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Routes Jukebox: Decentring Liverpool's popular music heritage

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Lead-in: Introducing *Routes Jukebox*

This chapter features the documentary film *Routes Jukebox* (2016) as a “record” of popular music heritage. Commissioned by the Liverpool International Music Festival (LIMF) as one of several thematic projects celebrating music migrations (Morris 2015), *Routes Jukebox* (re)connects Liverpool's popular musical heritage to its cultural “roots and routes” (Gilroy 1993: 190), including musical influences from Ireland, the United States, and Jamaica. To view Liverpool's popular music heritage as a kind of jukebox is to embrace the fluidity and mixity of multiple genres and styles. Via an array of interviews—with musicians, songwriters, producers, scholars, museum and heritage officials, tour guides and merchant sailors—the filmmakers traced the arrival of Irish music, early rock ‘n’ roll, country music, soul and reggae in Liverpool. The film also changes the record, decentring Liverpool's musical heritage by looking across the Atlantic, rather than an essentialist introspection. “What is it about Liverpool?”, asked Paul Du Noyer (2007: 1); “is there something in the water? Why does so much music come from here?” As Connell and Gibson (2003) countered, music doesn't naturally or essentially come from any particular place; it is part of complex historical and cultural interconnections of coming and going. *Routes Jukebox* explores some of the trajectories that form the global mix of Liverpool's popular music heritage.

Like many films about Liverpool, *Routes Jukebox* opens with aerial views along the River Mersey. These showcase Liverpool's docks and iconic waterfront (part of its UNESCO-designated World Heritage Maritime Mercantile City status), then segue into snapshots of significant musical sites, including the Cavern Club. Voiceovers also set the scene: "it's amazing what this city has actually produced musically"; "Liverpool has had more #1s than any other UK city"; "Liverpool has always produced great music"; "some cities excel at making steel or other things that they make; Liverpool is just a music city"; "the migration of people coming into the city is pretty integral." Just moments into the film, this groundwork establishes some of the externalities that shaped this port city where "music was coming from all directions: reggae, country and western, Irish music, Motown." One interviewee, Bernie Connor (radio DJ), commented:

At any given time in this city, where we sit now, there was thousands and thousands of sailors, with tales to tell, with things to say. Actually, they just came ashore, and they wanted to hear music; there's music everywhere. Somewhere along the line, a tiny little fragment of everyone who stepped in the city gets left behind: the Irish, the Africans, the Latin Americans, the northern Europeans, they came here. They didn't just come here, they got drunk and forgot to get back on the ship and stayed. The place was littered with immigrants 150 years ago; just wallow in what it brings with it!

In what follows, we consider not only migration to Liverpool but also "waves" of popular music heritage discourses. Next, we offer analyses of *Routes Jukebox's*

thematic “records” as a series of “A-Sides” and “B-Sides”: each A-Side examines routes by which interviewees understood popular music to have travelled to, and shaped, Liverpool; each corresponding B-Side flips the record to showcase where the filmmakers travelled globally, to learn about how select cities—Nashville, Detroit, and New York City (USA); and Kingston (Jamaica)—connect with Liverpool’s popular music heritage. This A-side/B-side “to/from” arrangement echoes the film’s structure, sounding out global flows of popular music in the mix of Liverpool’s popular music heritage.

Liverpool’s popular music heritage

Liverpool’s popular music heritage is well-covered scholarly terrain (e.g. Brocken 2010; Cohen 2007; Inglis 2009; Lashua and Cohen 2010); however, there wasn’t always interest in the city’s musical past. Du Noyer (2007) noted there were no markers or memorials to the Beatles in the city as late as 1977, when city officials objected to a proposed statue of “Eleanor Rigby” on Mathew Street and remarked that the group had done little for the city other than leave it. It wasn’t until the mid-1980s—and the opening of a replica Cavern Club (1984)—that Liverpool began capitalising upon the Beatles’ legacy as a tourist attraction and engine for urban regeneration (Cohen 2007). The city is now brimming with sites of Beatles’ heritage tourism, including the Cavern Club, the childhood homes of John Lennon and Paul McCartney, the Beatles Story exhibition, themed hotels (e.g., Hard Days Night Hotel), souvenir shops, bus tours and heritage trails. In 2015, Liverpool was awarded United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) City of Music

status: “Thanks to The Beatles, Liverpool and music are synonymous” (City of Music Network n.d.).

