Thomas Merton's Censored Struggle with Suicide

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Introduction

Thomas Merton's diaries record his many bouts of depression along with passages expressing tension, angst, frustration with members of his community, despair about societal ills and feelings of being in the wrong place or in the wrong religious order. Would Merton have been on anyone's suicide watch list, or when Merton wrote about suicide was it from a more distanced philosophical or socially metaphorical standpoint? As serious as Merton's despair was at times, this does not categorize him as suicidal. One could miss the full picture of Merton's life by selectively examining his moments of sadness at the expense of the frequent joys he recorded stemming from monastic life, intellectual life, friendships, writing, and nature. Nevertheless, in weaving together published and unpublished writings, I found a number of references by Merton to suicide. My sources include Merton's published corpus, an unpublished early novel, his journals, and material cut from manuscripts of *The Seven Storey Mountain*. Alongside the question of what Merton meant by these references to suicide, there is the question of why many of these references were cut from Merton's autobiography.

There are two complete extant manuscripts of *The Seven Storey Mountain,* one at Columbia University and one at Boston College. Variant manuscript fragments on the verso of other writings by Merton have been recently discovered. Merton used cut pages as scrap paper for other writings. Existence of these variant fragments lends support to the view that the manuscript record for *The Seven Storey Mountain* remains incomplete. Additionally, there are no known extant reports from his monastic censors to document what was deleted.

If it is the case that suicidal themes were eliminated then there are several ways in which this might have happened: monastic censorship, which raised objections if sections were objectionable on moral or theological grounds or if they might have caused scandal; editorial revisions—Merton's autobiography was long and needed editing for readability; and self-censorship—Merton's elimination of portions of his book that did not move forward his intended narrative. In her thesis on the editing of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, Andrea Neuhoff describes the book as an 'autohagiography'.[1] The monastery and Merton's Trappist superiors saw his autobiography as a source of potential inspiration, and Merton was under pressure to leave out certain parts of the narrative to suit this purpose.

Trip to New York, 1931

In June 1931, Merton travelled by ship from England to New York. On this trip, we see the first of a recurring theme, the connection between strong feelings of love and sexual attraction with suicide. Merton, aged 16, became infatuated with an older woman on board the ship, but was later rejected by her. What follows in the published narrative is what Michael Mott refers to as 'the first of a number of carefully placed references to suicide'.[2] Merton's ship came into port in New York during the night of his rejection and he was unable to sleep. He noted, '[O]ther anchored ships began to appear as shapes in mist. One of them was a Red Star liner on which, as I learned from the papers when I got on shore, a passenger was at that precise moment engaged in hanging himself.'[3]

In the Boston College Manuscript, Merton ended the account of his trip to America with the suicide just referenced but continued, referring to the suicide:

> I had started out fairly enough on the same road, although I could not realize it at the time. But in these ten days on the boat I had in a way consecrated myself to this passion which was in men, and for the years that were to follow I was to be its slave and its captive, willingly, knowingly, freely.[4]

As Andrea Neuhoff notes, 'The rest of the paragraph has one big 'X' through it, and written in the margin is 'Too much!' I cannot tell who the handwriting belongs to.'[5] Merton continued in the crossed out portion:

> With my eyes open I flung myself into the pursuit of the pleasures and excitements of human love ... [and] all the other sins that were its results and its companions. Drunkenness, vanity, gluttony, jealousy, envy, pride, detraction, and all the day-dreaming and mental adulteries which follow in hundreds of thousands and prepare the way in other hundreds of thousands for each single consummated external sin. ...
>
> But the end of this road is maybe suicide ... it is an usurpation of God's rights over us as the Lord and sole owner of our bodies. For as soon as by lust or any other sin we take to ourselves the absolute dominion of our own flesh, we start out on the way to an unhappiness and misery which will eventually make us desire to seek liberation from the horror of what we have done, by suicide. And ... cast ourselves knowingly head first into everlasting damnation.[6]

Though the second reference to suicide does not survive in the published book, it is interesting to note that it was not what an editor or censor had labelled 'Too much!' Maybe this is an indication of monastic censorship coming into the process, considering references to Merton's pre-monastic sexual exploits too risqué yet judging comparisons of lustful passions to suicide not to be hyperbolic. Since removed in subsequent editing, such strong language of suicide may have lacked context when the harsh worldly criticism about his earlier sexual exploits was removed. Another similar section is marked 'omit' by an editor's hand:

