

A SMOKE FOR EVERY BEEF: AN EXPLORATION
OF THE REGIONALITY OF TEXAS BARBECUE

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Abstract:

It is a common misconception that Texas barbecue is a uniform and homogenous style rather than a diverse series of regional variations and traditions. East, South, and Central Texas each have numerous ecological, physical, and cultural regions, and it is where and how these regions overlap that influence their respective regional variations and traditions. In this paper, I trace the various traditions for barbeque in Texas as well as the historic and geographic processes that influenced their creation. Using popular literature such as cookbooks and travel books in conjunction with scientific and demographic data, I construct a base of knowledge that can be synthesized and applied to future research. As most popular texts on Texas barbeque focus on Central Texas, this paper necessarily neglects other regions relative to its coverage of the Central Texas regional tradition. Nevertheless, this paper provides an account of the state of Texas barbeque and serves as a guide to further research in this vein.

Introduction

John Reed said it best when he wrote, “Barbecue is the closest thing we have in the United States to Europe’s wines or cheeses; drive a hundred miles and the barbecue changes.”¹ a sentiment that remains true even within a single state such as Texas. The two seem synonymous; if you are talking about Texas, you are talking about barbecue. It is a trope that is common to people all over the world. What is less well known is that there is not a single homogenous style of “Texas Barbecue” but rather several different regional styles of barbecue within the state, each with its own fascinating history and geography. The goal of this paper is to look into colloquial sources such as cookbooks or popular non-fiction books and then use scientific data such as ecology and census data to support or refute these colloquial claims regarding the regionality of Texas barbecue. Using these methods, I produce a detailed and academic guide to these regional styles of barbecue, explaining their individual cultural and physical factors, so as to better understand their variations.

Assuming the claim that there are regional variations between styles of Texas barbecue is accurate, some may ask why it matters? In the modern age of globalization, small areas with unique cultural traditions can become threatened by homogenization across larger regions². By studying and understanding these traditions and the cultural and physical factors that led to their creation, they can be preserved in a way that does not

¹ As quoted in: Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013), p.9)

² Chris Barker, *Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999), p.84-93)

artificially affect the natural course of cultural change. This kind of inquiry can shine a light on the influences of the cultures who influenced these traditions, something that is especially important in cases where cultural appropriation can write such groups out of the histories of these traditions. While much popular literature has been written about Texas barbecue, most available sources lack the academic rigor necessary for a study of this nature.

Background and Context

In order to properly understand how the regional styles of Texas barbecue are different, it is necessary to begin with a discussion of how they are similar. Texas barbecue as a whole is defined in several ways, first by the main types of meat being cooked, though additional meats are included depending on the region, and the general style of preparation. Unlike most of the rest of the country where barbecue means pork, in Texas cattle is king. In Texas, the consistent features of barbecue across the state are a general adherence to the “...holy trinity...”³ of Texas barbecue: pork ribs, sausage, and most importantly, brisket. However, a better generalization would be beef, sausage, and pork, in that order. Another consistent factor is the use of smoke, mostly wood smoke, with some lump charcoal in certain areas, and long cooking times.

The use of long cooking times, especially for brisket, comes from the culinary processes necessary to make brisket edible. Due to the high level of activity in the pectoral muscle of the cow, the muscle that is known in the culinary world as brisket, the muscle fibers develop to be long and tough, making it nearly inedible when cooked in a

³*Barbecue: A Texas Love Story* (Electro-Fish Media, 2004))

way similar to a traditional steak like a ribeye.⁴ The high use of this muscle does, however, lead to the development of the savior of this otherwise unusable cut of meat: a thick layer of fat on top. The energy consumption of the muscle necessitates a large store of energy nearby, which in the case of a cow comes in the form of this layer of fat. This fat allows the brisket to become a “... self-basting cut.”⁵ In order for this self-basting and the breakdown of the muscle fibers to occur, the cut has to be cooked for a long time at low temperatures, such as the technique used when making a pot roast. This simple culinary process also makes this cut of meat a prime candidate for smoking, as the long cooking time, in conjunction with the relatively low cooking temperature of the smoke, allows this breakdown of muscle and melting of fat. This process means the meat can pick up the flavor of the smoke in a way that would not be possible with a faster cooking cut. The fat content and connective tissues of pork ribs also make them conducive to barbecuing for the same reasons, and these anatomical features are often present in most barbecued meats regardless of the animal as they make ideal cuts for smoking.⁶

