York. On public television, Swedish chef Tina Nordström has introduced her Swedish version of New Scandinavian cuisine to an American audience.

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Amy Dahlstrom

SWITZERLAND

(Western Europe) Swiss American Foodways
See also: German, Italy, France.

Images of mountain peaks, grazing bell-clad cows, milk chocolate, and precision watches come to mind when Switzerland is mentioned in the United States, and fondue and Swiss cheese are the stereotypes of Swiss food. Swiss immigrants, however, have historically assimilated into American society, while Swiss-trained chefs have had a significant impact on the American restaurant scene.

Background

Swiss Americans are difficult to identify because the Swiss culture is very compatible with the America way of life and assimilation has historically occurred very smoothly. Some 290,000 Swiss immigrants arrived in America between 1820 and 1930, with the greatest influx between 1891 and 1920 (89,000). After the Great Depression and World War II, the numbers of Swiss immigrants declined (23,700 in the era of 1931–1960 and 29,100 in 1961–1990).

Swiss immigrants have had different experiences depending on their origins from the four sectors of Switzerland (German speaking, French speaking, Italian speaking, or Romansh speaking). Some of the French-speaking Swiss brought their winegrowing skills to Vevay, Indiana, in 1804, but economics caused them to change to cultivation of corn and grains. In 1845, a group of Swiss from Glarus (German-speaking sector) emigrated to New Glarus, Wisconsin. After wheat crop failure, they shifted to dairying and cheese production. Several thousand Italian-speaking Swiss went to California during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Another group of converted Mormon Swiss immigrated and settled in Midway, Utah. Most states have some Swiss residents or Swiss descendants within their boundaries, and according to the 2007 census there are now 1,020,000 people of Swiss ancestry in the United States. Swiss immigration continues to bring new culinary trends and helps strengthen Swiss Americans' sense of identity.

Foodways

Switzerland's unique cuisine developed from readily available resources. From the German-speaking sector in the north, center, and east of Switzerland, much of the food is meat, potatoes, and soups, while the western French-speaking sector centers on fish, sauces, and wine. The southern part of Switzerland is Italian speaking and offers menus of soups, pasta, grains, and chestnuts. The Romansch area in southeast Switzerland includes the canton of Graubünden, where the foremost activity of hunting occurs, so game is a basic part of their cuisine. The high altitudes of this area center the diet on gruels of cornmeal, barley, or oatmeal.

In all four Swiss cuisines the basic staples are home-grown vegetables—especially potatoes—cheese and milk, all types of fruits, and breads or grains. Pork, veal, fish, or poultry are a secondary menu item. The high quality and availability of these staples have been easily incorporated into the American Swiss cuisine. There is no one Swiss food, but cantonal (or state) specialties have developed over the centuries. These influences were brought to the United States and were established as traditional foodways.

The term *Swiss cheese* is used by Americans for the cheese with large, shiny "eyes" that are produced by the release of carbon dioxide during the aging process, but the true name is Emmentaler. Coming originally from a Bernese valley, it is used as an accompaniment when softened at room temperature, as a main ingredient in many dishes, and as a flavor enhancer in sauces or soups. The Swiss also produce soft cheeses such as Vacherin, Mont d'Or, and Schachtelkase, as well as hard cheeses such as parmesan. Gruyere is another semisoft cheese besides Emmentaler. The latter two types are produced in the United States and are used by most Americans. The diversity of Swiss cheeses is reflected in the dishes of each region.

Preparation

Swiss cooking can be divided into high cuisine and traditional foodways. Both styles center around high-quality ingredients, but the level of formal culinary education is an identifying factor. Chefs trained in high cuisine make precise carving, rich sauces, and elaborate garnishes, working in expensive restaurants and international hotels throughout the world. Traditional cuisine was developed by the women of the home through the centuries and was passed down from generation to generation. Cooking methods featured roasting, stewing, and frying, and it used the imagination and skill of the cook. Meat, while not the center of a Swiss family meal, was a significant part of the diet. Slaughtering was usually done in the fall or early winter, and no part of the animal was discarded. One dish created in the winter months was *kuttle* (tripe), a part of traditional cuisine that Swiss Americans have tried to preserve and consider to be representative of their heritage.

Kuttle (Tripe)

Place 2 pounds of tripe into an enamel pan, cover half with water. Simmer for 1½ hours until soft and tender. Cool and drain. Then slice very thin. Brown 4 tablespoons butter and 2 tablespoons flour in a heavy skillet. Add 3 cups of cold water and a cube of bouillon. Add tripe, salt, pepper, and caraway seeds and a dash of white wine. Let set ½ hour before serving with rye bread.