> I did not start out writing this book in order to get mixed up in accounts of all the foolish and noisy and unpleasant love affairs I once had ... There would certainly be no point whatever in my embarrassing other people with the revelation of so much cheap sentimentality mixed with even cheaper sin. And besides, I have been told not to go into all that anyway.[7]

The closest personal connections Merton made with suicidal imagery often corresponded with times in his life when he attempted to make himself vulnerable to love, from his fleeting ship board heartbreak to other deeper wounds. For someone like Merton who had at this point experienced the loss of both parents and who would soon lose grandparents and his brother, love coincided with the potential for more

pain and loss. Particularly in regard to writing about relationships involving sexual encounters, he stated in an autobiographical draft that he was 'told not to go into the revelation of so much cheap sentimentality mixed with even cheaper sin',[8] a passage that was itself struck out. As a monk at this time under censorship, Merton was not at liberty to divulge many details of painful romantic or sexual encounters.

At University—Cambridge and Columbia

Writing about events around 1935, Mott mentions what he calls the 'second strategically placed suicide in *The Seven Storey Mountain*' and which 'makes a much more important point than the first'.[9] Merton wrote that 'when I had been away from Cambridge about a year, I heard what had happened to ... a friend of mine ... The porter...found Mike hanging by his neck from a rope slung over one of the pipes, with his big hearty face black with the agony of strangulation. He had hanged himself.'[10] Maybe this was a way to discuss the personal failures at Cambridge that he couldn't fully describe. Someone had crossed out this suicidal reference in the Columbia University manuscript, but somehow it survived in the published text. Yet he also spoke of war, a poison in the atmosphere of Europe at the time, and this was a way to link the general darkness in the souls of his classmates and himself with the selfish and destructive forces that led to war.

Even as life seemed to be improving for Merton in the friendships he was making at Columbia University, he was still haunted by much of the old darkness in New York. In June of 1937, Merton had moved from his grandparents' house to an apartment in Manhattan at West 114th Street on Fraternity Row near Columbia University. In an interview from 1980, Robert Lax told Mott of an incident not recorded by Merton in which Lax and Merton were chasing a mouse in his new apartment:

> To Merton's dismay, the mouse leapt out of the window and committed suicide on 114th Street. ... While this was almost comic, there had been something grimly repetitious about the death of one of Merton's fraternity brothers, who had disappeared for days, only to be found floating in the Gowanus Canal. ... His course in Contemporary Civilization had taken him to the morgue of Bellvue Hospital, which had a tragic enough connotation for him [with his mother's dead body having been taken there]. His grandfather had died suddenly the year before. His grandmother had had a series of accidents, then she had recovered, only to die a few months later.[11]

In the unpublished manuscript Merton once again portrayed his lack of moral direction as a doorway to suicide, related to a societal tendency toward nihilism and war. Later in life Merton reconnected with his love of jazz music; but, early in his monastic life, Merton associated his college lifestyle of inhabiting jazz clubs with a general disease infecting the world, leading to both self-destruction and the collective destruction of war. He wrote in a deleted section of his autobiography:

> You think that we, who sat in the Onyx club in 1936, listening to Stuff Smith yelling through his crazy hat, were not hurting anybody?
>
> Listen, we were among the ones who were fomenting the second world war ... and we were already drinking their blood, our own blood, the blood of the whole world ...
>
> There is grace in the world yet. God has not forgotten us. God had not forgotten or forsaken me when I sat in the place called the Famous Door. It was in misery and sorrow, and the inescapable sense of my own wretchedness that grace was to come to me.
>
> I was to find God in a blind alley, in a place that seemed to have no outlet but hell, in a place where the last blank wall smelled of suicide and of the terrible morgue.[12]

Though the early bit of harsh self-criticism seems overdone, the end of this section is quite beautiful. It records an important part of Merton's conversion experience, a conversion which was not at first arrived at through a *via lucis*, of being drawn to God through truth and beauty, but through hitting rock bottom, in confronting death, suicide, and a present and future hell. In 'the terrible morgue' he again confronted the deaths of his family and friends. Andrea Neuhoff's analysis of the redacted sections of the Boston Manuscript provides a possible clue to why a section like this was cut. She notes that 'in the published text Columbia is a relatively happy place for Merton in comparison to Cambridge',[13] so using this section did not fit Merton's intended narrative.