The prevalence of sausage in Texas barbecue stems from different traditions, but for similar reasons. There are two main styles of sausage in Texas, Czech/German style found in Central Texas and southern style “Hot Links” in East Texas, the differences of which will be discussed in their respective sections. Regardless of their differences, the motivation for making sausage is consistent across sausage type. Before the advent of

⁴ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, *Republic of Barbecue: Stories beyond the Brisket* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), p.39)

⁵ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.139)

⁶ “Pineapple BBQ Spare Ribs,” Crush Mag Online, November 4, 2015, <https://crushmag-online.com/meet-the-meat-pineapple-bbq-spare-ribs/>)

refrigeration, preserving food was a major problem; one solution was to grind up the parts of meat that were not otherwise desirable, stuff it - along with salt and spices - into a casing (usually the outer lining of the intestine), and hang it in a smokehouse. This process of preparation and storage was believed to keep the meat preserved.⁷

The prevalence of beef in Texas barbecue comes from the prominence of the cattle industry in Texas. Cattle were first introduced into Texas by the Spanish, because it was easier at the time to release the herds into the grasslands of Texas and retrieve cattle for food as it was needed than to try and raise them. This led to large herds of feral cattle roaming the plains and hills of Texas, herds that would eventually become a major source of cheap beef in the years following the Civil War. This surplus of beef in Texas is responsible for the popularity of beef in Texas cuisine, a tradition that continues to this day, long after the days of the cattle drive had ended.

There exists a strong association between Texas and barbecue, especially within the state, with claims that brisket should replace chili con carne as the official state dish of Texas.⁸ This popularity is not a recent fluke, it stems from a long history of barbecue interwoven into Texas culture. After the civil war, with the surplus of beef, but before the advent of refrigeration, barbecues were whole town events, in order to ensure that the meat from a whole steer didn't go to waste.⁹ These events became major opportunities for the town to socialize. They were often used to celebrate major holidays, thus cementing

⁷ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, *Republic of Barbecue: Stories beyond the Brisket* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), p. 806)

⁸Paul Burka, "Bowl of Dread," *Texas Monthly* (Texas Monthly, November 12, 2013), <https://www.texasmonthly.com/food/bowl-of-dread/>

⁹Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.32)

them and the food served, into Texas culture. Barbecue is so ingrained into Texas culture that when hosting the President-elect of Mexico, President Lyndon B. Johnson held a barbecue on his ranch with a menu containing many staples of Texas barbecue such as brisket, pork ribs, chicken, and sausage¹⁰. The meat itself has even been described to be a representation of Texas culture and ideals as a whole. Brisket, as discussed before, is a very difficult cut of meat to cook with, and therefore is less desirable, but as Engelhardt describes in *Republic of Barbecue*, "...brisket lingers at the butcher counter, a rebellious outcast wearing its outsider status like a badge."¹¹ This sentiment ties into the ideals of embracing individuality and independence, and those of working to recreate oneself through hard work. The traditional beverages served with barbecue also reflect the link between barbecue and Texan culture, with drinks such as Big Red, Dr. Pepper, Shiner Bock, and Lone Star, all of which were created in Texas.¹²

Regions defined

To talk about the regionality of a topic such as Texas barbecue, those regions must first be defined. Due to the nature of cultural phenomena and the effects of cultural diffusion, identifying clearly defined regions with set boundaries is impossible. Thus the regions discussed in this paper are vernacular, being inherently subjective and hard to define. In a topic such as barbecue, where there are variations of style from person to person, the goal of this paper is to provide scientific evidence to support the definitions of the regions discussed, but the definitions will exist as loosely defined areas with common

¹⁰ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.139)

¹¹ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, *Republic of Barbecue: Stories beyond the Brisket* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), p.555)

¹² Ibid 837

characteristics. When it comes to Texas barbecue, arguments can be made for the existence of between five¹³ and seven¹⁴ regions within the state; for simplicity, this paper assumes six regions, The Panhandle, West Texas, South Texas, Central Texas, East Texas, and North Texas. The decision to focus on these specific regions is due to a number of factors, including the sources referenced, accommodating for overlapping and inconsistent regional definitions, and attempting to define each regional style in common and simplistic terms which helps make the concepts discussed more relatable. These six regions are the most commonly used, thus all six of these regions can be more easily studied.

