

DESMOND GREAVES AND LIAM MELLOWS

The classic *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* was written by Desmond Greaves when running the Connolly Association. He had joined the then 'Connolly Club' in 1941 and within a decade helped steer the expanding CA towards its status as the primary voice of Irish progressives living in Britain. Those who founded the 'Club' in London on 4 September 1938 included leading lights in the city's Republican Congress branch and League Against Imperialism. Both had recently lapsed as functional bodies in the sector when Michael McInerney, Patrick Musgrove and Jim Prendergast consolidated a core of left leaning Irish republicans and socialists. Greaves assumed editorship of the organization's *Irish Democrat* organ in 1951, a demanding role which provided him with a modest income. He worked to deadlines while developing numerous additional literary outputs.¹

From his family home in Rock Ferry, Birkenhead (Liverpool), Greaves negotiated *Mellows* with Lawrence & Wishart Limited. The London company printed texts for the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), which Greaves had joined in 1934. He maintained a life-long interest in classical Marxism and anti-imperialist politics.² Access to the CA office in Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross Station, London, provided Greaves with a convenient base for a broad spectrum of activism. On 8 March 1947 he advised the Promethean Society in Dublin that those seeking an end to the partition of Ireland should ally with the Soviet Union and similar 'progressive forces'.³ This ideological formation, coupled with valued Irish and Welsh 'Celtic' heritage was invigorated by a Liverpool upbringing, a major port city with tangible cultural and commercial links to Dublin and Ireland in general.

Such factors disposed Greaves to conceive a comprehensive history of the Irish revolutionary period (1913-23) but he was deflected by feedback that the volume as outlined 'would be too long'.⁴ A workable solution was to address fundamental historical issues by writing contextualized biographies of James Connolly

and Liam Mellows. Both had been executed for their political ideals and prominence between May 1916 and December 1922. L&W manager Maurice Cornforth approved this reorientation. Yet the contract for the second title was not signed until 19 August 1970 when its manuscript was close to completion.⁵

Greaves's research was conducted with focus when the historiography of the field was still immature, though there were exceptions. Steered by Dan Nolan of Tralee, *The Kerryman* newspaper defied state censorship to issue republican memoirs and first-hand compendiums in 1947-1953. This endeavour, while popular, failed to impact the curriculum of the Twenty-Six County Republic of Ireland. Violence attending the formative years of the breakaway 'Six Counties' in the north of the country from 1920 was, in the main, denied acknowledgement by London and Belfast. Quality of life in the disputed sector, as well as intentional diminution of *de jure* civil rights for non-pro-British 'Unionists', was signalled by the promulgation of the draconian Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act in 1922. Further erosion of legal protections followed Westminster's April 1949 ill-conceived 'Ireland Act' which the CA vigorously opposed. Modes of Stormont coercion, building on increments of 'gerrymandering' electoral constituencies, compounded the abolition of proportional representation in 1929. The culturally repressive 'Flags and Emblems' Act in 1954 essentially proscribed Irish symbolism and iconography as the IRA revived. Such factors propelled the jurisdiction towards upheaval in 1968. The northern zone lacked 'one man, one vote' until belated emergency Westminster intervention braced Stormont in 1969. This basic democratic principle had been long advocated by the CA when lobbying for a Bill of Rights.⁶

Greaves neither endorsed nor condemned the methods of the Irish Republican Movement which assiduously, in terms of a strategic vision punctuated by armed campaigns, pursued an agenda towards objectives shared with the CA. Mainstream Irish publishers were demonstrably slow to contract books on the origins and nature of the bitter struggle for sovereignty in Ireland; one that flared by 1972 into the most violent post-WWII conflagration in western Europe. Trauma arising from years of insurrection, partition, civil war and the failure of the 'Boundary Commission' by 1925 probably contributed to this studied

reticence. A biography of Mellows as part of the continuum of Irish revolutionary experience offered Greaves an opportunity to comment on critical matters of the times.⁷

