Relevance and Ambivalence: A Bibliographic Review of Thomas Merton's Centenary (2015)

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Introduction

The centenary of Thomas Merton's birth generated a slew of publications about him.¹ As early as January they started coming in force and they did not seem to let up in any month. Indeed, since Pope Francis addressed the U.S. Congress in September of 2015 and lifted Merton up as one of the four Americans we ought to follow into the twenty-first century, the waning months of the year saw no corresponding fall in publications. Rather the autumn of 2015 was more like a second spring. Full-length books, book chapters, scholarly articles and short personal homages sprouted throughout the entire year.² The bibliography for 2015 compiled by Dr. Paul M. Pearson at the Thomas Merton Center at Bellarmine University in Louisville numbers close to two hundred items; this alone testifies to Merton's relevance. This essay will selectively discuss publications that came out about or by Merton in 2015 and will treat them according to a loose typology.³ For example, introductory books and articles will be set apart from more substantive or investigative books and articles, and pieces about Thomas Merton treated apart from pieces by him.

Merton remains relevant because he expresses and nourishes a basic and timeless human hunger for what is true and good and beautiful. However, he is also relevant because with stinging conviction he exposes stubborn injustices, our flight from understanding, our collective

^{1.} For a helpful guide to some of the more important book-length publications leading up to and initiating the centenary see Patrick F. O'Connell's "Wisdom and Discontent: Diverse Books Mark the 100th Birthday of the Great Mystic and Writer Thomas Merton," *Sojourners* (January 2015) 40-44.

^{2.} Book chapters are not covered in this essay due to spatial constraints, but I want to mention as especially noteworthy Belden C. Lane's "Holy Folly: Aravaipa Canyon and Thomas Merton" in *Backpacking with the Saints: Wilderness Hiking as Spiritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) 193-206, and Patrick F. O'Connell's "Continuing the Dialogue: Thomas Merton and Albert Camus" in *Creating Albert Camus: Foundations and Explorations of His Philosophy of Communication*, edited by Brent C. Sleasman (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016) 139-60.

^{3.} I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Melissa Sissen, reference librarian at Siena Heights University, for helping me track down many of the pieces reviewed in this essay.

fear, pettiness and cruelty. In this way Merton is a classic.⁴ David Tracy explains that a "classic," be it a text, song, symbol or even a person, is a kind of concrete universal that confronts us with an excess or surplus of meaning and that challenges and transforms our personal horizons.⁵ It is the surplus of meaning and the enduring capacity to challenge and transform that merits the designation "classic." Being transformed by a classic is appealing, even alluring, but being challenged by one annoys and afflicts. Getting very close to this idea, Dorothy Day said that the prophet is one who "comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable."⁶ Since Merton was doubtless a prophet our response to him and to his legacy will be marked by profound ambivalence. This ambivalence frames my brief concluding reflection.

(Re)Introductions and Commemorations

The vast majority of the publications related to Thomas Merton in 2015 were simple introductions or reintroductions to the writer, monk and poet that explored why, a century after his birth, Merton still matters. This parade of "meet Thomas Merton" type publications appeared in a wide variety of venues and in an impressive array of languages.⁷ On the whole these were reliable and responsible testimonies to Merton's continuing and growing importance that challenge those of older generations to look afresh on a familiar face, and inspire younger generations to seek Merton out for the first time. For example, Fr. Dan Horan's piece "Merton (Still) Matters" succinctly and convincingly elucidates Merton's perennial appeal and relevance in an accurate and responsible way.⁸ Likewise, Michael W. Higgins' piece, "Enduring Voice of the World's Monk" is an insightfully solid introduction.⁹

^{4.} Philip Sheldrake presents Thomas Merton as a "classic" in chapter seven of his *Explorations in Spirituality: History, Theology, and Social Practice* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2010).

^{5.} See David Tracy, *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 100-107.

^{6.} This quotation is regularly attributed to Dorothy Day – sometimes in reference to the gospel, sometimes to saints and prophets; see for example, Sr. Helen Prejean's *Dead Man Walking* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993) 5.

