



## THE REBEL BEHIND THE WHEEL

An Examination of the ‘Redneck’ Rebel  
Cultural Trope in *The Dukes of Hazzard*

*Lose on the track, and you go home. Lose with a load  
of whiskey, and you go to jail.*

—Junior Johnson,  
NASCAR champion and former moonshine runner<sup>1</sup>

The car is a uniquely American symbol, as much as Coke (as in Coca-Cola), blue jeans and apple pie. The United States, with its wide-open spaces and fascinating places, was the country that most embraced the car, especially in the South and Midwest/West, which was mostly rural and spotted with small towns spread far apart. It was the car that first represented freedom, independence and a sense of having ‘made it’ to the top of American society. However, it was also the car that inspired authors to write about freedom of movement and freedom of choice, freedom of personality and, for some, freedom of conscience in a fierce enjoyment at rejecting the ‘safe,’ comfortable existence of the drudgery of the suburbs.<sup>2</sup> The freedom represented by the Redneck Rebels behind the wheel of the 1970s and early 1980s ‘car movies’ was not the nihilistic freedom of outlaw bikers of the late 1950s and early 1960s but the freedom-loving existence of adolescent youth, care-free good ol’ boy humor and a constant reminder that there is a huge country in between the coasts and outside the major cities, areas that some derisively call ‘flyover country.’

First, a major distinction must be drawn before proceeding to examine the heart of this subject, which is why the ‘anti-

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1. See Joyce (2014: 88).

2. See for example, Jack Kerouac’s 1957 novel, *On the Road* (Kerouac 2019).

hero' Redneck rebellion of the 1970s that uses the car to rebel against the norms of conventional American society as presented by *The Dukes of Hazzard*, became so popular. What exactly is a 'Redneck'? According to Jeff Foxworthy of 'You might be a redneck if...' fame, it is a "glorious lack of sophistication."<sup>3</sup> In one of the few academic texts on the stereotypes of Redneck culture in the Southern United States:

*Redneck* is a popular term frequently found in the Southern vernacular that first designated poor white farm workers [...]. Recently, however, the label has taken on a more positive connotation in some circles, particularly among Southern blue-collar workers themselves, denoting honest, hard-working, working-class men. Female equivalents of this traditionally masculine categorization, have also surfaced—for example, *redneck women* and *women rednecks*. (Roebuck and Hinson 1982: v)

Or, to put it simply, "[f]or people outside the working-class Southern culture from which this image emerged, a 'redneck' was a threatening figure to be avoided. For those within the culture, the 'redneck' was not necessarily a pejorative term, but connotated being 'down to earth' in every respect—rough around the edges, to be sure, but decent, hard-working Christian people with strong moral values" (Coski 2005: 74). This distinction is illustrated by *The Dukes of Hazzard*. The main characters, cousins Bo, Luke and Daisy Duke, along with Uncle Jesse are easily identifiable as 'rednecks,' even though none of the actors that portrayed the Dukes were born in the South, although several of the supporting cast were born in the South.<sup>4</sup> However, they were definitely hard-working, fun-loving, and, in the case of Uncle Jesse, wise beyond their years. Furthermore, Daisy Duke was read-

3. The concert that the quote was taken from can be found on the DVD and Live versions of *Them Idiots Whirled Tour*. The concert featured Foxworthy, along with Bill Engvall and Larry the Cable Guy. It was filmed at the Consol Energy Center in Pittsburgh, PA in front of 11,000 people and directed by Ryan Polito. The DVD was released on Amazon.com on March 13, 2012. The quote in this paper was taken from the Live version.

4. 'Bo'—John Schneider was born in Mount Kisko, New York (although he spent his teenage years in upstate Georgia), 'Luke'—Tom Wopat was born in Lodi, Wisconsin, 'Daisy'—Catherine Bach was born in Cleveland, Ohio and 'Uncle Jesse'—Denver Pyle was born in Belthune, Colorado (Hofstede 1998: 28–39). Hofstede also includes biographies of the supporting cast as well.

ily identifiable as the buxom exemplar of white Southern female beauty that could make men weak in the knees with just a glance. Secondly, as argued by Antony Harkins, in *Hillbilly: A Cultural History*, reveling in terms like “redneck” or “hick” was a matter of pride and signified a cultural pushback against various aspects of the civil rights movement. As Harkins states, “[a]lthough rarely described so explicitly, this development (the rise of ‘redneck,’ ‘cracker,’ and ‘hillbilly’ as signifiers of white racial pride) was part of a general counterreaction to the social upheavals of the Civil Rights movements, counterculture, and women’s movement of the late 1960s and 1970s” (2004: 211).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it was an all-male rebellion, as the ‘car culture’ of the South and Midwest was a homo-social experience:

The core of the good ole boy’s world is with his buddies, the comfortable, hyperhearty, all-male camaraderie, joshing and drinking and regaling one another with tales of assorted, exaggerated prowess. Women are outsiders [...] What he really loves is his automobile. He overlooks his wife with her hair up in pink rollers, sagging into an upside-down question mark in her tight slacks. But he lavishes attention on his Mercury mistress, Easy Rider shocks, oversize slickers, dual exhaust. He exults in tinkering with that beautiful engine, lying cool beneath the open hood, ready to respond, quick and fiery to his touch. (Nystrom 2009: 94)

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While perpetuating several anti-white and anti-Southern white stereotypes, the above quote does tap into the love that many men (not just white men) feel for their cars. However, as will be seen, it was in the South and the rural mid-West that most embraced the homosocial culture as described above. Admittedly, while the *Dukes of Hazzard* was multiracial in its cast (the sheriff in one of the adjoining counties was Black), the show itself was mostly popular in the South and the Midwest and mostly popular among whites. While being ‘red around the neck’ might be sneered at by the elites along the East and West coasts of the US, the ‘redneck’ and his car is impossible to escape when one looks at the movies from this era. Even the most popular film of 1977, *Star Wars* (later entitled *Episode IV: A New Hope*) was not immune

5. “Redneck” and “Rebel” are also popular terms in the underground white nationalist rock scene, with artists like Rebel Son, Redneck 28, Johnny Rebel and Racist Redneck Rebels (aka RRR), among others, populating the scene.

from influences of Rednecks it seems. As Chris Gore points out in the Forward to *Hick Flicks: The Rise and Fall of Redneck Cinema, Star Wars* from 1977:

[...] is often described as a space opera—a simple story of good versus evil. But at its core is the story of a farmboy [sic] who lives in the backwoods of the universe, torn from his home planet by a galactic war beyond his control. Sure, Luke Skywalker was not content with his simple moisture-farming life on the desert planet of Tatooine, but his adventures did allow him to pilot souped-up space hotrods, blow up plenty of cool stuff and even get to kiss his own sister. [...]

And the whole family affair got even more messy in *The Empire Strikes Back* when Luke found out that the main bad guy, Darth Vader, was his very own pa who walked out on the family to pursue the fortunes of galactic conquest. Things went from bad to worse when dad gave Luke a lightsaber whuppin,' leaving him one-handed. Yessir, Luke not only had to deal with nasty elements in the galaxy, but an abusive father to boot. Pa redeemed himself in *Return of the Jedi* when the emperor tried to beat up his son—that's when Vader made it clear that no one messes with his boy but him. I like to think that Luke Skywalker was cinema's first space hick. (von Doviak 2005: ii)

Admittedly, Luke Skywalker does not speak with a Southern accent; however, he does exhibit traits that play into the loveable 'Rebel behind the wheel' fighting for 'truth and justice' against an evil oppressor by riding around with his companions doing good deeds.

No other show seemed to be as much fun at expressing the fun of driving fast cars, running from corrupt cops and fighting the good fight than *The Dukes of Hazzard*. Airing from 1979–1986, *The Dukes of Hazzard* rode the tailcoat of the popularity of *The Smokey and the Bandit* but also, and more importantly, traced its roots back to the colonialization of the continent and showed that 'flyover country' could embrace shows out of Hollywood that mirrored their culture, as long as they could relate to the main characters and poke fun at themselves and the overall urban culture. The research questions that this article addresses are: (a) what are the influences and the roots of the *Dukes of Hazzard*? (b) Why was the show more popular in the South and the Midwest more than urban areas? Finally, (c) what role did the car, the General Lee, play in the show's popularity?