Across two substantial tomes, Greaves eschewed the temptation to aver that Connolly and Mellows comprised an organic succession within Ireland's revolutionary left. If favourable propaganda to some contemporaries seeking such continuities and reflected validation, no such transition had occurred. When interviewed by *Irish Times* journalist Deaglan de Breadun in February 1986 Greaves specified that Mellows 'in his last year moved very close to Connolly' and, following Peadar O'Donnell's succinct appraisal, was 'a radical Fenian'.⁸ The pair were household names in Ireland having been advanced to the Republican pantheon despite scant attention from mainstream historians. The interlinked projects by Greaves overlapped in both conception and execution. He retrospectively demarcated December 1959 as a discrete prioritization of his Mellows investigations owing to a fruitful visit to the Inch district of northeast Wexford. The month was chosen arising from the success of encounters with maternal relatives and acquaintances of Mellows. Tellingly, Greaves had not known that the day of his venture into Wexford from Glenmalure Hostel in Wicklow coincided with a commemoration of Mellows at his gravesite in Castletown. The coincidence, facilitated by driver and CA associate Roy Johnston, proved invaluable.⁹

The Life and Times of James Connolly by Greaves appeared in January 1961 to general acclaim.¹⁰ What the author termed his 'successor' volume on Mellows was published ten years later reaching a narrower readership. This disappointed Greaves who regarded the second biography as superior: 'a work of much greater maturity than the Connolly book. It is my greatest achievement as an historian ... far more complex and significant'.¹¹ Unexpected factors disrupted the research and drafting schedule; not least an impulse to write *The Irish Question and the British people* pamphlet in 1962. This countered what he regarded as an unduly respectful assessment of Stormont and Westminster perspectives on partition in *The Northern Ireland problem, A study in group relations* by Denis Barritt and Charles Carter. The Greaves retort appeared in early 1963 featuring an image of Wolfe Tone on its cover during the bicentennial year of his birth.¹² A concise 'little book', *Wolfe Tone and the Irish Nation*, followed in June 1963.

The anniversary gave impetus to persons anxious to challenge the Stormont regime by means of agitation on civil rights issues. Political and academic work by Greaves continued in tandem, not least lobbying for the release of Irish Republican Army prisoners who had not been amnestied after the February 1962 'Border Campaign' cessation.¹³

Interviews in Ireland were conducted when opportunities coincided with gaps in his UK activities. In private conversation years after the experience, Greaves recalled a memorable 1962 dialogue with President Eamon de Valera in his official residence (Aras an Uachtaráin) in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Greaves was staying in Finglas with Cathal and Helga MacLiam when a phone call was received arranging the State Car to bring him to 'the Park'. De Valera had been impressed by insights contained in *Connolly* and was candid when addressing his own strengths and weaknesses: 'He told me, referring to Mellows, Mary MacSwiney and the rest [of the more militant republicans]; "They would have held their hands in the fire. I was not made of such metal"'. By the same token, the ex-Chief of Staff of the IRA and President of Sinn Féin evidently measured progress by a line of sight from an Aras window to a tree planted in honour of a visit by Britain's Queen Victoria.¹⁴

On 28 June 1963 Greaves conceded that while he had 'got started' drafting, it was doubtful a MS would be 'ready by the end of the summer'.¹⁵ Significant pending interviews with Bulmer Hobson on 10 July and Eamon Martin on 22 July established that major aspects of the project were incomplete. Hobson, brutally honest, rarely demurred when criticizing perceived opponents and told Greaves that he found Mellows 'sincere but dull' with 'an irritating habit of facetiousness'. More unkindly, Hobson averred that he 'hadn't much in him' as a conversationalist.¹⁶ Eamon Dore, among others, qualified some of the more acerbic barbs of the pro-Treaty Belfastman.¹⁷ Reflecting on his Mellows enquiries, an exasperated Greaves mused: 'I spent the evening working on my notes. The search for primary material is the devil. When I did *Wolfe Tone [and the Irish Nation]* I surrounded myself with a file of some fifty books and set to work extracting and collating. Now I seem to interview a hundred eyewitnesses and extract nothing but contradictions!'¹⁸

