

Dan Gediman: This is the Reckoning, I'm Dan Gediman. It's not unusual for family history to get lost -- something like a spat between siblings or cousins can lead to a split, and over the years connections to different branches of a family melt away. These losses can seem small and personal, even inconsequential, but not always. In our last episode, I had connected Chenoweth Stites Allen to her slave-trading ancestor Stephen Chenoweth, but there were even more connections that she didn't know about. Stephen's son Henry married into the prosperous Bullitt family, who owned the Oxmoor plantation. And that connection to the Bullitts and to Oxmoor wasn't something Chenoweth's family talked about.

Armed with this new insight, Chenoweth and her cousins Elizabeth and Kate Stites, met me to take a tour of Oxmoor with curator Shirley Harmon.

**Shirley Harmon: Now since you've been here, you kind of know a little about the place...**

**Elizabeth Stites: I'm thinking it was the log cabin.**

**Shirley Harmon: Oh, that's kind of interesting, because I was going to say the story really starts at the log cabin...**

Dan Gediman: Ironically, Chenoweth and her cousins had each visited Oxmoor at some point in their lives. Its grounds are used by youth soccer leagues<sup>1</sup>--that's how Chenoweth came to be here. But this is the first time they have come here knowing that it's the home of one of their ancestors.

**Shirley Harmon: This is Martha, I was telling you about outside. She was the first daughter born to William and Mildred. They have three sons prior to her birth, Joshua Fry Bullitt, Alexander Scott Bullitt who died at 18, and then John Christian Bullitt, and then Martha was born....**

Dan Gediman: Helen Bullitt was the youngest daughter in the Bullitt family. When she married Henry Chenoweth in 1855, the young couple made their home at Oxmoor, where their first child

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.kentuckyfirejuniors.com/fields> (see map of Oxmoor soccer fields)

was born. That was Mildred, who later married John Stites and began the family that Chenoweth, Kate, and Elizabeth are a part of.

During their tour, the cousins explored several buildings surrounding the mansion, which were built when Oxmoor was a working plantation. There's a hemp-barn, a smokehouse, an icehouse, and an outdoor kitchen. And a bit farther away, there are four white brick buildings, the last remaining slave dwellings at Oxmoor. The cousins head toward one of them, the same cabin we heard African American descendants Brigitt Johnson, Russ Bowlds and Lisa Bowlds-Williams visit, in a previous episode.

**Shirley Harmon: So, These two and the other brick one were built all at the same time.**

**Chenoweth Stites Allen: Okay, yeah. And then 1858?**

Dan Gediman: Before our visit, the cousins had read their ancestor Thomas Bullitt's "My Life at Oxmoor," which paints a pretty rosy picture of what life was like for the enslaved people who lived here. But the reality of this small cabin provided a rather different picture.

**Elizabeth Stites: Was this for a single family?**

**Shirley Harmon: Yes. This would have been a single family.**

Dan Gediman: It's a very small building, 284 square feet. When the cabin was originally built in the 1850s, there was a dirt floor, which has since been covered in concrete. At one end is a large fireplace, at the other, a rough wooden door. Back then, it was customary to build slave cabins without windows. As the cousins look around, they talk about what it must have been like for a family to have lived here, with so little space, no windows, and so little light. :08

**Elizabeth Stites: They had to leave the door open to light the fire and that was their....**

**Dan Gediman: So, imagine the whole family in here.**

**Elizabeth Stites: Yeah. And having a fire in the middle of summer. Just...oh...**

Dan Gediman: Standing in this tiny space, it is hard to imagine an entire family living here, cooking and eating their meals, raising their children. Slave dwellings like this one were once a common sight in Kentucky. They're mostly gone now, and many that remain are falling apart. And with every slave dwelling that is lost, the history of slavery in this state, becomes more and more invisible.

Dan Gediman: Because of this hidden history we have regarding slavery, there hasn't been much opportunity for soul-searching, or even acknowledgment, of what happened here in Kentucky. It's hard in the 21st century, especially for White Americans, to get our heads around the idea that at one time in this country, it was considered legally and morally okay to own another human being. What was that like? And more importantly, what on earth was it like to be one of those people who were enslaved? This is the Reckoning.