Though Merton had already led us in the narrative into 1937, he returned to relating more about his grandfather's death in the autumn of 1936.[14] It is unclear when Merton had a breakdown that fall, but it was

likely after, and connected to, this death. After recounting the death, Merton wrote:

> One day I was coming into town on the Long Island train. I had a bagful of work that was already late, and had to be handed in that day. After that, I had a date with someone with whom I liked very much to have a date. While the train was going through the freight yards in Long Island City my head suddenly began to swim. It was not that I was afraid of vomiting, but it was as if some center of balance within me had been unexpectedly removed, and as if I were about to plunge into a blind abyss of emptiness without end. I got up and stood in the gap between the cars to get some air, but my knees were shaking so much that I was afraid I would slip through the chains between the cars and end up under the wheels, so I got back and propped myself against the wall and held on. This strange vertigo came and went, while the train dived into the tunnel under the river, and everything around me went dark and began to roar. I think the business had passed by the time we got to the station.[15]

Scared, Merton got off the train and sought out the house physician at the Pennsylvania Hotel, who counselled Merton to get some rest and give up some of his activities. He took a room overlooking 32nd Avenue. He could not sleep and kept focusing on the window:

> That window! It was huge. It seemed to go right down to the floor. Maybe the force of gravity would draw the whole bed, with me on it, to the edge of that abyss, and spill me headlong into emptiness.
>
> And far, far away in my mind was a little, dry, mocking voice that said: 'What if you threw yourself out of that window ...' ... I thought to myself, 'I wonder if I'm having a nervous breakdown.'[16]

A Haunting Theme

This incident stayed in Merton's consciousness for many years. Merton's journal of October 22, 1952 recorded that 'since my retreat I have been having another one of those nervous breakdowns. The same old familiar business. I am getting used to it now – since the old days in 1936, when I

thought I was going to crack up on the Long Island Railroad, and the more recent one since ordination.'[17] In fact, the breakdown on the train and the suicidal thoughts at the window haunted Merton's psyche until the end of his life. In one of his last works and last lengthy work of poetry, *The Geography of Lograire*, there is a section titled, 'Queen's Tunnel', evocative of Merton's mental breakdown and connecting the despair of this moment with the city morgue:

> Brookly river sing my orange song: rickety bridge to the funeral parlor.
> Life and death are even.
> My Lady Mum is all alive in Homer. May might be in love poems or others. Quick into another tunnel.
> Van is in the apartments where he used to sing. His girl is kept in a trunk. Food for novel ...[18]

In June 1968 Merton wrote about this section of the poem in his 'Author's Note':

> The most personally subjective part is perhaps the long meditation on Eros and Thanatos, centered in the New York City Borough of Queens ... But this dream also reaches out to London and other places in Europe. The focal point is around the gasometers of Elmhurst, the freight yards of Woodside, the crematory in Brooklyn, a Harlem nightclub, the boats in Bayside Bay, the tunnel under the East River leading into Manhattan ... 'Top funnel house' is simply a sort of Hieronymus Bosch building which smokes and looks and is symbolic of death ... It is both police station, hospital and crematory which has devoured one by one the bodies of parents, grandparents, etc.[19]

The locations Merton cited include the crematory that disposed of the remains of his family members; boats in a bay, evocative of Merton's report of the suicide of a fellow ship passenger; jazz clubs, earlier referenced in the unpublished draft as the 'blind alleys' leading to potential suicide; and the tunnel evocative of Merton's mental breakdown and temptation to suicide at the Pennsylvania Hotel window. Merton wrote of *Eros* and *Thanatos*. For Freud, *Eros* was connected to one's life and generative drives, not just related to love, or more narrowly sex or

sexual procreativeness, but attached to the desire to live and create. Freud wrote of a contrary death instinct that later Freudians named *Thanatos* to give a corollary to Freud's use of *Eros* for love and life.

