

THOMAS WRIGHT, THE DRUIDS AND THE SOPHISTICATED LADIES

The Druid sitting on the ruins is visible in Nicholas Dall's view of the north side of the house in 1775. It is made of artificial "Coade Stone". Mrs Coade manufactured these Druids after 1775 (there is an identical one at Cliveden) but she had taken the design over from a previous business. It may be that the Druid was added after the time Thomas Wright worked at Shugborough but the figure would have been very significant to him.

To Thomas Wright the Druids had been ancient astronomers and wise men. The leading authority on the Druids in the early 18th century was William Stukeley. He believed the ancient stone circles, including Stonehenge and Avebury, had been built by the Druids. Modern archaeology shows they are very much older.

Very little was known about the Druids in Stukeley's time, apart from a few references in classical writers. Stukeley and others invented complicated history and philosophy for them and set up re-invented Druid Orders.

Several of Wright's friends were close associates of Stukeley.

When Wright first came to London he worked with instrument makers Thomas Heath and Jonathan Sisson. (1) Sisson (1690-1747) was mathematical instrument maker to Frederick, prince of Wales and also made instruments for the private observatory of the second earl of Macclesfield (Thomas Anson's first cousin) at Shirburn. (2) Jonathan Sisson was a member of William Stukeley's "Club" which met to discuss scientific and historical matters (3) After travels to Amsterdam Wright returned to London. In his own autobiographical notes he says that "his best friend in London was Roger Gale".

Roger Gale (1672-1744) was a leading antiquary, and Stukeley's brother-in-law. Gale surveyed Avebury with Stukeley in 1719.

Very soon after arriving in London Wright was unsuccessfully proposed for membership of the Royal Society, by Dr Desaguliers. (14)

Unlike the Ansons, Thomas Wright seems to have been a Freemason, a member of the "Horn Lodge", an old and aristocratic lodge in which Desaguliers was a major influence. Desaguliers is said to have also been one of the creators of freemasonry, and may even have written its rituals, based on old Scottish originals from lodges of practical stonemasons. The "Horn Lodge" was the lodge which the Jacobite philosopher Andrew Ramsay had joined in 1730, under the Duke of Richmond. Ramsay's "The Travels of Cyrus", an early study of comparative mythology, may have been an influence on Wright. Ramsay was particularly interested in finding vestiges of the Holy Trinity in ancient religions. Wright, like Ramsay, was fascinated by the idea of the unity of religions and he wrote many pages of manuscript listing trinities of deities in every kind of mythology.

John Senex, like most of the significant members of the Royal Society also a freemason, introduced Wright to his patron of the 1740s the Duke of Kent and was present at the Royal Society meeting at which Ramsay was proposed.

In 1735 Thomas Wright's principal patron was Henry Herbert, the sixth Earl of Pembroke who gave Wright the use of his library. Herbert, an architect and patron of the arts, also worked with Stukeley. They had explored Stonehenge together, which is near Pembroke's estate at Wilton. Stukeley published a major study of Avebury in 1744, dedicated to Lord Hardwicke. He drew Avebury as great stone circle, with avenues passing through it in the shape of a giant serpent. Stukeley wrote that the temple is an image of the Druid's "divine being" and that this "could not fail of drawing down the blessings of divine providence upon that place and country, as it were, by sympathy and similitude". (4)

Did Wright and other landscape designers feel their gardens had the same effect as Stukeley's Avebury, in drawing down blessings on the place?

Wright visited Avebury himself in the 1740s and drew it for his unpublished book on Druid, Saxon and Roman remains.(6)

Wright's early descriptions of the universe are close to some 18th century ideas of Druid religion. Wright, in his earliest writings, "The Elements of Existence", in 1734, imagined the universe in three great spheres, and calls the middle one "The Sphere of Felicity", which is where life is happy and balanced. In 18th century Druidism this is "The Circle of Felicity". Both ideas may come from the 16th century mystic Jacob Boehme, who was an influence on many philosophers in London in the 1740s. Pembroke's grandfather had written tracts influenced by Boehme and Boehme was discussed in London philosophical clubs, such as John Byrom's "Cabala Club". There are also suggestions in Wright's "The Elements of Existence" of the influence of the Rosicrucian writer Robert Fludd, whom Wright does quote in his much later "Second Thoughts".

All his life Wright was trying to reconcile Newton's science with a quite original religious vision of a unified whole.