It was in this morale building and formative stage of progress in Dublin that Greaves received an unsettling letter from Cornforth

on 9 August 1963. His London publisher seemed 'to be getting cold feet about "Mellows" citing funding for production costs'. The same communication divulged that there had been 'some conclusion of policy talks [within the CPGB] which have been going on for umpteen years' setting out a 'programme' for the North of Ireland. This was interpreted by Greaves as a subtle warning not 'to put a cat amongst the pigeons' in a book on an Irish revolutionary. The caution he discerned had emanated from those 'knowing nothing of this country'.¹⁹

Biographies by Greaves were densely researched due to his empirical methodology and specific first-hand knowledge that in many cases resolved key questions. By no means hagiographic, well grounded 'new' information gleaned on the birthplace of Connolly and tribulations experienced by Mellows in the USA were presented rationally with scant consideration of traditional assumptions and sentiment. From his two-million-word journal, summaries and letters, it is clear Greaves held that sectional issues on definitions of 'socialism', 'republicanism', 'revolution', as well as other political factors, coloured assessment of his writings. Minor aspersions from sparring partners were simply unpalatable but the more serious impact of silences within academia on both sides of the Irish Sea suggested a deeper negativity unwarranted by the dramatic shifts in context. Ireland was in the latter months of the 'Border Campaign' in 1961 yet in the early phase of a brutal thirty-year war in 1971. Membership of the European Economic Community was within sight for Ireland and the UK when *Mellows* appeared; an Irish Government objective which republicans fighting for national sovereignty held to be regressive.

The books were, however, markedly different in style: 'in the first I used the short sentence predominately, like files of soldiers marching across a page; but in the second, which is much more complex and mature work, the short sentence is varied with the long, to give a more architectonic effect'.²⁰ The decision of Greaves to provide minimal source citations in a manner required of academic convention was problematic. As far as can be ascertained, this was an attempt to avoid the alienation of a non-university educated readership. Moreover, he saw no need to conform with elitist protocols. The net result was the denigration of his texts within Third-level institutions.²¹ While an irrefutably valid criticism *vis a vis* lack of identified primary sources, it is notable that few

assertions were identified as being erroneous. Referencing issues evidently proved a convenient vector of attack for persons opposed to the wider political programme of the Connolly Association and republicans. Ideologically founded disdain from the university system may be inferred from the failure to acknowledge important information mined by Greaves from the private papers of Ernie O'Malley, Eamon Martin, Sean Etchingham et al. New York-based Cormac O'Malley had greenlighted 'Miss Brown' to produce his father's papers in Pearse Street Library in September 1965. Unique Civil War era documents were consequently brought to light by Greaves in Dublin.²²

The State Paper Office (Dublin Castle) and Public Record Office of Ireland (Four Courts) amalgamated in June 1988 as The National Archives of Ireland (Bishop Street). In the 1960s the institutions were spatially dispersed, underfunded and inadequately staffed. Records of immense value were uncatalogued if transferred from various Civil Service departments. Moreover, voluminous files compiled by the Bureau of Military History into the 1950s were retained by the Irish Army, including Witness Statements of participants in the designated pre-civil war revolutionary timeframe. Even more forensic Military Service Pensions Collection applications were withheld. With rare exceptions for approved family members, this embargo remained in place until March 2003. Greaves's years of experience researching Connolly and his international network of persons who had encountered Mellows compensated for denial of access to state managed information.