Images of love and death were also, to use a phrase from the *Lograire* quote, 'food for novel'. Merton himself mentioned that the novels he wrote before Gethsemani had veiled autobiographical elements and dealt with matters not included in *The Seven Storey Mountain*.[20] In 1939, Merton was writing a novel, 'The Labyrinth', one of whose characters, Jato Gordon, breaks off his relationship with his girlfriend. We see how his character's loss of love is connected with thoughts of self-harm:

> And it was all over, and he wished he were dead. Only he did not dare wish that either ... It was so easy and so hard to be dead. Life clung so stubbornly to bodies ... Supposing then you tried to let out that unhappiness through a hole made by a bullet ...[21]

The Seven Storey Mountain

Between 1944 and 1946, Merton was writing the *Seven Storey Mountain*. The version that his editor Robert Giroux received in 1946 was what Giroux described as the 'partially approved text',[22] which suggests there may have been prior censorship either within the Abbey or through the channels of official censorship within the order, usually two readers with the Trappist Abbot General signing off. The censorship process continued after Giroux received it because he wrote that later, 'in the midst of editing', 'another censor, the last to be heard from, was refusing permission',[23] an issue which clearly got resolved. The Merton Center has censorship documentation for most of Merton's major and even many minor works, but not for *The Seven Storey Mountain*.

One of the problems with the manuscript autobiography noted by Robert Giroux was 'the off-putting sermon-essay with which the book opened and the need of cutting'.[24] Earlier mentioned was a scrap of previously unknown *Seven Storey Mountain* material on the back of another Merton essay which was found at The State University of New York at Buffalo. One of the scraps contains a variant of the 'sermon essay' at the beginning of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, but from a different source than either the Boston or Columbia manuscripts.

In this version of the introduction, after Merton's sermonizing about the condition of man, he began to introduce his own story in different words that we know from the published text: 'It was a night in January.

The world was at war. It was nineteen fifteen. I was being born into a land full of enemies.' [25] Less memorable than the later draft, Merton ended his long sermonizing introduction with a description of the fallen nature of man and mortality after the Fall:

> Why do you put iodine all over your fingers when you get a cut? Why do you drink so much bad beer, and pay money to see movies that have kill[ed?] [sic] you with boredom, why do you wake up every morning with your mouth full of the yellow mud of nicotine, and start, at once, to light a cigarette? Why do you keep wondering whether you will eventually throw yourself out of the window of one of those high-buildings?
>
> It is because, my brother, you are curled up on your own self, and you have made yourself the beginning and the end of your own universe.[26]

Merton was both speaking in general terms about the human condition, but it is also, in this unpublished passage, the closest echo to that mocking voice Merton heard in looking out the Pennsylvania Hotel window. It also suggests a personal connection for Merton between nihilistic thoughts and self-harm. His solution was to proceed from the Hell of self-isolation to a relationship with God.

Acedia during the 1950s

Thus defined, life as a monk should have been the answer. Yet, the fall of 1949, after the success of *The Seven Storey Mountain* and after his ordination, brought a period of anxiety described in *The Sign of Jonas.* After describing the initial excitement of his newly ordained life, he began to speak of the feeling of insecurity about what it all meant, that he was 'bound to be purified by fire'.[27]

The peak of Merton's resignation in the period after his ordination was from April 27 to October 9, 1950. No extant journal entries survive from this period. Merton writes in *The Sign of Jonas*:

> Finally, in April, 1950, I gave it all up, as I thought, for good.
>
> Nevertheless, in the depth of this abysmal testing and disintegration of my spirit, in December, 1950, I suddenly discovered completely new moral resources, a spring of new life, a peace and a happiness that I have never known before

and which subsisted in the face of nameless, interior terror.[28]

Donald Grayston, in his recent book, *Thomas Merton and the Noonday Demon*, provides a glimpse into Merton's depression during this undocumented time. A handwritten note to Dom James, written in the middle of this period (June 1950) testifies to the depth and darkness of this time:

> Things are pretty dark. I feel as if I had a hole burnt out of my heart. My soul is empty ... I am less troubled when Jesus gives me solitude and silence. The hole in my heart doesn't upset me so much when I can sit still. The Liturgy fills me with trouble and fear unless I just take it negatively in blind faith, knowing Jesus is acting on me with His love through it all.[29]