^{7.} See for example (1) Fernando Beltrán Llavador, "El Legado de Thomas Merton para el Siglo XXI," *El Notre de Castilla* 212 (Septiembre 26, 2015) 4-5; (2) Aleksandra Klich, "Uwaga, Niebezpieczny Tomasz Merton," *Gazeta Wyborcza* (31 stycznia-1 lutego, 2015) 34-36; and (3) Andreas Ebert, "Was Kann Man Huete von Thomas Merton Lernen?" *Publik-Forum* 3 (2015) 42-43.

^{8.} Daniel P. Horan, OFM, "Merton (Still) Matters: How the Trappist Monk and Author Speaks to Millennials," *America* (19-26 January 2015) 20-23.

^{9.} Michael W. Higgins, "Enduring Voice of the World's Monk," The Tablet (31

A rare exception to this reliability, however, is a piece by John Cooney that appeared in *The Irish Times*.¹⁰ Cooney's version of Merton's story is fraught with problems. For example, Cooney says that Merton met with D. T. Suzuki in 1968, but Suzuki had actually passed away in 1966, two years after his meeting with Merton in New York. He claims that M. was nineteen, while Merton reports that she was twenty-five.¹¹ He suggests that Merton was so distraught over the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council that he might have joined Archbishop Lefebvre in schism.¹² But the most troubling piece of Cooney's article is his strongly asserted but wholly unsupported "conclusion" that Merton had committed suicide because of his remorse over losing M. Merton scholars will easily spot the falsities and ungrounded speculations in this article but it is difficult to find comfort in that. Reading Cooney's piece I was reminded of Steven Colbert's facetious fondness for "truthiness" over truth and of Ira Glass, who recently said we are living in "a post-truth age . . . when it has never been easier to establish the facts yet facts have never seemed less important."13

In addition to the numerous introductory and commemorative pieces that appeared singly in periodicals and journals, a commemorative anthology deserves special mention. *Mertonianum 100: Comemoraçá do Centenário de Thomas Merton* is the first major publication of the Brazilian Society of Friends of Thomas Merton and aims to offer readers of Portuguese something similar to what Gray Henry and Jonathan Montaldo offered a bit earlier in English.¹⁴ This is a delightful collection of essays of varying degrees of formality that movingly convey how Merton continues to challenge, guide, inspire and entertain so many.

12. Archbishop Lefebvre was excommunicated for ordaining four bishops of his Society of Pius X without papal approval. The archbishop rejected "the Spirit of Vatican II" which he identified with a "false ecumenism" that he believed was behind all of the conciliar developments. His letters to Pope John Paul II can be found online at: http://www.sspxasia.com/Documents/Archbishop-Lefebvre/Apologia/Vol_three/Chapter_26.htm.

13. Ira Glass, "Episode 599: Seriously?" *This American Life*, aired October 21, 2016 on National Public Radio.

14. We Are Already One: Thomas Merton's Message of Hope – Reflections in Honor of His Centenary (1915-2015), ed. Gray Henry and Jonathan Montaldo (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2014).

January 2015) 8-9.

^{10.} John Cooney, "Thomas Merton: The Hermit Who Never Was, His Young Lover and Mysterious Death," *The Irish Times* (10 November 2015).

^{11.} See Thomas Merton, *Learning to Love: Exploring Solitude and Freedom. Journals, vol. 6: 1966-1967*, ed. Christine M. Bochen (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1997) 130.

Books

Book-length introductions to Thomas Merton's life and thought also appeared, such as Michael W. Higgins' excellent and engaging introduction *The Unquiet Monk: Thomas Merton's Questing Faith* which receives individual attention in the following section of this volume.¹⁵ Following last year's publication of his *Thomas Merton: Faithful Visionary*,¹⁶ which was a more general introductory piece, Higgins offers here a still brief but slightly more in-depth introduction to Merton's thought and intellectual contributions. True to form, Higgins displays his detailed knowledge of his subject as well as his own gifts for highlighting and explaining how Merton continues to be ahead of our time in so many ways.