The final push for completion occupied much of Greaves's time in the spring and summer of 1969 when political violence in Derry, Newry and Belfast was met by the longest deployment of the British Army. It was during this tense period that L&W informed Greaves on 30 July 1969 that no typist was available to process the MS. He was obliged to seek the assistance of Fiona Connolly Edwards, who had helped prepare *Connolly*.²³ Born in New Jersey, the youngest daughter of Connolly had married Bert Edwards in England and settled in the Harrow district of northwest London. She worked for the Chemical Workers Union and engaged with pro-Irish organizations, not least the CA. Her elder brother, Roddy Connolly, had also assisted Greaves by arranging interviews in Dublin during the 1960s. 'Indignant' to find two pages of the Mellows MS missing from the package posted to her home address,

Greaves confided on 10 February 1970 that he too was 'long accustomed to such treatment'.²⁴

In the late stages of Mellows work, in April 1969 Greaves contemplated a biography of Sean Murray, ex-General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), who died in May 1961. Although in possession of important papers on Murray, Greaves decided that he could not do justice to his subject without sight of closed Communist International archives stored in Moscow. A potentially illuminating biography of Frank Ryan, IRA and International Brigade officer, was also not pursued when CPI leader Mick O'Riordan declared an intention to 'do something' on the Limerickman. Greaves ceded the ground on Ryan to O'Riordan who wrote the broader themed *Connolly Column, The story of the Irishmen who fought for the Spanish Republic, 1936-1939* (Dublin, 1969). Having reconsidered Murray and Ryan biographies, Greaves instead wrote *Sean O'Casey, Politics and Art* which was released by L&W in 1979. All political actors surveyed by Greaves with a view to full length books were leaders in the radical and revolutionary tradition. His scope spanned Na Fianna Éireann, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Republican Army, the Irish Citizen Army, the Republican Congress and XVth International Brigade, as well as non-violent trade unionists, the socialists and communists.²⁵

Greaves published when many important interviewees and correspondents remained in a position to challenge perceived misrepresentation. An exception was Eamon Martin whose sudden death was announced by the *Irish Times* on 13 May 1971. Martin, among the earliest and closest comrades of Mellows, was an important collaborator on the book. Yet Eamon de Valera, Peadar O'Donnell, Nora Connolly O'Brien, Bulmer Hobson, Pat McCartan, Maire Comerford, Seamus Reader, Seán MacEoin and numerous other contacts remained available. Contrary to the impressions gleaned by some commentators, he was highly diligent when fact checking in an era when personal computing, digital archives and internet communication lay far in the future. The last batch of 'proofs' were unexpectedly delivered by post to his Birkenhead address on 19 October 1970 and, although immersed in political commitments, he called into the National Library of Ireland in Kildare Street (Dublin) on 30 October to address queries arising.²⁶ As painstakingly recorded in his private papers, the British

Library (King's Cross), British Newspaper Library (Colindale) and Birkenhead Public Library were much frequented, as were the NLI, Customs House and Pearse Street Library in Dublin. When in Ireland during the 1960s, he was often accommodated by Cathal MacLiam and met with Anthony Coughlan and Roy Johnston, all of whom had longstanding CA connections.

Print media response to the *Mellows* publication, if limited, was overwhelmingly positive. The *Irish Times* praised Greaves on 3 July 1971 for producing a 'carefully written and superbly researched book, [which] has contributed greatly to clearing away the mists that cover so much of our history since'.²⁷ Journalist Dick Walsh was aligned with the Official Republican Movement, which had parted ways with the Provisionals by January 1970 arising from the deepening crisis in the North of Ireland. His connection to Official IRA Chief of Staff Cathal Goulding was notable, not least in that the organization was fully combatant against the British Military until May 1972. Walsh was acutely aware that the CA had campaigned for civil rights and constitutional reform since the 1940s, yet neither supported nor denounced the Provisionals. He knew Goulding interacted constructively with Johnston and Coughlan from 1964. The affirmation of Mellows in 1971 as the most credible successor to the ideals of Connolly, a tribute endorsed by Peadar O'Donnell, transcended simplistic political sectarianism. This achieved broad consensus on the question across the fractured Left.