WRIGHT'S LADIES

Remarkably Wright was particularly successful as a teacher of young ladies. He ran lecture series in London and spent long periods staying in country houses.

He met the writer Elizabeth Carter in the 1730s and they became lifelong friends. The published correspondence of Carter and Catherine Talbot reveals that Wright was an intimate friend of both and, in fact, introduced them.

Carter and Talbot were two of the leading intellectual ladies of the period, the "bluestockings". Thomas Anson's friend Benjamin Stillingfleet, oddly, was the original bluestocking, because he was said to wear cheap blue worsted rather than black silk. There is a very close link between the circle and Thomas Anson.

Carter was a poet and translator and Talbot an essayist. Neither married, though there is a possibility that Wright was in love with Carter and the philosopher Bishop Berkeley unsuccessfully proposed to Talbot.

He would have first met Carter as a student of his lectures (Carter's first work was a translation of a book of Newton for ladies) and he knew Talbot from his long residencies at Wrest Park.

Carter addressed Wright, in a letter as "your conjurorship."

"If your conjurorship's worship is not engaged to-morrow in the afternoon, Mrs. Rooke bids me tell you, she desires your company." (20)

And mentions him in her poems:

*All view the happy talents with delight,
That form a Desaguliers and a Wright. (21)*

The correspondence gives fascinating glimpses of Wright explaining his grandiose theory of the universe to the ladies, even using visual aids, attaching planets to a screen and shows that the intellectual discussions could be light hearted. Wright himself could be the cause of humour, for his unreadable writing, which might as well as be Coptic - and comments such as:

"I have heard nothing from Mr. Wright for time immemorial, so belike he may be taking a trip to the **moon**"

For Thomas Wright this seems strangely possible.

The most important factor in Wright's relationship with Carter and Talbot is that their friendship led to Elizabeth Carter's translation of the Stoic writer Epictetus, her lasting masterpiece. It may be that the bluestocking interest in Stoicism is a major influence on the Shepherd's Monument.

Miss Talbot was also a friend of Lady Anson, through Wrest Park and Lady Anson's Sister in Law Jemima Grey. Elizabeth Carter may not have known the Anson's in the 1730s and 1740s but in 1769 she was present at Thomas Anson's concert for Mrs Montagu, the "Queen of the Blue Stockings" at 15 St James Square, along with James Harris, who had helped her with her translation and was the leading exponent of Greek Philosophy.

Wright's earliest known architectural work was a design for the Duchess of Kent, in 1743. He had been introduced to the Duke and Duchess by John Senex.

Wright spent some time in the 1740s as tutor to Jemima, Marchioness Grey, the Duke and Duchess of Kent's daughter, at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire.

Lady Grey married Philip Yorke, son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and brother of Elizabeth Yorke, who was Lady Anson from 1748. Jemima was his point of contact with a group of witty and intellectual women, known as "Bluestockings".

Jemima Grey seems to have been a delightful person, studying Greek and Latin and natural sciences, with Wright making camera obscuras for her to observe eclipses. She, and her friends, believed strongly that women should follow these intellectual pursuits. Referring to the Roman writer Pliny's support of the studious life she writes:

“I don't find how Mrs Pliny (for all his charming account of her and his letters to her) had any share in it.”

Both Jemima Grey and Elizabeth Anson read Dante in the original, though Jemima commented: “Does he sometimes make you feel a little sick? Devils, fire and flames almost as much as I can bear. I fear I shall stick in one of the circles of the Inferno for this year and never arrive at heaven.” (9)

For more about Jemima Grey See: SHUGBOROUGH AND MUSIC

The portrait of Lady Anson, by Hudson, at Shugborough, painted around the time of her wedding shows her holding a painting of Dante, which suggests he may have been a more important figure for her than for Jemima.

Before the 1740s Wrest had very formal gardens, crowned by an elegant pavilion by Thomas Archer. In the 1740s the straight landscape was softened. Wright added a curve to a canal and various small buildings. (After Wright's time Capability Brown made further improvements, and though the gardens remain the house was replaced by a massive building in a French Chateau style.)

Wrest Park was developed at the same time as Shugborough, and perhaps there was a certain rivalry. On 7th July Lady Anson wrote to Jemima that “Lord Anson speaks of everything at Wrest in a manner that becomes one of its sincerest admirers.”