Three specific regions will be discussed in this paper: South, Central, and East as these are both the most significant in regards to Texas barbecue and the most widely agreed upon. In addition, these three regions also have the most unique styles and influences, which facilitates their definition and comparison. South Texas is a region defined by a heavy Mexican-American influence, with major cities including San Antonio and Laredo. Central Texas is a region characterized by karst topography with historic influences by Czech and German immigrants, including the cities of Austin and Waco. East Texas is the “Old South” part of Texas, hiding under the canopy of the Piney Woods. It has more cultural and physical similarities to the rest of the plantation south than any other region of the state, and including cities such as Houston and Tyler.

¹³ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002))

¹⁴ Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013))

Central Texas

When most people think about “Texas barbecue” they think about the style that originates in the central part of the state, known simply as Central Texas. For the purpose of this paper Central Texas is defined loosely as the area encompassing New Braunfels to the South, Waco to the North, the Brazos River to the East, and the towns of Llano and Fredericksburg to the West. The region is divided by the Balcones Escarpment with drier karst topography to the West, and wetter coastal plains to the East,¹⁵ ¹⁶ The dominant trees in the region include Mesquite, Live Oak, Oak, and Post Oak.¹⁷ Some of the most influential cultural groups in the region are the Germans and the Czechs, whose influence is seen in city names such as Fredericksburg, or in the traditions of festivals such as “Westfest” in the city of West,¹⁸ ¹⁹

Central Texas barbecue is characterized by simplistic and almost spiritualistic methods of cooking and ingredients. The predominant meats used in Central Texas are brisket, sausage made primarily from beef, and pork ribs. In *Prophets of Smoked Meat*, Vaughn makes a distinction between Central Texas and Hill Country barbecue; however, both share many of the same characteristics with one major difference: the cooking process.²⁰ Due to their other similarities, the Hill Country style, as defined by Vaughn, is

¹⁵ *Texas Annual Precipitation Map*, TCEQ (TCEQ, n.d.), https://www.tceq.texas.gov/assets/public/compliance/monops/climate/precip_annual.gif

¹⁶ <https://www.arcgis.com/home/webmap/viewer.html?layers=2dff8a3f3f2045e8ab1a0b4b5f97d46a>

¹⁷ University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas Libraries (University of Texas, 20n.d.), <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/geo/pics/vegetationcover2a.jpg>

¹⁸ Terry G., “GERMANS,” The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/png02>

¹⁹ Clinton, “CZECHS,” The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 12, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/plc02>

²⁰ Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013), p.9)

considered a sub-region of Central Texas in this paper. In Vaughn's distinction, Central Texas-style utilizes "...low and slow smoking..."²¹, a process which consists of cooking the meat using smoke from an indirect heat source, usually an offset fire made with post oak, while Hill Country style uses more direct heat over mesquite charcoal for faster cooking times with more of a sear to the meat.²² Both styles focus primarily on the same types of meats, served in a similar way with comparable sides, and share cultural influences.

Central Texas style barbecue is further characterized by a focus on simple ingredients, with a rub of salt and pepper, and a lack of sauce; the flavor of the final product is meant to come primarily from the meat and the smoke.²³ It is this purist approach to smoking - wherein the smoke is the primary flavor additive rather than fancy rubs or sauces. The smoke imbues a sense of spirituality in the process, as if the wood blesses the meat with the nuanced flavors created in its destruction. Pork ribs are also given this simplistic treatment with the flavor coming from the combination of meat and the same low and slow smoking method. Sausages made in the Czech/German tradition with some new world twists are also prevalent in the region. Exact recipes are generally well guarded, but the meat is generally beef, coarsely ground, and containing a high fat content. In some cases, ingredients such as jalapeño and cheese are added to give it a Texas twist.²⁴

²¹ Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013), p.9)

²² Ibid 6

²³ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.72)

²⁴ Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013), p.9)

The cultural history of Central Texas barbecue is just as important as understanding the style itself. The German and Czech immigrants that came to Texas had more influence over this regional style than any other group, so in order to understand the barbecue, one must learn about the people who made it. In 1831, a German man by the name of Friedrich Diercks, who assumed the name Johann Friedrich Ernst upon arriving in Texas, was granted a 4000 acre land grant in Texas by the Mexican Government. With his grant as a starting place, and a series of letters home describing life in Texas, Ernst started a chain migration that led to the creation of several German enclaves across the region.²⁵ Thousands of immigrants came in the 1840's due to the efforts of the Adelsverein, a society with the goal to create a German colony in Texas in order to alleviate the pains of population growth as well as provide a foreign market for Germany.²⁶ The Czechs in Texas, while not as large a group as the Germans, were not insignificant. Growing from less than a thousand before the Civil War to over 60,000 Czech speaking residents in Texas in 1940.²⁷ While many of the Czech and German communities faded away or changed due to interactions with other cultures, the impact these communities had on the culture of the state can still be seen today, particularly in regards to Central Texas barbecue.