Smith (2006) described these elements as comprising an Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) that circumscribes tangible, monumental, grand, and ideologically-designated “good” heritage. For Smith (2006: 4) AHD works “to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage” through formal eligibility criteria and selection processes via established, institutional peer (“expert”) decision-making (e.g., UNESCO City of Music status). As such, AHD produces an aura of inevitability in particular heritage narratives at the expense of other stories and cultural meanings that become less visible or remain unremarked.

Although Liverpool’s popular music heritage has gained increased attention—e.g. the first major exhibition on Liverpool’s popular music heritage “The Beat Goes On” (Leonard and Strachan 2010) at National Museums Liverpool—it is often limited in focus to a handful of key moments or “waves” of musical activity. Lashua et al. (2010) identified three waves in AHD of Liverpool’s popular music heritage. These include (1) the early 1960s Merseybeat era, (2) post-punk in the late 1970s/early 1980s, and (3) popular electronic dance music in the early 1990s. A core venue and a primary group(s) are also often identified with each wave. The first wave, Merseybeat, centres on the Beatles and the Cavern Club (Leigh 2015). The second wave of Mersey music is associated with the club Eric’s (1976-1980) (Lashua and Cohen 2011). It corresponded with post-punk, including groups Echo and the Bunnymen, Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark, Teardrop Explodes, and Big in Japan.

The third wave of popular electronic dance music (e.g., house music) during the 1990s is linked to Cream and its “super club” Nation from 1992.

This wave metaphor is reproduced in a variety of official heritage manifestations, including the UNESCO City of Music website that specifically spotlights these venues and bands. Additionally, “The Beat Goes On” exhibition (2008-2009) at National Museums Liverpool was anchored within these three waves: a visitor’s map showed three corresponding, core areas of the exhibition (see Lashua et al. 2010: 135). Inglis (2009) argued the reduction of popular music heritage to isolated moments limited to a handful of venues and groups risks reproducing over-determined notions of a singular “sound” of a city, e.g. the “Mersey Sound” (see also, the “Nashville Sound” (Pecknold 2014) or “Canterbury Sound” (Bennett 2002)). For Brocken (2010: 5) “as a consequence of such formalistic narratives [i.e., AHD], other popular music histories concerning the city of Liverpool and its people have suffered from partial obscurity.”

Against prevailing AHD, Harrison (2010) referred to counter-mappings of cultural heritage that challenge or subvert dominant conceptualisations. Counter-mappings often chart hidden histories or relate counter-stories (Richardson 1997) that broaden and deepen understandings of the complex relations between people, places and the past. For example, in attention to sites of Liverpool’s “forgotten” pub scene during the early 1970s, Cohen and Lashua (2010) developed a counter-mapping that subverts dominant views that there was little musical activity in the city at that time. In another example, Lashua and Owusu (2013) produced a counter-mapping of Liverpool’s Toxteth neighbourhood (Liverpool 8 postcode) and its popular music heritage via an intergenerational documentary film. This film plotted

counter-stories of African and African-Caribbean social clubs as significant popular musical sites during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. They argued the legacy of these clubs was hidden beneath the “waves” of dominant heritage discourses focussed on the city centre. Counter-mappings and counter-stories feature in *Routes Jukebox*, where we turn first to country music.

A-Side: Liverpool, the “Nashville of the North”?

Routes Jukebox includes commentaries from interviewees spanning the cultural life of the city (unless identified otherwise, all quotations are from participants in the film). What becomes immediately apparent in the film is that few interviewees rely on the “three waves” metaphor in their narratives. For example, discussing the early significance of country music, Dave Jones (Director, the Cavern Club) stated:

There’s no doubt, music coming into this city via the ships did have some influence, but if you look back historically, that goes back to the 1930s, and the music that was brought in without any shadow of a doubt was country and western music. Liverpool was the biggest country and western city in Britain and that did come across the Atlantic on the ships, there’s no doubt about that.

This was echoed by Kevin McManus (Liverpool Vision): “Liverpool was the centre for country music in the UK. It was the first place it really took off; it went huge.”

Displaying an album titled “Liverpool Goes Country” (1965) featuring “Music City’s top country bands”, Bryan Biggs (Bluecoat Arts Centre) agreed that “the country and western musical influence on Liverpool is huge.” As evidence, “even at the height of

Merseybeat, you had an LP like this coming out [...] They're all Liverpool country bands, people like Hank Walters with his Dusty Road Ramblers." Showing another LP, "The English Countryside" (1967), Biggs noted another well-known Liverpool country band, The Hillsiders, sharing a split-LP with Bobbie Bare from America:

On here you've got the Union flag down this side [of the album cover], and on this side you have the Confederate flag, and it's about that historic reference of Liverpool being a Confederate city, supporting the Confederate side [in the American Civil War, 1861-1865] [...] all that history is just embodied in the design of that sleeve.