A second effective example of an introduction is Linus Mundy's *Simply Merton: Wisdom from His Journals*.¹⁷ Anyone familiar with Mundy's Elf-help series and CareNotes booklets knows that he has a gift for making spiritual concerns and insights broadly accessible and finding ways to express wisdom in simple ways. In *Simply Merton* Mundy applies that skill to breaking open and sharing from Merton's voluminous journals. In fifteen chapters dealing with themes drawn from Merton's spiritual life, Mundy offers his own reflections and guides readers to do the same. Mundy succeeds in rendering a fine little book that serves as an effective introduction to Merton's life and work and as a practical touchstone for prayer and meditation.

As an important aside, 2015 was also the centenary of the birth of Merton's dearest friend Robert Lax, and the fifteenth anniversary of Lax's death. Two noteworthy books mark this occasion: Michael McGregor's *Pure Act: The Uncommon Life of Robert Lax*, which is reviewed in the following section of this volume,¹⁸ and S. T. Georgiou's *In The Beginning Was Love: Contemplative Words of Robert Lax*.¹⁹ McGregor's book blends first-person memoir with some solid biographical research, a combination that is both engaging and informative and gives the reader a sense

^{15.} Michael W. Higgins, *The Unquiet Monk: Thomas Merton's Questing Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2015).

^{16.} Michael W. Higgins, *Thomas Merton: Faithful Visionary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press: 2014).

^{17.} Linus Mundy, *Simply Merton: Wisdom from His Journals* (Cincinnati, OH: Franciscan Media, 2014).

^{18.} Michael N. McGregor, *Pure Act: The Uncommon Life of Robert Lax* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).

^{19.} *In The Beginning Was Love: Contemplative Words of Robert Lax*, edited with an Introduction by S. T. Georgiou with a Foreword by Jonathan Montaldo (Springfield, IL: Templegate, 2015).

of intimacy with a poet who manages to remain mysteriously private. Georgiou's work, on the other hand, is a kind of extended found poem, lifted from Lax's own corpus that is introduced, arranged and edited by Georgiou. The result is stunningly beautiful. The eighty-one sections that comprise the book can be read as a single extended poem, or individually as mantra-like meditations leading to silent wonder and awe. Either way, Lax's contemplative words read like a prayer, revealing not only Lax's stark and austere attention to created things but also a bit of the Creator, the One with whom Lax is utterly and ultimately preoccupied.

Beyond the broad-ranging introductory books, some tightly focused and detailed studies of particular aspects of Merton's life appeared as well, three of which I will just mention here since they also receive individual attention in the review section of this volume. First, Donald Grayston' s Thomas Merton and The Noonday Demon: The Camoldoli Correspondence is a brilliant examination of Merton's perpetual restlessness.²⁰ Grayston uses his discovery of a previously largely unknown correspondence to unpack the depths of Merton's vulnerabilities to the siren song of eremitic life and in his spiritual battle against the sickness of acedia. Next, Roger Lipsey's Make Peace Before the Sun Goes Down is a revealing and penetrating examination of the richly complex relationship between Thomas Merton and his Abbot James Fox that adds depth and balance to the record.²¹ Finally, Fiona Gardner's The Only Mind Worth Having: Thomas Merton and the Child Mind is a fascinating exploration of Merton's spiritual journey as a response to Christ's call to become like children.²² Gardner, utilizing her psychoanalytic expertise and her tools as an accomplished Merton scholar, helps the reader appreciate the only mind worth having while being on guard against the pathological substitutes that are merely masks for narcissism, regression or childish petulance.

Scholarly Articles

In addition to the books, many scholarly articles appeared that contributed to our developing understanding of Merton's life and legacy. Here I can mention only a few. "Los Puentes Culturales y Literarios de la Traducion Poetica: Thomas Merton y Ernesto Cardenal" by Marcela Raggio uses Thomas Merton's engagements with Latin American poetry and a

^{20.} Donald Grayston, *Thomas Merton and the Noonday Demon: The Camaldoli Correspondence* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015).

^{21.} Roger Lipsey, Make Peace Before the Sun Goes Down: The Long Encounter of Thomas Merton and His Abbot, James Fox (Boston: Shambhala, 2015).

