

Greenwood. And, despite receiving little assistance from the city, Greenwood was rebuilt. Meanwhile, an all-white grand jury blamed the riot on African Americans. About the same time as the riot, the Ku Klux Klan was gaining membership throughout the state. Riot victims could not hope for justice through the courts at the time.

The Tulsa riot has received renewed attention due to the Oklahoma legislature's Tulsa Riot Commission, which in 2001 recommended that the surviving victims receive reparations from the state. In 2003 a team of lawyers led by Harvard Law School Professor Charles Ogletree filed a federal lawsuit on behalf of riot victims, which was dismissed in 2004. The few remaining Tulsa riot victims and their lawyers continue to seek compensation from the state legislature and elsewhere.

SEE ALSO *Racism; Reparations; Riots; Wilmington Riot of 1898*

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TURGOT, JACQUES 1727–1781

Born in 1727 in Paris, economist Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Baron de l'Aulne, received a thorough education, especially in philosophy, and then studied theology at the Sorbonne. In 1750 he was elected to the office of prior. In the same year, he published his *Philosophical Review of the Successive Advances of the Human Mind*, which contained a four-stage theory of human development. After the death of his father in 1751, Turgot began an administrative career. In the late 1750s he contributed several entries to the *Encyclopédie* edited by Denis Diderot (1713–1784).

His friendship with the Marquis de Gournay (1712–1759), a French economist, merchant, and government official, had a lasting impact on Turgot's interests and acquainted him with contemporary English political economy. In the late 1750s Turgot met with the head of the physiocratic school, François Quesnay (1694–1774), whose work he admired. He also became friendly with another leading member of that school, Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1793–1817), and with Voltaire (1694–1778) and the mathematician and philosopher J. A. N. Caritat de Condorcet (1743–1794).

In 1761 Turgot was appointed intendant of Limoges, a post he held until 1774. He was in charge of the collection of direct taxes, justice, economic and social policy, infrastructure, and so forth. In this period, he composed what may be called his magnum opus, *Reflections on the Production and Distribution of Wealth*, which was not published until 1769 and 1770 in serial form in the *Ephémérides*. In addition, he wrote essays on several economic themes, including taxation, public administration, mines and quarries, the grain trade, and the rate of interest. During his visits to Paris he met, among others, David Hume (1711–1776) and Adam Smith (1723–1790).

With Louis XVI's (1754–1793) succession to the throne in 1774, Turgot was appointed minister of finance. He carried out a number of reforms, including the restoration of domestic free trade of grain, an act that caused the grain riots of early 1775, and the abolition of other constraints on trade (Faccarello 1994). A retrenchment of the influence of the guilds and a replacement of the corvée with a more general land tax followed in January 1776. These measures met with fierce opposition, causing Turgot's dismissal in May 1776. In 1778 he was elected president of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. He died in Paris in 1781.

Turgot was arguably one of the most important economists of the eighteenth century. In important respects, he developed the physiocratic doctrine and anticipated some of the ideas subsequently elaborated by the English classical economists from Adam Smith to David Ricardo (1772–1823). In the *Reflections*, he expounded central economic concepts, including the idea that in conditions of free competition the rate of return on capital tends to uniformity across all employments. In his view, self-interest constrained by competitive conditions can be expected to yield desirable economic outcomes. He therefore advocated laissez-faire and is considered a “patron saint” of the French liberal economics tradition of the middle of the nineteenth century (Groenewegen 1977). His writings had an impact on a number of economists, including the Austrian Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk (1851–1914). Joseph A. Schumpeter's (1883–1950) contention that Turgot

anticipated in important respects the so-called marginal revolution is, however, difficult to sustain.

SEE ALSO *Austrian Economics; Laissez Faire; Liberalism; Physiocracy; Quesnay, Francois; Ricardo, David; Smith, Adam*

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TURNER, NAT

c. 1800–1831

Abolitionist and rebel Nat Turner was born circa October 2, 1800, on the Virginia plantation of Benjamin Turner, the child of an enslaved woman named Nancy (the name of Nat's father is unknown). Little is known about either parent. Family tradition holds that Nancy landed in Norfolk five years before in 1795, the slave of a refugee fleeing the revolt in Saint Domingue. Evidence indicates that after being purchased by Turner, Nancy was used as a domestic servant. Later in life, Nat Turner insisted that his father ran away when he was still a boy.

Early on, blacks and whites alike came to regard Nat as unusually gifted. Upon being given a book, the boy quickly learned how to read, “a source of wonder to all in the neighborhood” (Greenberg 1996, p. 45). As a devout Methodist, Benjamin Turner was not only aware of Nat's literacy, he even encouraged him to read the Bible, as did his paternal grandmother, Old Bridget, who Nat later said was “very religious, and to whom I was much attached” (p. 44). Even assuming that some of what Nat later told to attorney Thomas R. Gray was exaggerated bravado—or that the white lawyer's editorial hand helped shape the pamphlet published as *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (Baltimore, 1831)—there is little reason to doubt Nat's assertion that he spent every possible childhood moment “either in prayer” (p. 45) or in reading books purchased

for white children on nearby Southampton County farms and estates.

Aware of his unique abilities, young Nat “wrapped [himself] in mystery” (Greenberg 1996, p. 45). When not doing light work in the fields, Nat kept to himself and “studiously avoided mixing in society” (Greenberg 1996, pp. 44–45). Unlike other enslaved boys, he neither played practical pranks on others nor touched liquor. Told by both his mother and grandmother that he was “intended for some great purpose,” the unusually serious child devoted his limited leisure moments to “fasting and prayer” (Greenberg 1996, pp. 44–45). As was later said of abolitionist Frederick Douglass, whites spoke of Nat as being too clever to be raised in bondage, and Benjamin Turner once remarked that the boy “would never be of service to anyone as a slave” (Greenberg 1996, p. 44).

In 1809, Benjamin Turner's oldest son Samuel purchased 360 acres two miles away. Nancy, Nat, Old Bridget, and five other slaves were loaned to Samuel to help him establish his cotton plantation, a move that became permanent the following year when Benjamin died during a typhoid epidemic. It may have been at this point that Nat adopted the surname of Turner as a way of linking himself to his ancestral homeplace rather than as an act of homage to the deceased Benjamin Turner. Although the evidence for a spouse is circumstantial, the Richmond *Constitutional Whig* later reported that Turner married a young slave woman; this may have been Cherry, who in 1822 was sold to Giles Reese when Samuel died and his estate was liquidated. Turner was sold to Thomas Moore for \$400, an indication he was regarded as a prime field hand. Despite being short of stature and a little knock-kneed, Turner's shoulders were broad and well muscled from more than a decade of hard labor.

Embittered by the forced separation from his wife, Turner turned to fasting and prayer. He avoided large spiritual gatherings on Sundays, but at night in the quarters he willingly described what he had discovered during his solitary readings of the Bible. Sometime in 1825, while working in the fields, Turner had his first vision. “I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle,” he later recalled, “and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams” (Greenberg 1996, p. 46). Certain that he was ordained to bring about Judgment Day, Turner began to conduct religious services at Barnes's Church near the North Carolina border. Most whites scoffed, but at least one man, Etheldred T. Brantley, an alcoholic overseer on a nearby plantation, asked Turner to baptize him before an interracial crowd at Pearson's Mill Pond.

On May 12, 1828, Turner experienced his most epochal vision to date. “I heard a loud noise in the heavens,” he remembered, “and the Spirit instantly appeared