As Biggs illustrates through these albums, the "embodied" history of America is aligned to Liverpool via country music and draws upon longer historical roots and routes. As a port, Liverpool had longstanding links to slavery in the Americas via the Atlantic "triangle trade" routes. While Liverpool had vociferous Abolitionists such as William Roscoe, it was also home to slave ship owners including James Penny, after whom Penny Lane (of the eponymous Beatles' song) is named. Due in part to this legacy, Liverpool has been, since 2007, the site of the International Slavery Museum. Through interviews and shared artefacts (e.g., records), *Routes Jukebox* complements scholarship on country music's complex relations to Liverpool's past (Cohen 2005; McManus 1994). The story of country music in Liverpool, Brocken (2010: 5-6) argued, is "as equally vital as the one surrounding rock 'n' roll music."

B-Side: Nashville

Routes Jukebox's next port of call is Nashville. Like Liverpool, popular music heritage in Nashville is well-covered territory (Fry 2017; Pecknold 2014). Also like Liverpool,

Routes Jukebox arrives via aerial views of Nashville's riverfront, its preeminent music heritage buildings, e.g., neon-lit "Music Row", Country Music Hall of Fame, and Ryman Auditorium (home of the Grand Ole Opry). Expatriate Liverpoolian singer-songwriter Siobhan Kennedy emphasised the enduring impression of this iconic heritage: "There's such a respect and a reverence for being a mainstream country artist and getting inducted into the Grand Ole Opry. For a lot of artists, or aspiring artists, that's still the pinnacle for them." For Kennedy, Nashville's music heritage has an "aura" that attracts musicians, as an effect, in part, of the city's authorised heritage discourse.

The filmmakers then shift attention to a small-scale venue for aspiring singer-songwriters, The Bluebird Café. Since opening in 1982, the 90-seat venue has become, according to Erica Waller (proprietor), "home to many people on their way 'up'; Garth Brooks was discovered here at the Bluebird; Taylor Swift met [record company executive] Scott Borchetta here at the Bluebird in 2004; Kenny Chesney played on our writer's night; Keith Urban [too]... all of them have a history here at the Bluebird." The venue gained exposure as a setting for television series *Nashville*. Yet, Waller argues that the Bluebird Café's success remains a celebration of songwriters: "In Nashville there's a saying, 'it all begins with a song' [...] our entire industry is based on a great song." Ray Kennedy (producer) added, "what defines country music is the song; it's all about the story, it's all about the song." Here, the filmmakers tie the song/story of Nashville's country music back to Liverpool: for Siobhan Kennedy, Liverpoolians "identified with country music because it was about working class people, about normal people, about family life, about struggling, and

working hard for your living.” This articulation defines, in part, the counter-story of Liverpool’s country music heritage. Through lyrical connotations of working class hardships and social struggles, explained Paul Du Noyer (journalist), country music “found a ready response amongst the population of Liverpool and they adopted it in a big way, to the point where Liverpool was known as the Nashville of the North.”

A-Side: Liverpool, American rock ‘n’ roll and the Cunard Yanks

The second major thematic “record” on *Routes Jukebox* explores rock ‘n’ roll as a precursor to 1960s Merseybeat. If the 1950s were marked by an increasing “Americanicity” (Chambers 1985: 38)—adopting or imitating American styles—for Du Noyer “Liverpool was a particularly Americanised city in a way that no other city in the British Isles was.” Musician Mike Snow, of the Merseybeat group Lee Castle and the Barons, remembered “a lot of people think Merseybeat started with the Beatles, but that couldn’t be further from the truth. [...] There was a thriving music scene on Merseyside before the Beatles!” Dave Jones (Director, the Cavern Club) adds that “when the Cavern opened in January 1957, there were a lot of changes going on all over Britain in the music scene” as its youth embraced American rock ‘n’ roll.

Several interviewees, including Spencer Leigh (author), identified the “key appearance” of Buddy Holly at Liverpool’s Philharmonic Hall in March 1958:

rock ‘n’ roll was pretty well banned from the Philharmonic Hall, it was a hall that put on classical events. So what was rock ‘n’ roll doing there? I think it

was a mistake, actually, that the organisers didn't realise who Buddy Holly was!