^{22.} Fiona Gardner, *The Only Mind Worth Having: Thomas Merton and the Child Mind* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015).

theoretical framework provided by Antoine Berman to think about how translation requires and facilitates transcultural bridge-building and cultural interpenetration.²³ By looking at Merton's translations of Cardenal's work, Raggio unveils how each influenced and enriched the other.

Ron Dart renders a rather compelling comparison of two of the twentieth century's greatest spiritual writers in his piece "C. S. Lewis and Thomas Merton: Soul Friends," where he examines "both the thematic affinities between Lewis and Merton and, equally important, the explicit references both men make, in an appreciative manner, about one another."²⁴ Dart comments that for whatever reason the scholars and admirers of these two great figures self-segregate. Let's hope that elucidating their complementarity as Dart does here will provide some impetus for bridge building.

Jack Downey's "The Great Compassion: Thomas Merton in Asia" explores the religious interpenetration of Catholicism and Buddhism within Thomas Merton.²⁵ Downey, well versed in what the Vatican calls "the dialogue of theology," portrays Merton as an unexpected embodiment of the phenomenon known as "multi-religious belonging."²⁶ By carefully examining Merton's appropriation of Buddhism, with all its promises and potential problems, Downey also highlights how Buddhism, especially in America, has appropriated Thomas Merton. This piece opens up exciting avenues of inquiry for those who share Merton's interest in and recognize the importance of the interreligious dialogue.

Paul M. Pearson's "The Whale and the Ivy – Journey and Stability in the Life and Writings of Thomas Merton"²⁷ is a thorough fleshing-out of Merton's profound understanding of his monastic vow of stability, which effectively functioned as a protection against Merton's innate restlessness. Pearson suggests that Merton's capacity to notice, his attentiveness to and even empathy with his natural and artificial surroundings, is in no small part due to his living stability. Throughout this insightful essay Pearson illustrates how the vow of stability "encourages the inner journey" which Merton says is "far more crucial and infinitely more important than any

^{23.} Marcela Raggio, "Los Puentes Culturales y Literarios de la Traducion Poetica: Thomas Merton y Ernesto Cardenal" *e-latina* 13.51 [Buenos Aires] (Abril-Junio 2015).

^{24.} Ron Dart, "C. S. Lewis and Thomas Merton: Soul Friends," Crux 50.2 (Summer 2014) 23-31.

^{25.} Jack Downey, "The Great Compassion: Thomas Merton in Asia," *American Catholic Studies* 126.2 (2015) 107-25.

^{26.} See *Many Mansions?: Multiple Religious Belonging and Christian Identity* edited by Catherine Cornille (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010).

^{27.} Paul M. Pearson, "The Whale and the Ivy – Journey and Stability in the Life and Writings of Thomas Merton," *Cithara* 54.2 (May 2015) 18-32.

journey to the moon."28

In the same journal issue as Pearson's piece, F. Douglas Scutchfield has explored Merton's relationship with his "godfather" in his article "Thomas Izod Bennett, MD and Thomas Merton: A History and Examination of their Interaction."²⁹ While the essay does not shed a lot of new light on Merton, it certainly does so on Bennett. Scutchfield provides nearly two full pages of dossier that present Dr. Bennett as a celebrated physician and respected researcher who published in premier medical journals. By filling out a broader picture of Bennett, Scutchfield helps us appreciate the extent to which Bennett played a role in Tom's formation and education, and how Bennett influenced Merton's sensibilities and tastes.

Works by Merton

The centenary was also a year for publications *by* Merton, some appearing for the first time and some reappearing from the past. Merton's *Early Essays, 1947-1952*³⁰ and the seventh volume of Merton's novitiate conferences, *Charter, Customs, and Constitutions of the Cistercians*,³¹ are especially significant and receive individual attention in the review section of this volume. Patrick F. O'Connell's masterful editing and introducing of these works, the detailed precision and erudition loaded into each of his textual notations, guarantees the solid scholarly contribution these two books make.