The strangest monument at Wrest is a large and block-like “Persian Altar”. This has a cryptic inscription on one side in ancient cuneiform writing. Fortunately there is a translation on the other side which reveals it to be a dedication by “Cleander” to Mithras. This is inspired by the “Athenian Letters”, imaginary letters from Cleander, a Persian ambassador in Athens, written by Philip Yorke, Daniel Wray (later a leading figure in the Royal Society under Philip Yorke's influence) and others.

In August 1748 Lady Anson wrote the Duchess of Bedford had been at Wrest with a party to “show it to Lady Louisa Trentham”. The party “took the altar for an antiquity.” It could well be that the altar was new in summer 1748 – at the same time as the work was being done at Shugborough.

The “Root House”, a habitation for the priest of Mithras, was almost certainly by Wright according to Eileen Harris, though, as at Shugborough, his name is not definitely linked with it. He did build root houses at other places.

The “Root House” at Wrest was built in August 1749. In August 1749 Lady Anson wrote to Jemima that she hoped it would be more durable than Lord Westmorland's which had fallen down.

A later patron, Norbonne Berkeley, Lord Bottetourt, paid Wright a pension for his work in proving his right to his title, and employed him on the landscape at Stoke Gifford, near Bristol. In November 1755 Lady Anson visited Stoke Gifford and wrote to Jemima, Marchioness Grey that she had dined:

“in an Octagon Room with four windows (built by your Mr Wright) just at the angle of the House most in the centre of the Prospect.” (10)

Thomas Anson visited Stoke Gifford at least twice – perhaps the first time with Lady Anson, though his letter says it was December.

Lady Anson was a regular visitor to Wrest and there are many letters from her to Jemima in the Lucas Papers in Bedfordshire Records Office. Thomas Anson also visited Wrest. Though there is no documentary evidence for Wright’s involvement with Shugborough the fact that he was Jemima’s “Mr Wright” as well as the fantastic style of the landscape, makes the attribution to Wright of all the work between 1748 (the house extensions) and 1752 (the pagoda) extremely likely.

WRIGHT LANDSCAPES

Wright designed many buildings and landscapes in the 1740s and early 1750s and the Shugborough landscape seems absolutely typical of his eccentric, eclectic, style. At Shugborough Lord Anson’s voyage may have been an excuse for the mixture, but the same mix appears elsewhere.

Between August 1746 and June 1747 Wright was in Ireland, staying partly with the Duchess of Kent’s brother in law, Lord Limerick. In Ireland Wright designed follies and gardens and also pursued his interest in ancient remains, particularly those which may have been associated with the Druids. Wright published his drawings of ancient remains in “Louthiana.” This, and other unpublished drawings, are now recognised as an important record of Ireland’s antiquities. Wright was responsible for landscaping at Dundalk House. The description according to Dr Pococke, in 1752, is very reminiscent of Shugborough with:

“...a walk with elm hedges on each side, an artificial serpentine river, a Chinese bridge, a thatch’d open house supported by the bodies of fire trees...”

At Tollymore House he added “a thatched open pavilion, a Gothic Watergate over a canal, a cascade, a barn, a hermitage, a Barbican gate and a folly.”(11)

The cascades, canal (a canal is mentioned in Stuart’s letter about the siting of the Lanthorn of Demosthenes), the chinoiserie and the very early examples of gothic buildings (there was a gothic pigeon house near the Chinese House) are all features added to Shugborough in 1748-52.

Wright’s design for His Grace the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton is for a complete garden in which a variety of contrasting features are laid out in a strangely formal overall design. The garden as a whole appears to have a philosophical purpose, which may suggest that other 18th century landscapes could be conceived as a whole. This is a much argued point. Were gardens simply random fantasies or could they be “theatres of memory”, or attempts to draw down “the blessings of divine providence upon that place and country” as Stukeley had written about Avebury? This design, (12) dated 1750, is contemporary with continuing work at Shugborough, and with the publication of his “Original Theory of the Universe.” It includes, amongst other things: “a Greek alcove of the Ionick order”

“ a Temple in the Doric order dedicated to Hercules or Manly Fortune and decorated with the Labours and Apotheosis of that hero”

“a Talisman or Magickal Grove form’d of Ever-green Oaks....every vista being compos’d of an Equal number of Trees, & yet no two Clumps alike”

“a Roman Colonade in the Principal point of view commanding all this Grove and a statue of Jupiter to whom this Talisman was originally inscribed.”