Mike Snow recalled he was there, "like a lot of the lads were, and it changed everybody's life. Because here was these white boys, playing rock 'n' roll, playing songs that they'd written themselves, and just tearing the roof off the Philharmonic Hall." Snow added "that's where everybody said, 'well, if they can do it, we can do it.'" This, according to Dave Jones, helped bring about the explosion of bands from Merseyside,

led by the Beatles, but also including Gerry and the Pacemakers, the Searchers, Billy J. Kramer and the Dakotas, The Fourmost, the Swinging Blue Jeans. I don't think you'd ever find a scene which could develop just in one city like it did here in 1960. [...] What we experienced here in Liverpool during that period will remain quite unique.

While noting the racialisation of popular American groups such as Buddy Holly and the Crickets, Snow also drew attention to the pioneering black musicians active in Liverpool during the early 1960s: "we had local lads, of other ethnicities, who were in groups: Derry Wilkie, or the Chants." Derry Wilkie and the Seniors were an early rock 'n' roll group, the first from Liverpool to perform in Hamburg, in 1960. The Chants were a vocal harmony group from the Granby/Liverpool 8 postcode neighbourhood (later known as Toxteth). One member of the Chants, Eddy Amoo (singer, also later of the Real Thing) recounted:

I was part of a group called the Chants, and we began a long, long time ago, back in '62. Basically we were just five guys having fun. We had this fantastic sound – we didn't know it was fantastic, all we knew was 'this is fun.'

The Beatles were so impressed by the Chants' singing they acted as their backing band for six live performances in late 1962 (Lashua 2014; Strachan 2010). While early rock 'n' roll had arrived in Liverpool in the late 1950s and left its mark on British youth cultures (Horn 2009), this music then "returned" to America—via the 1964 "British Invasion."

B-Side: New York City

Liverpool had strong ties via its shipping lines (e.g. the Cunard Line and the White Star Line) to New York City. Introducing New York City's turn in *Routes Jukebox*, imagery again spotlights the city's waterfront and famous music venues including Radio City Music Hall and CBGB. According to New York City music tour guide Matthew Apter, "Liverpool and New York City are the same", as global cities:

I think there are a lot of similarities between Liverpool and New York City, obviously because they're both on the water and they're port cities, and that's what makes 'world cities'; that's the sort of thing that brings people from all over the world: the access to that place.

Massey (2007: 4) explained that "world cities" are "open" and "ever-changing" where "place" is "a constellation of trajectories; as a *meeting-place*." Apter's commentary characterised Massey's concept: "the Beatles and the British Invasion had an enormous impact on music in the United States. People started to not just listen to music differently but behave differently too." The British Invasion heralded "a seismic shift in American popular culture and music, where you have the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Kinks the Yardbirds, all these different bands and artists, Donovan, coming to America and changing the course, they are completely

disrupting it” (Nwaka Onwusa, curator, the Grammy Museum). Onwusa explained the transatlantic exchange:

these are artists, British youth, teens, that are inspired by American musicians, you know? They’re listening to Leadbelly, they’re listening to our blues, they’re listening to all these artists, they’re inspired and providing their own interpretation, and then feeding it back to America.

Additional “feedback” between ports took on mythical status in accounts of the “Cunard Yanks”—sailors with the Cunard Line who brought back American clothes, records and musical instruments, especially in the 1950s (Brocken 2016). One Cunard Yank, George Salmon, spoke of returning from New York to Liverpool with “crates full of albums” of “music they never heard before: Perry Como, Tony Bennett, jazz albums by John Coltrane, Duke Ellington, Count Basie.” Stories of these sailors included bringing rare musical instruments, too. Salmon continued:

A good friend of mine, Ivan Hayward – also a Cunard Yank – purchased a Gretsch guitar in New York City because he was a musician. Later on, George Harrison [the Beatles] purchased his guitar because this guitar was not available in the UK.

Rocky Schiano, owner of New York City’s Street Sounds musical instrument store, added that Gretsch guitar sales took off in the UK with the Beatles’ success. These examples—the British Invasion and the Cunard Yanks—highlight the importance of the transatlantic flows of people, records and instruments between “world cities.”