Dan Gediman: Because of slavery, there is a built-in mismatch between what most White and Black Americans know about their lineage. Most Black families have few written records about their enslaved ancestors. So while the Bullitt family left thousands of letters for their descendants to read, African Americans like Brigitt Johnson and Russ Bowlds have nothing which documents the lives of their ancestors in their own words. This means that if they want to get any idea of how these family members might have lived as enslaved people in Kentucky, they have to turn to other sources.

Luckily, there are over one hundred narratives of formerly enslaved Kentuckians to read through, including several who were enslaved in the part of central Kentucky where Louisville is located. A few are actual books, but most are in the form of transcribed interviews that were conducted in the 1930s.

These were part of a larger national effort, mostly conducted by the federal government, to interview thousands of formerly enslaved people and collect their stories while they were still alive.<sup>2</sup> A handful of these were recorded, including this interview with Fountain Hughes, who was enslaved in Virginia, recorded when he was 101 years old.

<sup>2</sup> The Background of the Slave Interview Collection, Yetman, Norman R.

**Fountain Hughes:** We were slaves. We belonged to people. They'd sell us like they sell horses and cows. If I thought that I'd ever be a slave again. I'd take a gun and just end it all right away. Because you're nothing but a dog. You're not a thing but a dog.

Dan Gediman: Sadly, none of the recorded interviews feature Kentuckians, so we will use actors in this series to read the narratives of the formerly enslaved. These documents provide a critical counterweight to the notion that slavery was mild in Kentucky, and that enslavers were merely benign caretakers of the enslaved, which we heard about in our last episode. Vanessa Holden is a professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

**Vanessa Holden:** It's really over the course of the antebellum period that enslavers in multiple regions begin developing a mythology and a culture around the idea that enslavers were like parents to enslaved people that enslaved people truly loved enslavers and truly loved being enslaved. Now, if you ask people who were enslaved, what slavery was like, they do not recount moonlight and magnolias, sentimental version of their enslavement.

**John W. Fields:** There was 11 other children besides myself in my family. When I was six years old, all of us children were taken from my parents, because my master died and his estate had to be settled. I can't describe the heartbreak and horror of that separation. I was only six years old and it was the last time I ever saw my mother for longer than one night. Twelve children taken from my mother in one day<sup>3</sup>.

**Mary Young:** They whipped the slaves when they got unruly just like you do a mule. Master he had a jail on his farm for slaves, when whipping wouldn't do good. He put them in there the first three days without anything to eat, but a little piece of bread and water. That would make a good Negro out most slaves<sup>4</sup>.

**Peter Bruner:** We did not have anything to eat but corn-bread, fat meat and water to drink, blackeye peas and greens which I gathered, and we had to eat that out of

<sup>3</sup> [bit.ly/Library\\_of\\_Congress\\_Fields\\_John\\_W](https://bit.ly/Library_of_Congress_Fields_John_W)

<sup>4</sup> Mary Young WPA NARRATIVE, Pg 1

**the skillet. The white people had plenty of the best of food, but we never got any unless we stole it. Whenever they would have biscuits, they would count them so they could tell if we stole any<sup>5</sup>.**

**Mary Young: I've seen plenty of slaves auctioned off. Master, he would make the slaves wash good and grease their face. Then he would trot him by so people could see him. With all the hollering and bawling that took place, it was just like when they take calves away from their mother. We were then just about like cattle are now<sup>6</sup>.**

**Harry Smith: Usually those who ran away, when caught were sold. As fast as they were brought back, they were taken to Louisville, placed in the Negro pen and guarded until fall, when they were chained together and started on their long journey South.<sup>7</sup>**

**Lula Chambers: I saw a strange Negro come to town once and didn't know where he was going and stepped in the door of a white hotel. When he saw all white faces, he was scared most to death. He didn't even turn around, he just backed out and don't you know them White folks killed him for stepping inside a White man's hotel by mistake, yes they did<sup>8</sup>.**

**William Emmons: Slavery was sure the worst thing I ever heard of...it sure was just awful<sup>9</sup>.**

Dan Gediman: Those were excerpts from written narratives of formerly enslaved Kentuckians John Fields, Peter Bruner, Mary Young, Harry Smith, Lula Chambers, and William Emmons. One thing that is clear from reading many of these, is that enslaved people in Kentucky did not quietly accept their circumstances. These narratives are filled with stories of enslaved people pushing back against the boundaries of slavery, while enslavers put progressively more effort

<sup>5</sup> A Slave's Adventures Toward Freedom by Peter Bruner.docx, pg 4

<sup>6</sup> Mary Young WPA Narrative, Pg 1

<sup>7</sup> Harry Smith fifty years of slavery in the United States of America.docx, pg 7

<sup>8</sup> Lula Chambers WPA Narrative.docx. Pg. 2

<sup>9</sup> William Emmons WPA Narrative.docx, Pg. 6

into subjugating the enslaved. According to historian Vanessa Holden, this had been the case for a very long time.