The plans include an example of the traditional magic square of Jupiter as a guide to the number of trees in each clump which would add to the same total whichever way they were counted.

The plan also includes a drawing of an alcove of the same shape as the rustic stone part of the Shepherds Monument. Eileen Harris based her ascription of the monument to Wright on a 1755 print of an alcove in his “Universal Architecture”, a catalogue of suggested designs for follies, but the Badminton design is even closer to the likely original date of the Shepherds Monument.

The only inhabitable house by Wright which still stands (his most elaborate house, Nuthall Temple, is long demolished) is the Menagerie, at Horton, Northamptonshire, which features a very Wrightian ceiling of Time, with sickle, surrounded by the zodiac. This was beautifully restored by the late Gervase Jackson-Stops who added eccentric Wrightian gardens. (The present writer enjoyed tea in the Menagerie with Mr Jackson-Stops who was a great enthusiast for Wright.) Horton House, the seat of the Earl of Halifax, was also extended with two extra wings, like the library and dining room at Shugborough, and with an added portico, which Shugborough did not have in Wright’s time but which might have been intended.

COSMOLOGY

“An Original Theory of the Universe”, of 1750, was Wright’s most important publication. It made his name as a cosmologist for its explanation of the Milky Way as our view across a galaxy. This idea was taken up in Europe by Immanuel Kant, though not quite as Wright had explained it. George Anson was a subscriber to the book, as were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, Marchioness Grey and the Earl of Pembroke. Thomas Anson is not listed and there is no copy in the 1842 sale catalogue – though Thomas himself must have had other books and treasures at his London House which may not have ended up at Shugborough and have been sold earlier.

The most distinctively Wrightian section of the book, which features some spectacular prints, is his description of the many alternative world which make up the universe. These are complete universes, all centering on their own centre marked by an individual “Eye of Providence”, and all circling a single divine centre of the whole cosmos.

The plurality of worlds was not an original idea. It was one of the heresies for which Giordano Bruno was burned in 1600.

Wright believed in reincarnation. He refuses to believe a perfect universe can include damnation, so souls are reborn in better or worse universes, nearer or further from the divine centre: “Here and here alone centr’d in the Realms of inexpressible Glory, we justly may imagine that primogenial Globe or Sphere of all Perfections, subject to the Extreme of neither Cold nor Heat, of Temperance and Duration. Here we may not irrationally suppose the Vertues of the

meritorious are at last rewarded and received into the full possession of every Happiness, and to perfect Joy. The final and immortal State ordain'd for such human Beings, as have passed this Vortex of Probation thro' all the Degrees of human Nature with the supreme Applause!" Wright's Cosmology is inseparable from his landscape design. He describes the infinite range of alternative universes:

"Here a group of Worlds, all Vallies, Lakes and Rivers, adorn'd with Mountains, Woods and Lawns, Cascades and natural Fountains; there Worlds all fertile islands, cover'd with Woods, perhaps upon a common Sea and filled with Grottoes and romantick caves. This Way, Worlds all earths, with vast extensive lawns and Vistoes, bounded with perpetual Greens all interspersed with Groves and Wildernesses, full of all Varieties of Fruits and Flowers. That World perhaps subsisting by soft Rains, this by daily Dews, and Vapours; and a third by a central, subtle Moisture, arising like an Effluvia, through the Pores and Veins of the Earth.....
"Round some, perhaps, so dense an atmosphere, that the inhabitants may fly from Place to Place, or be drawn through the Air in winged Chariots, and even sleep upon the Waves with safety....
"And hence it is obvious, that there may not be a Scene of Joy, which poetry can paint, or Religion promise, but somewhere in the Universe it is prepared for the meritorious Part of Mankind. Thus all Infinity is full of States of Bliss, Angelic Choirs, Regions of Heroes, and Realms of Demi-Gods; Elysian Fields, Pindaric Shades, and Myriads of enchanting Mansions."
(13)

In his later "Second Thoughts" Wright tries to explain his vision of multiple universes as being contained within each other, like layers of an onion. Still he writes that the soul must be able to fly from one universe to another, better or worse, after death.