In addition to these, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* published a short piece by Merton on "*Lectio Divina*," the art and science of sacred reading that had been preserved in the Bellarmine archives as a mimeograph manuscript.³² Sections of this thoughtful explication are maturely realized such as Merton's explanation of liturgy as the Church's hermeneutical key to the Scriptures, while other parts remain cursory and slip into mere jottings, such as when he writes: "To jump over . . . steps . . . may end in self-deception and waste of time. Practical hint: a) Pre-reading – looking at contents, preface, dipping into chapters; get a general idea of the plan" (13). The combination of formally developed prose and notational frag-

^{28.} Thomas Merton, *The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings from the Desert Fathers of the Fourth Century* (New York: New Directions, 1960) 23.

^{29.} F. Douglas Scutchfield, MD, "Thomas Izod Bennett, MD and Thomas Merton: A History and Examination of Their Interaction," *Cithara* 54.2 (May 2015) 5-17.

^{30.} Thomas Merton, *Early Essays*, *1947-1952* edited by Patrick F. O'Connell with a foreword by Jonathan Montaldo (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2015).

^{31.} Thomas Merton, *Charter, Customs, and Constitutions of the Cistercians: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition* 7 edited by Patrick F. O'Connell, Preface by John Eudes Bamberger, OCSO (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2015).

^{32.} Thomas Merton, "Lectio Divina," Cistercian Studies Quarterly 50.1 (2015) 5-37.

ments gives the piece a kind of unfinished freshness and warmth. It should be noted that in addition to this original Merton piece *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* dedicated many pages to Merton-related works in 2015.³³

Paulist Press used the occasion of Merton's one-hundredth birthday to reissue some books that had fallen out of print. Two of them were Merton's biographies of the Cistercians Mother M. Berchmans³⁴ and Saint Lutgarde of Aywières.³⁵ Exile Ends in Glory, originally published in 1947, is the tale of Mary Piguet, who was born in 1877 and at the age of three and a half was dropped off at the Convent of the Redemption in Lyon, France to be raised by the sisters. She grew up to become a Cistercian nun, taking the name Mary Berchmans, and later became a missionary member of a small cottage convent in Japan. Merton's account of Mother Berchmans' story illuminates her struggle to discern what within her was essentially Christian and Benedictine from what within her was French or European. The question for her was pressing since being in Japan presented a challenge for her to accept and encourage the cultural values of her Japanese charges while mentoring their Christian faith and spiritual development. Unfortunately, Paulist Press misidentified the subject of Merton's biography in its blurb on the book's back jacket, declaring that the book was about the Irish-born Sister of Charity, Anne Daly (who also became a Mother Berchmans) instead of the French-born Cistercian, Mary Piguet, the actual subject of Merton's biography.

The second biography, *What Are These Wounds?* originally appeared in 1948, the same year as *The Seven Storey Mountain*, and tells the story of St. Lutgarde, a medieval mystic and contemporary of St. Francis of Assisi whose communion with Christ is manifest in her body's bearing the wounds of Jesus and in her devotion to His Sacred Heart. While both of

^{33.} For example Bonnie Thurston's piece "Waking from a Dream of Separateness: Thomas Merton's Principles of Interreligious Dialogue," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50.1 (2015) 83-97; Bernardo Bonowitz, OCSO, "Reaping What Merton Has Sown: A Retreat for the Merton Centenary," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50.1 (2015) 39-64; Monica Weis, SSJ, "Finding Oneself in the Cosmic Dance: Nature's Grace for Thomas Merton," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50.1 (2015) 65-81. Also, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* published for the first time in English translation a fine study of Merton as a diarist: Ramón Cao Martínez, "The Readings of a Diarist: Thomas Merton as a Reader of Journals and Related Works," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50.2 (2015) 195-241; 50.3 (2015) 319-69. The original article, "Las Lecturas de un Diarista: Thomas Merton como Lector de Diarios Obras Afines," appeared in *Cistercium* 65.261 (2013).

^{34.} Thomas Merton, *Exile Ends in Glory: The Life of Trappistine Mother M. Berchmans, O.C.S.O.* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015).