A-Side: Motown and Liverpool Soul

Another meeting place, and the third major “record” of *Routes Jukebox*, is Detroit. As maritime “edgy cities” populated by “edgy people” (Higginson and Wailey 2006: 14), the links between Liverpool and Detroit are deep-rooted for Bernie Connor: “What Motown was doing in Detroit, and what Brian [Epstein, Beatles manager] and the Beatles in Liverpool was, they both probably saw themselves as outsiders of the normal, accepted, ‘music biz.’” Nelson George reflected that “British musicians and British audiences seemed to get Motown music in a very profound way, in a way that even some American audiences didn’t appreciate” and Motown music was hugely popular in the UK (Flory 2014).

Motown manifested in 1970s Liverpool in the music of the Real Thing, a group including former members of the Chants. The Real Thing gained national popularity with their #1 song “You to me are everything” (1976). Bernie Connor expressed how extraordinary this group was: “[I]n 1976, the chances of four young Afro-Caribbean men from Liverpool getting to #1 off their own steam, and sustaining a level of success, not just for one single [...] but for many years, is nothing short of incredible.” Motown music, as one articulation of the soul and social consciousness of civil rights (Werner, 2006), found a ready link to Liverpool and its racialised relations. For while the city was diverse, it wasn’t always accepting of difference. Descriptions of the city in *Routes Jukebox* as a melting pot or “stew” were tempered with understandings that not all groups were welcomed, and racial intolerance was deep-seated (Lashua 2014; Strachan 2010). These tensions boiled over as urban unrest in the 1981 “Toxteth riots”, but had been expressed earlier, by the Real Thing, in their “Liverpool 8” medley featuring the anthem “Children of the Ghetto” (1977).

Alfred Zack-Williams (sociologist) explained: “The Real Thing was embedded in the community; the music was solid, the words were soulful, so they were really expressing, in an authentic way, what was going on in Liverpool.” Lashua and Owusu’s (2013) counter-mapping of the Black-British musical heritage of Liverpool 8/Toxteth celebrated a once-thriving social club scene when Black residents were excluded from city centre venues (Strachan 2010). Motown in Liverpool represents one of Liverpool’s “hidden” popular music heritages and an important counter-story of *Routes Jukebox*.

B-Side: Motown/Detroit

As in other ports, *Routes Jukebox* introduces Detroit via aerial views of its lakeshore skyline, with images of “Hitsville USA”—the Motown Museum—and signage for “Berry Gordy, Jr. Boulevard” on show. Like Liverpool, Detroit was a migrant city.

Nelson George commented:

it was a really big migrant city, I mean, all of the names of all the people you know [famous musicians], their families were from Alabama, Mississippi. One thing about Detroit: people had money because people were working in it. So people had money to buy instruments, people had disposable income for the weekends.”

Also speaking of musical migration to the city, Coraleen Rawls (Motown Museum) added: “Most of the time they came to Detroit because we had the factories. In coming to the factories, they also brought with them their music.”

Yet, like Liverpool where “the tides carried the rhythms” (Higginson and Wailey 2006: 14), it was music that flowed out from Detroit that became most significant. Speaking with Lamont Dozier, part of the songwriting team of “Holland-Dozier-Holland” (with brothers Eddie and Brian Holland): “Motown was famous all over the world, and so many people just gravitated toward the sounds. The songs dealt with situations that everybody could identify with; that’s one of the reasons why I think they were very big. And they hit home, they touched people because of the lyrical content or the melodies, just reached their psyche or their heart.” According to Rawls, this “reach” was felt in Liverpool, where The Beatles “were so impressed with the Motown sound that on their second album they used three Motown songs: ‘Please Mr Postman’, ‘You really have a hold on me’ by Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, and ‘Money’ by Barrett Strong.” Nwaka Onwusa, curator at the Grammy Museum summed up this exchange, which epitomises *Routes Jukebox*: “So when bands like the Beatles are introducing their own sound and singing Supremes’ songs, or singing some of our pop hits here, then you in return, have the Supremes trying to then sing Beatles songs. So it was just this back-and-forth that was amazing!”

A-Side: Post-punk Liverpool

The 2nd wave of Mersey music in the 1970s is centred on post-punk music at Eric’s. This emphasis was repeated—and expanded—in *Routes Jukebox*. Eschewing the pub rock scene (Cohen and Lashua 2010) and Liverpool 8 social clubs (Lashua and Owusu 2013), Norman Killon (DJ) described the early 1970s as “pretty moribund, but then along came Roger Eagle who started the club Eric’s.” For Killon, Eric’s “was a meeting place, and that’s how all the post-punk bands – Echo and the Bunnymen, Orchestral

Manoeuvres in the Dark, Teardrop Explodes – formed.” Yet this emphasis arguably also omits the wider range of music on offer at Eric’s during its brief tenure (1976-1980) as the city’s preeminent venue.