**Vanessa Holden:** So there's a constant push and pull, that you can trace over the history of American slavery. So for example, in the early days of introducing enslaved labor into the colonies, there was an idea that Christians could not enslave other Christians. And so a number of enslaved people get baptized. And so, lawmakers quickly pivot to write laws that state that baptism and conversion do not guarantee freedom. Resistance was pervasive. In many ways, Black culture is resistive culture because it's like a constant resistance against subjugation that really shores up the culture and forms, what becomes African American culture.

Dan Gediman: One important way that an enslaved person could resist would be to learn to read and write. The Rev. Elijah P. Marrs wrote one of the few book-length memoirs by formerly enslaved Kentuckians. Marrs, who was born in 1840, had been enslaved on a Shelby County farm with about thirty other people.<sup>10</sup>

**Elijah P. Marrs:** Very early in life I took up the idea that I wanted to learn to read and write. I was convinced that there would be something for me to do in the future that I could not accomplish by remaining in ignorance. I had heard so much about freedom, and of the colored people running off and going to Canada, that my mind was busy with this subject even in my young days. I sought the aid of the White boys, who did all they could in teaching me. They did not know that it was dangerous for a slave to read and write.<sup>11</sup>

Dan Gediman: Some enslaved Kentuckians took their resistance to another level entirely. In 1826, a boatful of enslaved people traveling from Mason County,<sup>12</sup> killed the slave traders taking them down the Ohio River, on the way to the slave markets of the south. Then they tried to escape into Indiana, which was a free state, but were captured and executed. A similar revolt happened in Greenup County in 1829.<sup>13</sup> Rebellions such as these, whether they happened in

<sup>10</sup> Life and History of the Rev. Elijah P. Marrs.docx, Pg. 6

<sup>11</sup> Life and History of the Rev. Elijah P. Marrs.docx, Pp. 11-12

<sup>12</sup> <http://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/3045>

<sup>13</sup> <https://sciotohistorical.org/items/show/67>

Kentucky or elsewhere in the world, profoundly shook up enslavers, who feared they would inspire similar actions on the part of those they enslaved. Ricky Jones is a professor of political science at the University of Louisville.

**Ricky Jones: At the end of 18th century, you have the Haitian Revolution, and you have slaves in Haiti rebel against their French overlords. And this is the story is not told very much in this country, but the slaves win. The slaves actually win. White Americans saw what happened in Haiti, and it terrified them. And certainly, you think of places like South Carolina, where the Black population, the slave population actually outnumbered the White population. So, you think of that level of fear, and then you have a few conspiracies that actually do take hold. And in some cases, actually, rebellions take place, you know, New York insurrection, Nat Turner's raid, all of these things are happening in America.**

Dan Gediman: When White slaveholders learned of such events, they sometimes took extreme measures to keep rebellion from spreading. This was definitely the case in the aftermath of what became known as the Nat Turner Rebellion, when a group of enslaved people in Virginia took up arms and killed about 50 White people. The reaction all over the country was quick and dramatic, with several states taking steps to keep out any people who had been enslaved in Virginia, for fear that they would somehow bring dangerous ideas of freedom into another state. Historian Vanessa Holden.

**Vanessa Holden: That it really is the fear of slave revolt and rebellion that leads to policies like Kentucky adopts fairly early on of non-importation, meaning that enslaved people couldn't be imported into the state for sale to people in the state, that it was fine to sell people away from Kentucky, but they didn't want people to raise the Black population by bringing them in.**

Dan Gediman: During the 1830s and 40s, Kentuckians began to publicly worry about the influence of northern abolitionists on their enslaved population, and how they might trigger rebellions. At the time, there were many schemes being discussed nationally for curtailing slavery, either by not allowing it to spread into parts of the West or through some form of gradual emancipation--perhaps over many decades. But as with issues like abortion and gun control today, there was a chronic fear of the slippery slope among enslavers like the Bullitts. Today the Missouri Compromise, tomorrow emancipation.