Grayston's book focuses on the vocational crisis Merton suffered for much of the decade after his ordination when he thought of leaving the Trappists for a more eremitical life with the Camaldolese. Building on the writings of Kathleen Norris in *Acedia and Me*, he finds the term a useful description of Merton's struggles:

> Is then *acedia* depression? And was Merton depressed? My answer to the first question is no, that depression is a clinical condition (mental and/or biochemical), whereas *acedia* is a spiritual or perhaps attitudinal condition; and, moreover, that a hermeneutic of *acedia* fits Merton's experience far more exactly than does a diagnosis of clinical depression. My answer to the second question, aided by John Eudes Bamberger, is also no. Bamberger ... is also a psychiatrist. For some time while Merton was master of novices, Bamberger worked with him in regard to their mental health.[30]

The Final Decade

The final decade of Merton's life was marked by increased social consciousness in his writing, yet this further engagement with the world came at a time when he was getting permission to move into the holy life of the hermit. In a section of *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* composed in 1965, Merton's take on suicide remained similar to *The Seven Storey Mountain*. Suicide was linked to societal disease, ego-centrism, and alienation from God; but his societal critique was more nuanced than

before with references to his concerns about technological positivism:

> We fear the thought of suicide, and yet we need to think rationally about it, if we can, because one of the characteristics of our time is precisely that it is a suicidal age ...
>
> [I]n a sense we have to *die* to our image of ourselves, our autonomy, our fixation upon our self-willed identity. We have to be able to relax the psychic and spiritual cramp which knots us in the painful, vulnerable, helpless 'I' that is all we know as ourselves.
>
> The chronic inability to relax this cramp begets despair ...
>
> The mentality of suicide is built into our technological society—the mass media, focused always on violence and crisis, destroy sane hope, keep everybody in a cramp of fear and suspicion.
>
> There is only one remedy—the surrender that seeks faith in God ...
>
> This means in fact recognizing that one is not absolutely alone, and that one cannot live and die for himself alone.[31]

Late in his life, Merton claimed in his 1966 journal to have seriously faced some of his self-destructive tendencies. Merton was reading Camus' *The Myth of Sisyphus* which famously states: 'There is but one truly serious philosophical problem and that is suicide.' In Merton's 'Midsummer Diary for M', he wrote:

> I am reading Camus on absurdity and suicide: *The Myth of Sisyphus*. I had tried it before and was not ready for it because I was too afraid of the destructive forces in myself. Now I can read it, because I no longer fear them, as I no longer fear the ardent and loving forces in myself ... As to suicide: I would be delighted to drop dead, but killing myself would be just too much trouble.[32]

Two days after picking up *The Myth of Sisyphus*, Merton's attitude to the book had changed: 'Finished *Sisyphus* in a rush, finally bored by it.' [33] Merton remained more interested in Camus's philosophy expressed through fiction. It sheds doubt on how seriously Merton considered the taking of his own life. This may have just been a mental exercise in considering the philosophical question of suicide or part of the

melodramatic emotions of this period with M rather than a serious cry for help. Yet, when Merton entered a deeper connection with romantic love than ever in his life through his relationship with M, he was most vulnerable to her loss in his life, a reminder of the losses of other loved ones through death and a portent of his own mortality at middle age.

To bring the theme of suicide in Merton's later life full circle with his earlier writing, Merton entered Gethsemani around the time Camus was writing *The Myth of Sisyphus*. Both were confronting postwar nihilism and the personal, philosophical idea of suicide, but from different perspectives. Camus, as an unbeliever, needed to find a reason to live in an absurd world and choose rebellion against unjust systems and the freedom of art and expression. Though in his early monastic life Merton may have considered suicide as an escape from an absurd and godless world, he later realized that the absurd exists within the monastery. As he stated in his reflection in Louisville at 4th and Walnut, 'the conception of "separation from the world" that we have in the monastery too easily presents itself as a complete illusion'.[34] Merton later came to see that belief in God does not nullify the absurd and even implicates the believer in the problem of evil. Though approached from the perspective of the theist, Merton came to a similar idea as Camus. His monastic vocation was lived as protest against systems of oppression. In his creative life, he, like Camus, made space for freedom in a world that wants to enslave us to oppressive systems and despair.