"Here we may observe that as the human mind in its imeterial state, has a power of creating both imaginary matter & space so as in a moment to pass from one object to another though at an indefinite distance, so the immortal soul may also with the like facility pass from our state of existence to an other neither of which powers at present appear to be subject to our known ideas of either mater time or space." (17)

This passage seems to be inspired by Robert Fludd's translation of an ancient hermetic text: "...command thy soul, what thou pleasest, and it will fly sooner than thou commandest...nothing will hinder her (not) the wheeling about of the starry orbs, nor yet the bodies of the other stars, but piercing all these, it passeth quite through..." (18)

Wright quotes from "Dr Flood" only a few pages later in Second Thoughts. Fludd's massive and richly illustrated books, were little known in England in the 18th century. Earlier commentators on Wright had suggested that the concept of "the outer darkness" in his 1734 'Elements of Existence' may also derive from Fludd.

Wright wrote that Time, matter, and space were all modes of one being - a trinity of the cosmos - his own Theory of Relativity:

'...matter must be an eternal and infinite mode of the Divine Imagination.'

'The Divine Imagination', a phrase later used by Blake, is a feature of the 17th century mystic Jacob Boehme's writing. His 'Key' (and other works) were translated by William Law and published in 1764. Boehme writes:

'She (wisdom) is the true divine chaos, wherein all things lie, viz, a divine imagination, in which the ideas of angels and souls have been seen from eternity, in a divine type and resemblance.' In many ways 'Second Thoughts', with its universes within suns, seems a primitive idea. He never found the language to say what he saw in his mind. Perhaps our idea of "dimensions" would be the concept he was searching for.

Wright absorbed these influences into his own system, which attempted to unite Newtonian science with religion. There are hints of Fludd, Cabala (also referred to in Second Thoughts), Boehme and Freher, as well as many scientific writers. Where, even as early as 1734, did Wright come across these influences? There were certainly people who studied Boehme and the occult in the 1730s, particularly surrounding John Byrom, who had a library of such things, and a collection of esoteric designs which may have come from Dionysius Freher or his group.

Byrom was a Jacobite and tended to move in different circles, but there were overlaps - including Martin Folkes, an influential force in the Royal Society, later under the political control of Jemima Grey's husband, Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke. Folkes was part of Byrom's 'Cabala Club', and an associate of William Jones (both were known as 'infidels' or atheists). One of the meetings of Byrom's Cabala Club (which studied all kinds of esoteric things, not actually Jewish cabala mysticism) in 1734 discussed:

'old myths of giants, spirits, longevity, Jacob Boehme,'
and on 21st January 1735

'deciphering codes...and something of mystical divinity.' (3)

THE FORTUNATE ISLES

Wright left a large amount of unpublished manuscripts, most of which are in Newcastle Public Library. There are fragmentary sketches, over 100 pages, for a vision of Wright's own Utopia. "The Fortunate Isles or a Discovery of the New World" brings together his interest in Druids, Cosmology, Architecture, Landscape Design and almost everything else under the sun. It was a massive project, perhaps designed as amusement for himself in his retirement in his villa in Byers Green, Durham. He spent his last twenty years enjoying a quiet life with his mistress and beloved daughter who is buried next to him at Bishop Auckland.

The opening letter sets a fictional background for the book, which is imagined as a manuscript on plates of lead in the Erse tongue found "enclosed in a stone chest or case amongst the ruins of Herculaneum."

The introductory letter brings in most of the knowledge of the Druids which Wright would have learned from classical writers, including a story from Lucian that Hercules Ogmios (Hercules as an old man) led people by golden chains attached to their mouths to Britain. Wright includes a drawing of this. The chains represent language and knowledge. "Ogmios" was later interpreted as a reference to ancient Celtic "Ogham script."

The fragments that survive are from Book 1 and describe a City called Heliopolis. This is clearly intended to be in the centre of an idealised ancient Britain. Wright, wonderfully, mixes Druid

theories from Stukeley, classical sources including Plato's legend of Atlantis, with his own cosmology:

"In the centre of the sacred island upon a spacious hill, sheltered from the south by green mountains rising above each other like a natural theatre and overlooking all the rest of the island is the City of Heliopolis to which a double serpentine approach leads through the woods and over the neighbouring mountains."

The "serpentine approach" is taken from Stukeley's plans of Avebury.

The centre of the city is a Temple of the Sun, the Solarium, which is surrounded by a circle of temples. The Emperor "alternately inhabits" these "according to the sign of the zodiac or month of the year."