The mid-1970s to mid-1980s was a very vibrant cultural era in the United States. This period also saw the rise and subsequent

fall of the classic 'car movie.' Movies such as *Mother, Jugs and Speed* (1976), *The Gumball Rally* (1976), the three *Smokey and the Bandit* movies (along with its four TV spinoffs and 3 sequels in the early 2000s) and countless B-movies such as *Eat My Dust!* (1976) and *Riding with Death* (1976), along with its spin-off on the NBC network, *Gemini Man* (1976), continuing into the 1980s with the TV show *The Dukes of Hazzard* (1979–1985), and even the cult classic *Knight Rider* (1982–1986) celebrated the 'Rebel behind the wheel'—an outlaw living by his own rules and fighting the 'good fight' for truth, justice and the American way, or, just to be left alone to do what he wants to do—drive fast and damn the consequences.

Admittedly, not all of the characters portrayed in these movies and series were Southern Rednecks. There are many exceptions to this rule, among them, most of the characters of the *Gumball Rally*, who were rich, bored bourgeois urbanites and the diverse cast of characters from the three *Cannonball Run* movies (1981, 1984 and 1989—*Speed Zone*), which range from buxom ladies to stuttering Rednecks to classic grifters (played by Dean Martin and Sammie Davis Jr.). Nevertheless, this article's main focus is on the Southern Redneck Rebel behind the wheel of a car, fighting against overwhelming odds to achieve his goal—to be left alone in a world that seems to envy his freedom and reviles him for his accent, attitudes and beliefs. However, the questions of why the car movie arose in the 1970s and, more specifically, why did the 'Redneck' audience enjoy the genre so much need to be addressed.

One of the most iconic 'car movies' and one of the influences of *The Dukes of Hazzard* did not arise in the 1970s but in 1958. *Thunder Road*, produced, written and starring Robert Mitchum portrayed the story of a moonshine runner, and eventually turned into one of the first 'car cult' dramas.<sup>6</sup> The movie set the standard for the 'moonshine epics' to come and eventually, *The Dukes of Hazzard*; indeed, the movie only missed a buxom 'Daisy Duke' character to have all the ingredients of *The Dukes of Hazzard*. The 'moon-

6. This is not the first article to examine *The Dukes*. The overwhelming majority of articles concern media culture in the United States, and the only article that examines similar topics is the project by Ted Blake at the University of Virginia's American Studies Program, entitled simply "*The Dukes of Hazzard*."

shine epics' provided everything that would be needed for movie audiences: "With car chases, criminality, and a built-in good-guy-versus bad-guy story line, moonshining was an irresistible subject for filmmakers" (Joyce 2014: 162-163). However, to see an anti-hero 'hick' on the big screen, played by a top star was something that was unusual and made Southerners and other 'hicks' proud to be 'rednecks.' In fact:

*Thunder Road's* enduring popularity no doubt owes less to the melodramatics and awkward chase scenes than to Mitchum's myth-making. In one fell swoop, the actor had brought together most of the elements that would comprise the good ol' boy iconography for decades to come: the anti-authoritarian poses and folksy lingo, the burly physicality and winking charm, the country-fried smarts and the hottest of hot cars (Luke Doolin's 1950 Ford coupe is a virtual proto-Batmobile, complete with smoke bombs, quick-release whiskey tank in the trunk and switch-operated jets that spurt oil in to the path of pursuing lawmen.) For the first time, the yokel was the coolest guy in the picture, and for rural audiences reared on the cornpone antics of *Li'l Abner* and *Ma and Pa Kettle*, that was something to cheer about. (von Doviak 2005: 19)

The end of *Thunder Road* also exemplifies the 'devil may care' attitude that mirrored the historical moonshine runners. As mentioned by Jamie Joyce in *Moonshine: A Cultural History of America's Infamous Liquor*, "audiences especially loved *Thunder Road's* epic ending: Mitchum as Lucas Doolin, barreling down a dark, winding road, cigarette dangling from his lips, federal agents on his tail. In the film's final moments, Doolin's car fishtails, his tires burst by spikes. He swerves, and the vehicle flips three times before crashing into an electrical transformer" (2014: 166). It was scenes like those described above that defined what the 'moonshine epic' was all about—'down to earth' antiheroes, fast cars, illegal activity and later, buxom ladies in the skimpiest of clothes. Whereas Mitchum repudiated the film years later, *Thunder Road* set the stage for other 'moonshine epics'—among them *Moonrunners*, starring Robert Mitchum's son, James Mitchum. Released in 1975, it was *Moonrunners* that would add the buxom girls in revealing clothing to the heady mix of moonshine 'tripping,' corrupt local officials, fast cars, chase scenes and crashes.