Conclusion

I do not think there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Merton was actively seeking to kill himself. Yet Merton's themes of suicide can be linked with a larger theme in his writings: the confrontation with nihilism, with what he once called society's 'unconscious death wish' [35], and that we were living in a 'suicidal age'[36]. I have made some tentative links with Merton's personal life. So often the personal and the political were linked in Merton's worldview. His way of learning about the world was often mediated through relationships. As such he was not comfortable divorcing the personal from the political. The deep psychological wounds left by love and loss in Merton's life may well be symbolized by the *Eros* and the *Thanatos* that Merton cited in *The Geography of Lograire.* This poem may provide a final key to understanding Merton's lifelong struggle to affirm love and life in the face of absurdity and the constant temptation to succumb to despair and suicide. In *Conjectures* Merton gave us a clue to his resilience in the face of

despair: '[T]he man on the edge of suicide may in fact also be on the edge of a miracle of hope that saves him in spite of himself.' [37]

Notes

1. Andrea Lynn Neuhoff, 'The Unedited Thomas Merton: Autobiography to Autohagiography' (Bachelor's thesis, Reed College, 2005), pp. 83-90. Andrea Neuhoff uses the term 'autohagiography' to describe what became of Merton's autobiography after the process of monastic and editorial censorship. She argues that, since a large amount of personal information of Merton's biography was removed as objectionable, the narrative became less personalized and more of a generalized inspirational and morality story. Through the combination of Merton's authorship of the base text and having the text altered by others for the sake of elevating Merton as a salutary example, Neuhoff found that this put *The Seven Storey Mountain* in a new genre, autohagiography, distinct from both autobiography and hagiography. She does not argue that Merton himself viewed his project as a hagiography, but that censors and editors manipulated his autobiography for hagiographic purposes, and this distinction is necessary to understand the published work.
2. Michael Mott, *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), p. 59.
3. Thomas Merton, *The Seven Storey Mountain* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1948), p. 90.
4. Thomas Merton, Boston College manuscript of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 173.
5. Neuhoff, p. 138.
6. Boston College Manuscript, pp. 173-4.
7. Boston College Manuscript, pp. 161-2.
8. Boston College Manuscript, pp. 161-2.
9. *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton*, p. 88.
10. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 127.
11. *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton*, p. 108.
12. Boston College Manuscript, pp. 301-2.
13. Neuhoff, p. 61.
14. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, pp. 158-60.
15. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 161.
16. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 162.
17. Thomas Merton, *A Search for Solitude: Pursuing the Monk's True Life. Journals - Vol. 3: 1952-1960*, edited by Lawrence S. Cunningham (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 20.

18. Thomas Merton, *The Geography of Lograire* (New York: New Directions, 1969), p. 43.
19. *The Geography of Lograire*, 'Author's Note', pp. 1-2.
20. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 263.
21. Thomas James Merton, manuscript of 'The Labyrinth' (The Thomas Merton Archives at St. Bonaventure University), pp. 99-101.
22. Robert Giroux, 'Introduction', *The Seven Storey Mountain* [Fiftieth Anniversary Edition] (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998), p. *xiii*.
23. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. xv.
24. *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. xiv.
25. Manuscripts B276 F55 and B276 F29, The State University of New York at Buffalo, Poetry and Rare Book Collection draft of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 2.
26. State University draft of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, p. 2-3.
27. Thomas Merton, *The Sign of Jonas* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1953), p. 229.
28. *The Sign of Jonas*, p. 230.
29. Donald Grayston, *Thomas Merton and the Noonday Demon: The Camaldoli Correspondence* (Eugene, OR: Cascade 2015), p. 43.
30. *Thomas Merton and the Noonday Demon*, pp. 22-23.
31. Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (New York: Doubleday, 1989) pp. 223-26.
32. Thomas Merton, *Learning to Love: Exploring Solitude and Freedom-Journals, Vol. 6: 1966-1967* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1997), pp. 304-5.
33. *Learning to Love*, p. 37.
34. *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander,* pp. 156-57.
35. Thomas Merton, 'Introduction to *The Plague* of Albert Camus', *The Literary Essays of Thomas Merton* (New York: New Directions, 1985), p. 198.
36. *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander,* p. 223.
37. *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*, p. 226.

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