Slave holding families like the Bullitts felt they needed to hold a very hard line to keep such ideas away from the people they enslaved. Thomas Bullitt recalled this effort in his 1911 memoir.

**Thomas Bullitt: It had become...necessary to adopt strict regulations to prevent the Negroes from gathering in crowds, at nights and on Sundays. This was due to efforts by the abolitionists secretly to instruct them in the desire for freedom; to dissatisfy them with their condition; to induce them to run away, and to prepare them ultimately for insurrection.**

**Rigid orders were given...forbidding Negroes to leave their masters' farms without a pass signed by the master. If a Negro was found away from home without a pass he would be whipped and taken or sent home.<sup>14</sup>**

Dan Gediman: Even though William Bullitt and his neighbors took great pains to control the enslaved people in their community through slave patrols and other efforts, that didn't mean they could sleep easy at night. Slaveholders in Kentucky seemed to believe that they had to be constantly on guard, to keep the abolitionists from infecting their slaves with thoughts of freedom. Patrick Lewis is a Scholar in Residence at the Filson Historical Society in Louisville.

**Patrick Lewis: Slave owners feel particularly vulnerable because we are out here on the northern border of slavery. And the Ohio River is is really, really crossable and so they fear that not only does this provide opportunity for enslaved people to escape, but for ideas to seep in. And it's one thing to be suspicious of, you know, of a traveling Yankee merchant from the outside who brings in his crazy ideas. I think the, the more terrifying thing for the majority of White Kentuckians, particularly slave owning Kentuckians is that these ideas can affect young people within the state. That's particularly terrifying.**

Dan Gediman: From reading many of the Bullitt family's letters, it seems that they really did believe that any behavior problems among their enslaved were caused by one of two things:

<sup>14</sup> Bullitt, My Life at Oxmoor pg 59-60



either they were being influenced by abolitionists, or they were not receiving enough physical punishment to keep them in line. And that otherwise, the people they enslaved were content to be their servants and laborers.

But it appears that some of these people really didn't want to be enslaved at Oxmoor and really did yearn for freedom. We know of at least three enslaved people who ran away, from advertisements placed by William Bullitt.<sup>15</sup> Here is an example from June of 1830.

**William Bullitt: Annie (daughter of Akie, a wife of Edward belonging to W. Will Pope) about 25 years of age or upwards, a likely Black woman above the ordinary size particularly in height-- and Lucinda a likely Black woman about 18 years of age both absconded about a week since or 10 days from my Farm. They are supposed to be about Louisville. If committed to the Louisville jail, I will give Ten Dollars for the apprehension of each<sup>16</sup>.**

Dan Gediman: We don't know what became of Annie or Lucinda. They may have succeeded in making it to freedom, or they may have been captured and sold to a slave trader. Then there is an intriguing account found in an 1891 memoir of a formerly enslaved Kentuckian named Harry Smith. Smith was leased out to a man who had a farm right next to Oxmoor. In his book, he tells a story about events that appear to take place around 1850.

**Harry Smith: [Mr. Bullitt] was a very good man, but his overseer was hard on the colored men. He would whip and slash in a terrific manner. Sometimes there would be several who would run away in the woods and remain several weeks at one time<sup>17</sup>.**

Dan Gediman: While in the woods the Oxmoor enslaved encountered some runaways from Tennessee.

**Harry Smith: The Tennessee darkies and Bullitt's came together and planned how they could get across the Ohio river successfully. They finally wove a lot of**

<sup>15</sup> In addition to the two slaves in this ad, see runaway slave notice for Hope.