While the stories of moonshine runners were very well known throughout the South, the 'moonshine runners' or 'trippers' as they were known, were mostly unknown outside the South. The 'devil may care' attitude of Bo and Luke Duke, as portrayed by John Schneider and Tom Wopat, was first shown by various moonshine runners, such as Lloyd Seay, a native of north Georgia in the 1930s:

Seay was a whiskey tripper, well known in North Georgia for his skill behind the wheel and his ability to outrun authorities. His business made him a frequent traveler on the two-lane road between Dawsonville and Atlanta, where he delivered moonshine, sometimes twice a day, racking up more than 150 miles on a round-trip excursion. One day in 1939, Seay was pulled over for speeding. (It must be assumed that he'd unloaded a shipment of moonshine prior to the stop, because if there were whiskey in the car, he definitely would have applied his foot to the gas pedal instead of the brake). When the officer approached the vehicle, Seay tossed at him two \$10 bills. "Hell, Lloyd, the fine ain't but 10 dollars," the officer supposedly said. To which Seay replied, "I know it, but I ain't gonna have time to stop next time. I'm payin' in advance." (89)

The above 'snappy' attitude is typical of the 'moonshine trippers' but is also a feature of how Hollywood portrayed the typical Southern redneck behind the wheel in the car movies and TV series of the 1970s and early 1980s, including Burt Reynolds's character in *Smokey and the Bandit*, and his character, Robert "Gator" McClusky from the early 1970s movies *White Lightning* (1973) and, the sequel, *Gator* (1976), as well as Bo and Luke Duke. The same can be said of a NASCAR legend, Junior Johnson. A native of Ronda, North Carolina, Robert Glenn Johnson Jr. was born into a moonshine making family. Ronda is located in the heart of North Carolina's 'moonshine country,' Wilkes County. At one point in 1947, Wilkes County had so many moonshine trippers that, "the local racetrack invited them to come on out and drive in the hour and a half that passed between qualifying races and the main show" (101). For Johnson's part, he became so bored with farming that:

[he] had dropped out of the eighth grade, and he turned to transporting moonshine for his dad. His runs were local, at first. But by the time Johnson was 16, he was venturing further from home, hauling whiskey 'all night long, every night' to bootleggers in Lexington, Greensboro, Salisbury, and Albemarle, among other places, some 50 to 100 miles away. The way he saw it, delivering moonshine was the same as delivering milk. [...] His car

was a 1940 Ford, modified to the hilt, with fat tires for stability, extra big rims, and springs to help handle the weight of the liquor. (100-101)

Johnson proved so capable behind the wheel that he was never caught hauling illegal liquor.

Speed was critical if you wanted to keep from getting caught. But a driver also needed courage and quick reflexes. On the roads that ran out of Wilkes County, Johnson perfected his moves. One came to be called the 'bootleg turn,' and it involved slowing the car down, dropping the gear into second, punching the brake, and spinning the car around in the opposite direction of those who were giving chase. (101)

He won his first race at Hickory Motor Speedway in 1957 and would later go on to be a rising star in NASCAR, along with training over 35 drivers before retiring and being inducted into the NASCAR Hall of Fame. It was drivers like Johnson and Seay, along with fictional characters from the 'moonshine epics' that would inspire *The Dukes of Hazzard* and prepare TV audiences for the fun-loving, high flying Duke boys.

Spawning several spinoffs and two feature-length movies, *The Dukes of Hazzard* showed the adventures of Bo and Luke Duke, two cousins on parole for running moonshine, as they battled against the corrupt law enforcement and county elites (Sheriff Rosco P. Coltrane and J.D. "Boss" Hogg). The Dukes wanted just to be left alone but the law/'the establishment' would not allow this, as they were constantly harassed by the above-mentioned antagonists. However, whether intentional or not, the show fit in well with President Ronald Reagan's 'conservative revolution' and a return to 'family values' after the tumultuous years of the counterculture and economic strife. After all, the show featured no killing but plenty of car crashes, no cursing but plenty of tense situations and colloquialisms—mostly from actor James Best (Sheriff Rosco P. Coltrane) and Sorrell Brooke (J.D. "Boss" Hogg)—a very underrated and unrecognized comedy team, and no graphic sex or discussions about sex, but it was sexy. Indeed, the show proved to be so popular that it spawned a new clothing style, modelled after the female lead's skimpy wardrobe, the 'daisy duke'—even though as pointed out by Anthony Harkins, author of *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon*, the 'cut-off' jeans

look of Daisy Duke had been around since the days of Daisy Mae in the *Lil' Abner* cartoons of the 1930s (2004: 213–214).