Bryan Biggs (Bluecoat Arts Centre) asserted “Eric’s is important, possibly even more than the Cavern” because of the sheer variety of bands who emerged from the scene that was centred on the venue. For Biggs, Eric’s was “something surreal and weird and quirky [...] you didn’t just see the hardcore punk bands, you’d get other musical influences there, from folk and jazz and reggae all mixed in.” Killon recalled “the jukebox at Eric’s was legendary” as it “had mainly reggae on it.” Biggs also noted “Eric’s was the only place in town where you could see really good reggae. It wasn’t just your average punk gig every night.” This contextualisation is important because it situates the heritage of popular music at Eric’s within a wider web of musical styles and global influences. Rather than on its own and unique to the city, *Routes Jukebox* decentres the musical heritage of Eric’s through reggae. Eric’s was arguably unique—because of its mix of widely-ranging styles and the cosmopolitan politics they promoted. From this, Eric’s became celebrated as a breeding ground for further innovation and mixity.

B-Side: Reggae, Kingston and Liverpool

Making Caribbean landfall, *Routes Jukebox’s* footage in Kingston highlights street scenes, murals, and public art featuring Bob Marley. Voiceover narration adds:

“Reggae music transcends all borders and reaches out to people, because it has a

true message.” In Kingston, reggae’s border-crossing capacities were echoed by saxophonist Dean Fraser:

it’s a music of the people, it’s like country and western, it tells the story of what’s happening to humanity to people themselves. Reggae music is one of the musics that has stood and say ‘no’, or says ‘look, help these people’, you know? So, the music gives a music of truth.

As with considerations of the mobilities of other genres, interviewees in Kingston emphasised the back-and forth mixing of Jamaican music with Liverpool’s music. The journalist Dennis Howard noted: “we are influenced by the music of Britain, and Liverpool in particular, because the Beatles were very popular in Jamaica. And a lot of our upcoming artists in the 60s covered a lot of Beatles songs. So, songs like ‘Blackbird’ was done by the Paragons, ‘I will’ was done by John Holt [...] and so, it wasn’t just us being influenced by them, we in turn came with the music to Great Britain, and we influenced a lot of them.” *Routes Jukebox* celebrates the transatlantic mix of popular music styles, people, and places. The importance of Jamaican reggae coming to Liverpool was noted by poet Levi Tafari:

I would say that reggae music connected people, but particularly in Liverpool because it’s soul music; it comes from the soul. And in Liverpool people are really politically aware, and there’s a certain consciousness amongst Scousers, yeah? Liverpool, during the 1970s, because of the high unemployment and the social situation and condition of the place, people got a certain consciousness and became politicised and rose up and spoke against that. And as Bob Marley sang in one of his songs, ‘get up, stand up,

stand up for your rights', and I think that became an anthem for many people.

Lead-out: Conclusions

This chapter has traced popular music, world cities, and cultural heritage via the documentary *Routes Jukebox* (2016). Horn (2009) also considered the jukebox as a cultural metaphor for British youth cultures (1945-1960) framed by processes and limits of Americanisation, which Horn dubbed "jukebox Britain." Like Horn, we suggest that a jukebox helps to invoke a variety of transatlantic relations and exchanges. We also recognise the limits of *Routes Jukebox*; the filmmakers couldn't visit as many cities as hoped. Notable omissions included Cleveland (USA), site of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, and especially Dublin (Ireland). For singer-songwriter Ian Prowse, Liverpool's Irishness "genuinely is in the water" of seaborne journeys that shaped the city's musicality.

Routes Jukebox (2016) was produced to celebrate Liverpool International Music Festival, and is (in part) civic boosterism. The film's final minutes celebrate Liverpool's diversity via its festival cultures, with particular focus on what Liverpool International Music Festival (LIMF) brings to the city. This accentuation is resonant with the aims of the film project, to celebrate the migrations of Liverpool's popular music, past and present. Set against the three dominant "waves" of Authorised Heritage Discourses, *Routes Jukebox* "changes the record." It situates Liverpool's popular music heritage within the fluidity and mixity of wider musical "roots and routes" (Gilroy 1993: 190), just some of the tracks in a much greater global jukebox.

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