<sup>16</sup> Young and Hudson "Slave Life at Oxmoor" p 211

<sup>17</sup> Harry Smith Fifty years of slavery in the United States of America.docx, pg 38

**hemp together in strips of different lengths. The night was set, which was Saturday. They made oars of fence boards. They were fed while in the woods by Bullitt's slaves, with the rest doing all they could to assist them.**

**They all met about nine miles above Louisville. The rails along there were walnut and poplar, being light, they were tied together and made into rafts to enable them to cross. Not learning any more of the fugitives, it was supposed that they reached Canada all safe<sup>18</sup>.**

Dan Gediman: This episode remains a mystery. It doesn't show up in the family's letters, and yet six Oxmoor enslaved are listed as fugitives in the 1850 census. But either way, it certainly underscores that life for those enslaved at Oxmoor was not the idyllic utopia described in the memoirs of the Bullitt family, and that several enslaved people at least tried, if not succeeded, in running away from the plantation.<sup>19</sup> According to Professor Vanessa Holden, enslaved people had many motivations for running away.

**Vanessa Holden: Overwhelmingly, people are running to reunite with family. They're running, to carve out free lives in other parts, even other parts of slave states. So, running to urban locations so they can blend in with the local population. I think sometimes, when folks hear the term resistance and rebellion, they think of large scale violent slave rebellions like the revolution in Haiti but really enslaved people were resisting enslavement every single day, in small and large ways. And one of the most pervasive ways and common ways enslaved people resisted, was by running.**

Dan Gediman: In antebellum Kentucky, the first line of defense against enslaved people running away was a system of written passes and slave patrols. Enslaved people needed a pass anytime they traveled away from their plantation or workplace. Sometimes those passes were for an afternoon, but they could be for as little as an hour. Slave patrols were groups of White men deputized to travel throughout the area to check the papers of all the Black people they encountered. In addition to enslaved people needing passes, free Blacks were required at

<sup>18</sup> Harry Smith fifty years of slavery in the United States of America.docx, pg 38

<sup>19</sup> Oxmoor curator Shirley Harmon: says that the immediate neighbor to Oxmoor was James Brown, as Harry Smith says in his memoir, and that there was a new overseer at this point (1849-50) and the slaves didn't like him. The 1850 slave schedule for Bullitt.

all times to carry papers attesting to their status. Francis Frederick was enslaved in Mason County, Kentucky. He explains in his autobiography how slave patrols worked in his community, where the fear of runaways was high due to their location on the Ohio River.

**Francis Frederick:** *On New Year's Day ten White men are chosen, who are called patrols; they are sworn-in at the court-house, and their special duty is to go to the Negro cabins for the purpose of searching them to see whether any slaves are there without a pass or permit from their masters. The head of the ten is called Captain. He sends the men into the cabins, waiting outside himself at some distance with the horses, the patrol being a mounted body. If any slaves are found without a pass they are brought out, and being made to strip are flogged, the men receiving ten and the women five lashes each. This is looked upon as great fun by the patrol and the White people, young ladies and gentlemen from the verandahs laughing and enjoying the scene.*<sup>20</sup>

Dan Gediman: This system of controlling runaway slaves was built on the notion that if an enslaved person got past the patrols and across the Ohio River, they would be returned by officials in the northern states to their rightful owners. This was considered such an essential principle that during the 1787 Constitutional Convention, Southern delegates were ready to bolt unless such a provision was written into the document. And in 1793, a formal Fugitive Slave Act was passed by Congress to make this requirement even clearer. But as with the sanctuary cities movement today, several northern states enacted legislation that effectively neutralized these laws. According to Vanessa Holden, this led in 1850, to the passage of an even more emphatic Fugitive Slave Act, which made every White American, part of a national slave patrol.<sup>21</sup>

**Vanessa Holden:** **All Whites regardless of whether they wanted to, or not, regardless of their personal feelings about Black people, or their personal feelings about slavery, were expected to participate in community policing, of Black people. Fugitive Slave ads, ask someone to read a description, and then be on the lookout to read the bodies of Black people as they passed in the street, to be suspicious automatically of unfamiliar Black people, and to really compare them to these descriptions in hopes of getting them to participate in turning people in.**

<sup>20</sup> SLAVE LIFE IN VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY by Francis Fedric, p. 30

<sup>21</sup>Slave Traders and Planters in the Expanding South: 1787-1859 pp 26, 70, 84, 346 <http://bit.ly/Yagyu>

Dan Gediman: The decision to run away from your enslaver and leave a spouse, children, or other family behind was not taken lightly. The consequences if you were captured were grave.