While the roots of the *The Dukes of Hazzard* (hereafter referred to simply as *The Dukes*) can be found in the local legends of the trippers of the South, the production of illegal whiskey on the frontier has a deep story in the history of the United States. Indeed, one of the first movements to challenge the authority of the new United States federal government was the frontier Whiskey Rebellion of 1791–1794, which saw mobs attack 'revenue' and 'whiskey' stamp agents who were trying to collect the tax. These 'revenue agents' were despised and physically assaulted as people on the frontier thought they were being unjustly singled out for persecution by an unfeeling, corrupt and 'elitist' group of distant bureaucrats.<sup>7</sup> It could also be argued that *The Dukes* plays into the rural/urban conflict that stretches back to the colonial era when the future American frontier was a violent and wild place, as illustrated by the Whiskey Rebellion. Indeed, *The Dukes* seemed to not only tap into America's fascination with the car but with fighting against a tyrannical and corrupt government—something that also traces its roots to the Regulator Movement of the frontier of Colonial-era North and South Carolina. Furthermore, Wilkes County, North Carolina and its adjacent counties of Alexander, Ashe, Caldwell and Watauga (along with a few others) were on the 'frontier' during the Regulator Movement and were among the last settled in North Carolina. Although the idea for making corn whiskey that was untaxed by the government (aka "moonshine" or "white lightning"), stretches back to the earliest days of the colonialization of the American frontier, the "running" or "tripping" of moonshine became popular in the earliest days of Prohibition.

The roots of TV series *The Dukes* can be traced back to Guy (pronounced "Guy") Waldron's 1975 moonshine movie *Moonrun-*

7. For more information on the Whiskey Rebellion, see: Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (1988) and William Hogeland, *The Whiskey Rebellion: George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and the Frontier Rebels Who Challenged America's Newfound Sovereignty* (2006). Also, more information on America's tradition of rural rebellion can be found in Catherine McNichol Stock, *Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain* (2017). *Rural Radicals* was first published in 1996.

ners, which was based on a family of moonshiners in the hills of Waldron's home state of Kentucky. In the South and Midwest, unlike the major cities on the coasts, the car was not only a status symbol but the major means of transport and a symbol of freedom. Since most people in the South and Midwest lived on isolated farms or in small towns that could not afford (or even needed) public transport, a car represented adulthood, freedom and responsibility. In the author's hometown of Hickory, North Carolina, the local racetrack, as much as the mall or high school played no small part in the social life of teenagers and male-bonding through a love of cars, driving fast and "hell-raising" (—speeding down dirt roads and trying to avoid the police).<sup>8</sup> In small towns across the South and Midwest, kids learned to drive early and learned how to drive on or in various surfaces—dirt roads, muddy fields, sand, through forests and on ice and in snow on treacherous, winding mountain roads.

The childhood experiences of Gy Waldron with the driving culture of the South would prove instrumental in his 1975 movie *Moonrunners* (inspired by the true experiences of moonshine tripper Jerry Rushing) and in *The Dukes*. He stated:

They had a saying there—you drive the car during the week running whiskey, date the girl on Saturday night, and drive her to church on Sunday morning. You made your living in the car, you raced on weekends in the car, the first time you made love it was probably in the car. (Hofstede 1998: 14–15)

As can be seen, it was the South, more than anywhere else in the United States where kids learned the value of the car. Like Jerry Rushing, Waldron was born in Kentucky, where "boys

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8. Hickory Motor Speedway—where demolition derbies and races were held every weekend from April through October was 3 miles from the author's home. In fact, the races could be heard on clear summer nights. The drive-in movie theater (where the author had his first 'date'), was a bit closer—only 2.5 miles away. The author never ran "shine" nor was "tripper" but did accompany his maternal grandfather to acquire moonshine and a distant neighbor made moonshine and hid his 'product' in the woods near the author's childhood home. In fact, it was his grandfather that taught him, on one of these 'runs,' how to drive at age 12 because his grandfather was too inebriated to drive home. Needless to say, the author's mother was not happy with her father! For those interested in more information, Hickory Motor Speedway's website is: <https://hickorymotorspeedway.com/index1.php>. Accessed 10 Aug. 2021.

learned to drive tractors at the age of twelve and were racing across back roads in modified stock cars before their sixteenth birthdays” (14). Furthermore, it was Waldron’s experiences that translated *The Dukes* into a TV series, but also kept the show on the air and created a large fan base in the South and Midwest because the fan base could identify with the characters.