The temples, with a circumference of three miles, are linked by "rich triumphal arches" in which "all the productions of nature are represented". On the outside of this is a terrace overlooking the city, with 360 statues, "dedicated to the phases of the year."

"Below them, on the declivity of the hill, are many winding walks, little lawns and grottos, with several promontorial projections on which are erected elegant temples of various constructions peculiar to the most distinguished attributes of the Deity."

"Below all these and circumscribing the whole hill is a circular river of limpid water, which rises out of an alabaster rock at about three eighths of the ascent, and from thence in a spiral manner and forming many and various cascades it leaves the imperial garden and enters the city at a great cataract...I forgot to say that the spring head rushes out of a golden urn at the upper end of a natural grotto or cave, richly adorned with shells, 100 feet long and above fifty feet wide, in which are many compartments of exquisite design and invention, with the river genius in a reclining posture resting upon the urn which is supported on a bed of amethyst...."

The general scheme of the Druidic solar city is very reminiscent of the writings of John Michell in the 1960s and 70s, such as "The View over Atlantis" and "The Dimensions of Paradise". The city at the sacred centre of the island also reflects Wright's cosmology in "An Original Theory". The city is a microcosm of the universe.

Wright retired to write and contemplate, in a Villa at Byers Green, Durham, in 1756. It was a miniature "Heliopolis", as is the Menagerie at Horton with its ceiling image of Time and the zodiac. His description of the Byers Green house was published posthumously in "The Gentleman's Magazine" in 1793. Describing the ceiling design of his own home he writes: "That of the sofa part is the Sedes Beatorum, or supreme heaven, with the hours and times disposed around it."

His interest in puzzles and mysteries is reflected in the motto over the dining-room door which is "transposed in Greek characters to make it more difficult to read:

MIHI VIVAM QUOD SUPEREST AEVI"

"Give me no more years than those to which I am due."

George Allen of Darlington wrote, in 1793:

“There was something flighty and eccentric in his notions....”

There is a constant feeling that, from his earliest writings in the 1730s, he is trying to describe something startlingly original in an inadequate 18th century language.

Shugborough, a sacred centre of its own, seems to preserve something of Wright’s vision.

- (1) Eileen Harris in *Country Life* 1971
- (2) DNB “Jonathan Sisson”
- (3) A Trevor Stewart: English speculative freemasonry in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Volume 117 for the year 2004
- (4) *The famous druids*, A .L. Owen, Clarendon Press, 1962
- (5) Drawings in the archive at Badminton Hall.
- (6) copies in Durham University Library
- (7) Manuscripts in Newcastle Public Library
- (8) DNB, Jemima Grey
- (9) Lucas Papers, Bedfordshire Record Office
- (10) Eileen Harris: Architect of Rococco Landscapes. *Thomas Wright – III, Country Life*, September 9th, 1971.
- (11) University of Durham on line catalogue of Thomas Wright, based on Eileen Harris’s 1979 edition of Wright’s “Universal Architecture”
- (12) Ms. in the archive at Badminton House, Wilts.
- (13) *Thomas Wright: An Original Theory of the Universe*, 1750
- (14) Royal Society records of Fellows on their website.

- (15) A Trevor Stewart: *English Speculative Freemasonry: Some possible Origins, Themes and Developments* - in *Ars Quatuor Coronatarum*, Volume 117 for the year 2004
- (16) This and much more in Andrew Baker: *Thomas Wright and the Sphere of Philisity*, unpublished, 1986
- (17) *Wright, Thomas* (ed. M A Hoskin): *Second or Singular Thoughts Upon the Theory of the Universe*, London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968
- (18) 'The Divine Pymander', translated by Robert Fludd in his 'Mosaical Philosophy.' Quoted in Kathleen Raine: *Blake and Tradition*, Bollingen Foundation, 1968
- (19) *The 'Key of Jacob Boehme'*, with an introduction by Adam McLean, Phanes Press, 1991
- (20) *Letters of Elizabeth Carter and Catherine Talbot*:
<http://books.google.com/books?id=6fkkAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=%22thomas+wright%22+%22elizabeth+carter%22&source=web&ots=fHDA-iy1G5&sig=DyJD2K8MDS0D2UhtvveOMSQK5xI#PPA3,M1>

- (21) Yvonne Twomey: *Thomas Wright of Durham: his life as a teacher*. (Thesis in progress, University of Durham))