^{35.} Thomas Merton, *What Are These Wounds? The Life of Cistercian Mystic Saint Lutgarde of Aywières* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015).

these biographies can strike the twenty-first-century reader as belonging to a more sentimental and pietistic age, the protagonists are compelling figures and Merton's storytelling skill and his disarming humor keep both books readable and enjoyable.

Ishi Means Man, however, also rereleased by Paulist Press, strikes me as much more timely.³⁶ Originally posthumously published by Unicorn Press in 1976, *Ishi Means Man* is comprised of five essays about indigenous peoples of the Americas and their struggles for survival in the modern age, and includes a short introduction by Dorothy Day. While Merton's word choice of "Indians" to refer to Native Americans or First Nations people dates the book a bit from an academic if not a popular point of view, his interest "in the ways in which an oppressed and humiliated 'primitive' civilization seeks to recover its identity . . . against the overwhelming threat of a society which can rely on unlimited backing from the great powers, precisely because it is white" (39) ensures that his insights remain poignant. It was nothing short of chilling to be reading *Ishi* as the World Series was played and some students were heading west to Standing Rock. This is when Merton's relevance angers and upsets.

Conclusion

As the Cleveland Indians played in the World Series against the Chicago Cubs, and fans sported caps adorned with the ridiculous mug of Chief Wahoo, actual Native Americans were engaged in a much more serious struggle. Cleveland's Tribe got more attention than the tribes in the path of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) who stood in solidarity at Standing Rock. North Dakota to protect their sacred lands and water. These tribes stood against a for-profit corporation that tried to exercise the "right" of eminent domain and to employ the lever of local sheriffs and state police forces to push a gas pipeline through. While the land and water protectors exercised non-violent and unarmed civil disobedience, armed police used stun grenades and rubber bullets to disperse them. Activist Winona LaDuke framed the whole crisis in terms of colonialism and racism and hoped that the standoff at Standing Rock would illuminate the dark shadow of the powerful's disregard and disdain for the land and the powerless poor. In an interview with Democracy Now journalist Amy Goodman, LaDuke stated:

This is not just about one pipeline but about the new direction we need in moving away from fossil fuels for a sustainable future for the planet. Indians here don't benefit from this pipeline, it serves

^{36.} Thomas Merton, Ishi Means Man (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015).

only the interest of the owners at the expense of these people and the planet. Indian reservations here need infrastructure, health care and education, not a pipeline.³⁷

Police action at Standing Rock against unarmed resisters sharply contrasted with the government's non-interventionist approach to the armed occupiers in Oregon a year before. Ammon and Ryan Bundy and their supporters staged a forty-one-day armed occupation of federal property in protest over land access issues with the Bureau of Land Management.³⁸ The Bundys and their supporters were surprisingly acquitted in late October 2016 of charges of unlawfully carrying firearms in a federal facility and conspiring to prevent federal employees from doing their jobs through intimidation. One can't help but wonder how federal agents would have responded had they been dealing with armed occupiers who were Native Americans, or how a jury would have decided had the defendants been a group of Black Lives Matter activists or young Muslims. Were the Bundys treated differently simply because they were white and wore cowboy hats? Again, what would Merton be saying about all of this? If he were in the woods today with his silent Tsus and Fus I can't help but think that he would have with him some Winona LaDuke and some Russell Means. If he were planning a retreat today, I imagine it would be a penitential one on the theme of biocide or white privilege. Whatever the case may be, one hundred years after Merton's birth his relevance strikes with a profound ambivalence; we are consoled by the gospel he lived and revealed but afflicted by our addictions and moral illnesses that cause us to shrink before its light. While 2015 was a banner year for Mertonrelated publications, whatever is coming next will surely be addressing our most troubling times.

^{37.} See Amy Goodman's September 12, 2016 interview with Winona LaDuke (available online at http://www.democracynow.org/search?utf8=%E2%9C%93&query =Winona+LaDuke).

^{38.} See Julie Turkewitz, "Bundy Brothers Defend Armed Occupation of Oregon Refuge," *The New York Times* (29 September 2016) (available online at http://www. nytimes.com/2016/09/30/us/ryan-ammon-bundy-oregon.html?_r=0).