The tradition of Central Texas barbecue started in the Czech and German meat markets of Central Texas. Bringing with them their Old World traditions of butchering

²⁵Terry G., "GERMANS," The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/png02>

²⁶Louis Brister and Louis E., "ADELSVEREIN," The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 9, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ufo01>

²⁷Clinton, "CZECHS," The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 12, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/plc02>

and smoking meats, many of these immigrants started local meat markets in their communities. Due to the lack of refrigeration, any meat not sold quickly needed to be preserved in some way, such as smoking. Farmers would typically go into town for things such as meat and supplies on the weekends, and meat markets found that selling these farmers and townsfolk the smoked leftovers wrapped in butcher paper as their lunch to be a lucrative choice.²⁸ Since these markets weren't restaurants, they lacked basic cutlery and served side dishes comprised of whatever an individual could find in the market, usually things like pickles, onions, and occasionally crackers.²⁹ To this day, most barbecue joints in Central Texas serve slabs of meat on butcher paper, with sides of pickles, onions, and crackers in honor of this tradition. Some of them still functioning as meat markets in addition to serving barbecue.

East Texas

East Texas is "...life behind the piney curtain..."³⁰, characterized by a large pinewood forest³¹ and coastal plains in the South. It has the highest amount of average precipitation in any region in Texas³², which allows for the growth of softwood forest. The region is loosely defined as everything east of, but not including, Dallas and the Brazos River. Culturally, it has ties to the Old South, with old cotton plantation culture and a large number of settlers from the old south. By the time of the Civil War, the region

²⁸ Terry G., "GERMANS," The Handbook of Texas Online| Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) (Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/png02>

²⁹ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.96-7)

³⁰ *Bernie* (Castle Rock Entertainment, 2011))

³¹ University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas Libraries (University of Texas, 20n.d.), <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/geo/pics/vegetationcover2a.jpg>

³² *Texas Annual Precipitation Map*, TCEQ (TCEQ, n.d.), https://www.tceq.texas.gov/assets/public/compliance/monops/climate/precip_annual.gif

had the highest percentage of enslaved people of any region in the state, due to the prevalence of cotton plantations.

East Texas barbecue can be described as “...a proud variant of the black Southern barbecue tradition.”³³, focusing heavily on things like pork ribs and pork sausage, but often without the staples of other southern traditions such as spice rubs or sauce. The style developed in a similar way to that of Central Texas, but around the traditions of African American pitmasters rather than German/Czechs. Similar to the Germans and Czechs, African American butchers started opening meat markets, where they would then utilize the southern traditions of barbecuing to prepare and smoke leftover and unsold meat, either whole or in the form of sausage.³⁴ The simplicity of this style stems from a lack of access to high-quality ingredients and spices in the African American tradition during the times of slavery.³⁵

The cultural history of East Texas has complicated the study of the traditions and history of East Texas barbecue. When most people write about Texas barbecue, they tend to focus on Central Texas brisket so not much has been written about barbecue in East Texas. Barbecue in Texas is associated with Central Texas brisket, a stance that can often leave those whose cultural traditions, such as African American pitmasters in East Texas, overlooked. Even Daniel Vaughn, barbecue editor for *Texas Monthly*, acknowledged this, stating “At *Texas Monthly*, we evaluate barbecue joints according to brisket ... a rating system anchored in the legendary, and mostly white-owned, joints of central Texas.... if a

³³ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.16)

³⁴ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, *Republic of Barbecue: Stories beyond the Brisket* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), p.313)

³⁵ Ibid 581

barbecue joint doesn't have great brisket, it won't make our Top 50 lists... I've come to realize that it's an outdated way of thinking."³⁶ The article highlighted one of the oldest barbecue joints in Texas, which has been frequently overlooked. Adrian Miller, a culinary historian, is currently researching a book entitled *Black Smoke* that aims to illustrate the importance of African American contributions to barbecue³⁷.