Unsurprisingly, the book's assessment of class politics in revolutionary Ireland appealed to crypto-Official Walsh, as did the minutely charted evolution of its central figure: 'from the militarism and intrigues of the IRB ... to a political position close to Connolly'. This was an implicit criticism of Provisionalism and Walsh proceeded to aver that the life of Mellows contained significant lessons: 'People of all opinions in the country, and political activists in particular, should read this book. It is, more than ever, necessary now'. L&W commissioned an advertisement on the same page as Walsh's overview and in a further promotion on 2 October 1971 claimed their title had been 'greatly acclaimed'. If verifiable, the company's 1987 reprint quoted merely two endorsements on its back-cover (*Irish Times* and *Sunday Independent*). The Officials had praised the publication in September 1971 in *United Irishman* and listed it for sale in its 'National Book Service' page. Their monthly was cited in a flyer

as commending the book as 'essential reading for Republicans' reinforcing the CPGB's *Morning Star* view that readers were 'better informed' owing to the biography.²⁸

The *Irish Press*, aligned with the Fianna Fail Government's vote base, carried Proinsias MacAonghusa's glowing piece on 17 July 1971. A Galwegian Gaeligeoir and left republican, he appreciated the 'immense' research, not least coverage of his native county which hitherto received scant mention in accounts of the 1916 Rising. MacAonghusa commended sections which detailed, as never before, the Redmondite schism of the Irish Volunteers in the autumn of 1914 and factionalism in American circles during the four-year stint of Mellows as an IRB organizer. The reviewer had supported an embattled Charles Haughey in the aftermath of the May 1970 'Arms Trial' when he and other Fianna Fáil cabinet members were correctly implicated in plans to import weaponry for transfer to northern republicans. Given perceptions that the war material was intended to strengthen the Provisionals at the expense of the Officials, as Goulding's inner circle alleged, MacAonghusa, as with Walsh, was more deeply invested in the recurring themes of the Mellows biography than was obvious to the public. He too highlighted the 'uneasy relationship with the Irish-American establishment' experienced by both Mellows and De Valera and claimed pointedly that 'the position has not changed in 1971'. Greaves was credited with delivering 'a book of mighty importance to all Irishmen, especially at this time'.²⁹

The author reflected in 1979 that his biography 'did not get a single review in any *English* paper (emphasis added)' in contrast to his work on Connolly which 'was socialism', as opposed to republicanism, and viewed as less threatening.³⁰ His ire had been piqued by Paul Potts who in the August 1971 edition of *Tribune*, a leading socialist platform in Britain, had taken issue with the use of 'revolution' in its title. By no means antagonistic, Potts made inaccurate comments on the politics, nationality, military training and family background of its subject while complaining that the narrative was 'out of focus'. Greaves wrote to Coughlan on 14 September 1971 asserting 'such depth of illiteracy are seldom plumbed'. It fell to Roy Johnston to reprimand *Tribune* on 17 September 1971 in his capacity as Secretary of the Dublin Wolfe Tone Society. He contended that a 'masterly' book had been misinterpreted.³¹

It was not until September 1971 that *Irish Democrat* printed a review written by former CA General Secretary and trade unionist Sean Redmond. The Dubliner had on occasion edited the monthly when Greaves was researching in Ireland. The September issue, submitted for a late August copy deadline, highlighted the potential abyss facing Belfast people and those living in other areas invested by the British military. CA staff queried whether brutal counter-insurgency tactics used by many of the same regiments in Malaya, Cyprus, Kenya and Aden (Yemen) would be utilized. Weighed against such acute wider concerns, Greaves relegated assessment of his *Mellows* opus to page two of *Irish Democrat* where it shared space with news of the internment without trial of Belfast civil rights activists. Highly regarded, Redmond was CA liaison in London with the National Council for Civil Liberties, as well as the Movement for Colonial Freedom, which aimed to influence Britain's Labour Party policy on Ireland and Commonwealth issues. By no means a reticent commentator on the theme of Mellows, Redmond opined: 'It is not just a book to be read. It is to be used'.³²