More than any other series in the history of television, *The Dukes of Hazzard* was a wake-up call to Hollywood that there were actually people living between New York and Los Angeles. Though it drew a respectable rating on both coasts, the series’ most loyal and enthusiastic audience lived in small towns and rural communities throughout the South and Midwest. [...] And for those who still insist that the show had no redeeming qualities, I offer the following list of lessons taught by *The Dukes of Hazzard*: Respect your family; do your chores; fight for what’s right; if you run a squad car into the lake, always look back to make sure everyone’s all right [...]. (xii)

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The rebelliousness of *The Dukes* had nothing to do with the nihilism of the 1950s ‘Beat’ movies, exemplified by Marlon Brando’s character, Johnny Strabler, in *The Wild One* (1953), when asked “What are you rebelling against, Johnny?”—Strabler famously quips—“Whaddya got?”<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, it was not the antisocial, ultra-violent hedonism of the outlaw motorcycle gangs portrayed in various movies, nor the self-indulgent, bored rebellion of the jaded bourgeois urbanites in the movies *The Gumball Rally* (1975) or the various *Cannonball Run* movies of the 1980s (1981, 1984, 1989), nor did it contain the criminal angst of the various *Fast and Furious* movies of a later era (2001–present) or any of the other movies or TV series that revolved around cars.

*The Dukes’* rebellion is grounded in a ‘conservative redneck’ rebellion exemplified by belief in God, country, family and taking the high moral ground. As John Schneider, the actor who played Bo Duke opined, “as corny as *The Dukes* was, underneath all that was the most accurate depiction of the interdependence of rural people that has ever been on television. Our show was like a Norman Rockwell painting [...] that moved very fast!” (55). As can be seen by the various quotes above, *The Dukes*, far from being ‘one long car chase,’ culturally told a typical American story

9. *The Wild One*, Columbia Pictures, 1953.

of redemption and striving to do good and right by your family and community. Finally, *The Dukes* had a star that spoke the language of the American road, a 1969 bright orange Dodge Charger—the *General Lee*.

The backstory of the name, the *General Lee*, is that moonshine trippers named their cars for famous historical personages. Actually, this was common practice in the South and Midwest until fairly recently—naming one’s car or, in particular, pick-up truck, was a rite of passage for many rural white young men. In particular, trippers would name their cars after historical figures, mostly from Southern history, and in particular, of Confederate heroes/generals or, sometimes, their just as famous horses. In the first draft of the first script, Gy Waldron wanted to call the car *Traveler*, after Confederate General Robert E. Lee’s famous horse (at least famous throughout the pre-civil rights era South where General Lee and the Confederates were still revered). However, one writer suggested that audiences outside the South might not get the reference, so the name was changed to the *General Lee*. As Hollis mentions,

and of course, most viewers considered the Dukes’ car, a Dodge Charger painted bright orange and named the *General Lee*, as much a cast member as anyone else. No, the car had no funny lines, but it came close with its horn that played ‘Dixie’ as a sort of way of sticking its tongue out at the sheriff and Boss Hogg. (2008: 240).

And, by extension, it could be argued, the elitist culture of the coasts that vilified *The Dukes* as ‘redneck culture.’

In conclusion, there can be very little argument that the heyday of the ‘Redneck Rebel’ behind the wheel ended with the last season of *The Dukes*. That does not mean that cars could not star in movies or television shows, as most recently, *Supernatural*’s ‘Baby’—a black 1967 Chevy Impala can attest. However, the cheeky attitude that *The Dukes* had at ‘sticking out its tongue’ at the elitist culture and the antihero attitude as attested to in the various ‘moonshine epics’ had run its course by the mid-1980s.

The current criticism against all things Confederate and/or Rebel-related has seen the cancellation of *The Dukes* reruns on the TV Land network in 2015 because of the backlash concern-

ing the Confederate flag. However, it seems that the attitude that *The Dukes of Hazzard* presented and the myths that it drew inspiration from will continue to influence the culture of the ever-dwindling and ever-vilified 'redneck culture' for years into the future.

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