South Texas

South Texas, encompassing the Rio Grande Valley and north to include San Antonio, is an area that is characterized by thorny shrub and brush such as mesquite with livestock grazing is a major agricultural activity.³⁸ The region's proximity to Mexico and its history of Spanish and Mexican settlement have heavily influenced the area. In addition, the region's high percentage of Hispanic residents continue to influence the cultural traditions of the area.

South Texas barbecue can look similar to Central Texas at first glance, with brisket, ribs, and sausage on the menu, but there is an additional item that is as Tejano as chili con carne - barbacoa. Adapted from Central Mexico traditions of cooking lamb or goat meat wrapped in leaves over hot coals, barbacoa in South Texas consists of cooking

³⁶Sara Camp Milam, "Grease Balls of Southeast Texas," Southern Foodways Alliance, December 8, 2015, <https://www.southernfoodways.org/grease-balls-of-southeast-texas/>

³⁷Shontel Horne, "Black Pitmasters Are Hustling To Preserve Barbecue's Roots," HuffPost (HuffPost, June 24, 2019), https://www.huffpost.com/entry/black-pitmasters-barbecue_1_5d0a5ed1e4b0e560b70d2cf2?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAKA_PNX31XueT0YU-_c2t2_HkXH4jLdRE-9DZH-j3hAtwpZcobJ9eAqwWhvDfXPCrECHNRtbHiPm-0B8kO4W14-eCTwBviCA5842tNU22KQ9uKqaIZhu9qwlHg6WkCDLRMkL4N2EyTWeUGWzNuJIS6gDiwDavTrghu7zDFduf2b8)

³⁸"Texas Ecoregions," Texas Ecoregions - Texas Parks & Wildlife Department, July 31, 2017, <https://tpwd.texas.gov/education/hunter-education/online-course/wildlife-conservation/texas-ecoregions>)

the head of a cow wrapped and buried with hot coals.³⁹ While these traditional practices of cooking are no longer allowed in commercial ventures due to health and safety concerns, the practice lives on in adapted forms. Similar to the process of cooking brisket, barbacoa is cooked at relatively low temperatures over longer periods of time to slowly break apart the tough muscle of the face, making the meat not only edible but desirable. Another staple of South Texas cooking, but one that stretches the definition of barbecue, is lingua. Lingua is the tongue of the cow, cooked low and slow for the same reasons as barbacoa and brisket, but traditionally stewed rather than cooked with heat from wood or charcoal fire.⁴⁰ In addition to the difference in cooking styles, the side dish pairings are also different in South Texas. While other parts of the state eat their brisket and sausage with white bread or crackers, it is more common to find flour tortillas in the region instead.⁴¹

Closing Statements

To the uninformed outsider, Texas barbecue might appear to be a homogeneous style of cooking that is uniform across the state. Moreover, someone might think Texas barbeque can even exist outside of Texas - or at least attempts to - in places like “Bubbas Texas Style Bar-B-Que & Saloon” in Shanghai China.⁴² In reality, barbecue as a tradition is heavily tied to the people and the region wherein it was developed. As these different

³⁹ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.190-1)

⁴⁰ Robb Walsh, *The Legends of Texas Barbecue: Recipes and Recollections from the Pit Bosses* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2002), p.194)

⁴¹ Daniel Vaughn and Nicholas McWhirter, *The Prophets of Smoked Meat: a Journey through Texas Barbecue* (New York, NY: Ecco, 2013).

⁴² “Welcome to Bubba's Barbeque,” Welcome to Bubba's Barbeque, accessed December 2, 2019, <http://www.bubbasasia.com/>)

traditions overlap, they tend to form regional variations, building off existing traditions of the predominant cultural group of the area. These regional styles are adaptations of the original traditions, which conform to the available resources of the region. This convergence of cultural context and physical resources heavily influences the types of food consumed and the methods of preparation used to make that food. Barbecue, at least historically, serves as an elegant example of this phenomenon.

There is a vast diversity in the physical and cultural regions of Texas, but generalized regions can be created to help understand certain phenomena. Regions such as Central, South, and East Texas all contain different ecological zones, topography, and cultural influences. Where these layers overlap and feed into each other is how the regional variations of Texas barbecue is created.

It is important to learn about and understand these variations in order to preserve the distinct cultural traditions of these regions, as well as to shine a light on those that would otherwise be overlooked. However, in order to more fully understand these traditions, how they came about, and especially to look into the less discussed traditions of barbecue, further research is required. The sources used in this paper are incomplete in their depiction of the regional styles outside of Central Texas, and thus either more sources must be found or new primary research conducted in order to better understand them.

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