The Capuchin Annual of 1972 carried an article on Mellows by Greaves counterbalanced by a lengthier one regarding Michael Collins by pro-Treaty politician and academic Professor Michael Hayes. Editor Fr. Henry Anglin OFM Cap appreciated that members of his Franciscan linked Friary on Church Street, Dublin, played non-violent roles in 1916 interacting with Connolly, Patrick Pearse and Con Colbert. Fr. Aloysius (William Patrick Travers) was conspicuous to both Government and Ecclesiastical authorities. While recording a reduced circulation from its 1950s heyday of 25,000, the eclectic book-length annual was valuable to Greaves as it transmitted an eight-page synopsis of his major work to a broad sweep of Irish society. The *Irish Examiner* hailed the 'first rate' chapter by Greaves in a 'splendid annual'.³³ This volume redressed state and university sector failure to produce a dictionary of Irish biography until The Royal Irish Academy released its landmark first print edition of that name in 2009. Britain's monumental *Dictionary of National Biography* appeared in London in 1885 and its subsequent variants into the 1990s predictably lacked pen portraits of Irish revolutionaries.³⁴

Unusually for a book of its type, *Mellows* remained in print for over fifty years without a second or revised edition. The enduring appeal of the book eventually led to its republication in paperback

by L&W in 1987. CA stalwart Flann Campbell welcomed the uncorrected reprint of the ‘standard’ text on the grounds that it was ‘not only ... thoroughly researched and well written’ but retained its relevance to Ireland’s turbulent politics. His review was carried in the prestigious *Books Ireland* in November 1988. Independent Senator Brendan Ryan welcomed the reissue in *Saothar*, journal of the Irish Labour History Society.³⁵ In August 2004, the editorial team behind the Republican Movement’s prisoner magazine, *An Glór Gafa, The Captive Voice*, selected the ‘seminal’ *Mellows* as their ‘first venture’ into reprinting ‘classic republican books’ in Belfast. Gerry Adams, who had read a disguised copy of the prohibited text in Cage 11 of Long Kesh political prisoner camp in the early 1970s, provided a new introduction. Leading Sinn Féin strategist Jim Gibney boosted the project in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* on 5 August 2004. In 2019 Conor McNamara published *Liam Mellows, Soldier of the Irish Republic, Selected writings 1914-1922* making most of his subject’s scattered articles readily accessible for the first time. Michael Mac Uaidh and other non-university writers published fresh perspectives in advance of the 8 December 2022 centenary of the execution of Mellows in Kilmainham Prison, Dublin. This is the third and revised edition of the groundbreaking work of Desmond Greaves.³⁶ Corrections noted in the author’s master copy have been corrected.

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Notes

- 1 See Anthony Coughlan, ‘C. Desmond Greaves, 1913-1988: An obituary essay’, Pamphlet (Dublin, 1991) and Ruan O’Donnell, ‘Towards an assessment of the Connolly Association’ in Frank Keoghan, Ruan O’Donnell and Michael Quinn (eds), *Anthony Coughlan, Essays on Sovereignty and Democracy* (Maynooth, 2018), pp131-142. Christened Charles Desmond, Greaves used his second birth name in public life and often abbreviated the first to ‘C’ in formal contexts. See also Michael Carty, ‘Tony Coughlan’s time in England, 1958-61’ in *Ibid*, pp89-96.
- 2 Michael Quinn, ‘Desmond Greaves’s formative years at the Birkenhead Institute, 1925-31 in *History Ireland*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (September/October 2021), pp42-5.