**Vanessa Holden: If you're caught, there are really really violent ways that you are punished either by your own enslaver, or by others in the community appointed to punish you. And in many cases. if someone resists arrest, and is murdered, it is not considered murder. It's perfectly legal to murder someone who's, who can be conceived of as resisting arrest.**

Dan Gediman: "If someone resists arrest, and is murdered, it is not considered murder." Even today that dynamic is often in play when police in the United States kill African Americans. According to researchers at Bowling Green State University, it is exceedingly rare for a police officer to be charged with murder or manslaughter, let alone convicted, for shooting someone while on duty<sup>22</sup>.

So making the connection from the past, when slave patrols could whip or even kill enslaved people, and the present day, when police can brutalize and kill Black people without major consequence, just isn't that hard to make. And people are making that connection often these days.

But there are so many other ways that echoes of our nation's past continue to reverberate today. That's true at the level of society, and it's equally true in many families.

**[crosstalk] Hello. Hi. Hello.**

Dan Gediman: It's early June of 2019 and gathering together in the formal living room at Oxmoor, are five people who have never met. Three of them -- Brigitt Johnson, Russ Bowlds, and Lisa Bowlds-Williams, are descendants of a family that was enslaved here. And two of them, Kate Stites and Chenoweth Stites Allen, are descendants of the family, which owned this plantation.

**Lisa Bowlds-Williams: And I'm Lisa.**

<sup>22</sup><https://www.bgsu.edu/content/dam/BGSU/health-and-human-services/document/Criminal-Justice-Program/policeintegritylostresearch/-9-On-Duty-Shootings-Police-Officers-Charged-with-Murder-or-Manslaughter.pdf>

**Kate Stites:** Lisa, nice to meet you.

**Russ Bowlds:** Nice to me you. And I'm Russ.

**Kate Stites:** Russ, Nice to meet you.

Dan Gediman: They sit under a crystal chandelier in a bright yellow room, with antique furniture, tall ceilings, and large windows, which look out over the beautifully landscaped grounds. They talk a bit about their families, filling each other in on what they know, and more importantly, what they don't know.

**Chenoweth Stites Allen:** And quite frankly, when Dan said I stumbled upon some of your family history, do you want to talk about that? Sure! History has never really been my thing but um...this was not what I was expecting. And it was you know, we've kind of now gone to the Bullitt side more than that initial conversation. But having Chenoweth be the name of a slave trader and um ... was hard. I freaked out also probably a spare and every. And carrying a name that's not Mildred or Helen, that's a less common name. When I introduce myself, often people say, "Oh, that's such an interesting name", and for the last year, every time I introduce myself, I get this blech. And I'm trying to figure out what to do with that because I think it's important to both carry that ugh and also, somehow be able to connect with the good pieces as well. And um...

Dan Gediman: Over the course of the conversation, both sets of cousins remark that their connection to Oxmoor was a surprise. And they agree that this place, and the history of slavery that it carries, should be better known. Brigitt says she has plans to talk to her children about what she has learned, but that more needs to be done.

**Brigitt Johnson:** Going forward, we, we both descendants of this, it's our duty to teach our own first and then spread that out because they have to know. And this country, this government, we're not going to stop talking about it. You can tell us to shut up all you want to, it's here, it's part of our history, you know? We have to educate the country, we have to. We have to, you know, it's something we have to do. So I want to continue with this. And I want you guys, you know, to delve into it and learn about yourself. It's like I thought you guys knew more, you know, it's you don't so you know, you, we got to give you the time also to start looking into

**it too, you know.**

**Chenoweth Stites Allen:** This doesn't feel, this place feels like it has so much potential to tell truth. And, um...

**Brigitt Johnson:** Yeah, and that's what a lot of people don't want to face they don't want whether it's other the truth [good bad or ugly]

**Chenoweth Stites Allen:** And that will be all of that, probably.

**Brigitt Johnson:** Yeah.

Dan Gediman: Looking around Oxmoor, it's not hard to imagine the ancestors of these cousins moving through these rooms. Brigitt's ancestor Louisa, busy taking care of the Bullitt children, while Chenoweth's ancestor Mildred reads by the fire, in the parlor where her descendants are now seated. But war is coming, and that fight will affect everyone who lives at Oxmoor, and all who live in Kentucky. The Civil War, and Kentucky's unique role as a Union state where slavery remained the law of the land. That's next time, on the Reckoning.