- 3 *Irish Times*, 10 March 1947. See also C. Desmond Greaves to the Editor, *Irish Times*, 30 April 1955.
- 4 Desmond Greaves, 'Writing the lives of James Connolly, Liam Mellows and Sean O'Casey' in 'Table Talk', p210, <https://desmondgreavesarchive.com>.
- 5 'Memorandum of Agreement made this 19th day of August 1970', Annotated Contract (Desmond Greaves Archive). *The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union: The formative years* by Greaves appeared in 1982 having been commissioned by republican and union leader Michael Mullen. See also Paul Cullen to the Editor, *Irish Times*, 25 November 1983 and Anthony Coughlan, 'The IRA was wrong from 1970' in *Village Magazine*, October-November 2024, No. 84, p60.
- 6 See 'London letter', *Irish Times*, 19 August 1968 and 'Plea for 'Bill of Rights' for N.I.', *Irish Times*, 14 September 1970.
- 7 Mick O'Brien, "'All the news of interest": *The Kerryman*, 1904-1988', doras.dcu.ie.
- 8 *Irish Times*, 24 February 1986. The Donegalman described Mellows on 10 December 1972 as 'the great Fenian' when addressing a commemoration in the hall of the National Union of Railwaymen, Euston Road, London. Peadar O'Donnell 'Liam Mellows' in Connolly Association, *Liam Mellows, A revolutionary life*, Pamphlet (London, 2022), p22.
- 9 Greaves Journal, 25 August 1960, Vol. 13, <https://desmondgreavesarchive.com>, and *Evening Echo*, 15 December 1959.
- 10 Desmond Ryan, 'Riddles of Connolly's life', *Irish Times*, 18 February 1961.
- 11 Greaves, 'Table Talk', p210.
- 12 Greaves Journal, 1 January 1963 and editorial note, 26 March 1963, Vol. 14. See also Denis P Barritt and Charles Frederick Carter, *The Northern Problem, A study in group relations*, Oxford, 1962.
- 13 'Author's preface' in C. Desmond Greaves, *Wolfe Tone and the Irish Nation*, Third Edition, 1991, p12.
- 14 Greaves, 'Writing the lives'. Helga MacLiam recalled: 'One day a big, polished glittering limousine stopped outside our small front garden. A man in military uniform stepped out and knocked. "Was Mr Greaves at home"? 'MacLiam', Greaves Archive Online.
- 15 Greaves Journal, 28 June 1963, Vol. 14.
- 16 Greaves Journal, 10 July 1963, Vol. 14.
- 17 Greaves Journal, 8 February 1965, Vol. 16.
- 18 Greaves Journal, 31 July 1963, Vol. 14.
- 19 Greaves Journal, 9 August 1963, Vol. 14.
- 20 Greaves, 'Table Talk', p210.
- 21 The term refers to higher education in Ireland.
- 22 Greaves Journal, 1 September 1965, Vol. 16. For positive print media

- opinion on such content in the 'sequel' to *Connolly* see *Irish Examiner*, 9 December 1971.
- 23 Greaves Journal, 30 July 1969, Vol. 20.
 - 24 Greaves Journal, 10 February 1979, Vol. 21. See Military Service Pension Application, WDP23746 and *Irish Times*, 10 April 1976.
 - 25 Greaves Journal, 24 April 1969, Vol. 20. See also *Irish Press*, 5 July 1979.
 - 26 Greaves Journal, 19 October 1970, Vol. 24.
 - 27 *Irish Times*, 3 July 1971. Padraig O Snodaigh predicted stocks of the 2,000 first print run of a 'most important contribution to Irish History' would 'soon be exhausted'. *Kerryman*, 8 July 1972. See also *Irish Press*, 2 October 1971.
 - 28 Promotional flyer, 1971 (Greaves Archive).
 - 29 *Irish Press*, 17 July 1971.
 - 30 Greaves, 'Table Talk', p102.
 - 31 Roy Johnston to the Editor (*Tribune*), 17 September 1971 (Greaves Archive).
 - 32 Sean Redmond, 'The story of Liam Mellows', *Irish Democrat*, September 1971, p2. See also 'Sean Redmond', Obituary, (tuleftforum.com) and *Irish Press*, 29 April 1970.
 - 33 *Irish Examiner*, 9 March 1972.
 - 34 C. Desmond Greaves, 'Liam Mellows' in *Capuchin Annual*, [Dublin] 1972, pp109-117 and 'Capuchin Annual, 1930-1977', capuchinfranciscans.ie (Accessed 11 October 2024). See Fr Aloysius (William Patrick) Travers, National Archives of Ireland, Bureau of Military History, Witness Statement, 200.
 - 35 Brendan Ryan, 'Review' in *Saothar*, 1989, Vol. 14, p75.
 - 36 Micheal Mac Uaidh, *Slán Libh Boys, Liam Mellows, A rebel with a cause* (n.p., 2019).