

"The Yuchi Indians of Southwest Virginia and Their Roll,"
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The Yuchi Indians of Southwest Virginia and Their 1857 Roll (1)

by Jim Glanville

There is extensive archeological and historical evidence for the presence of the Yuchi American Indian people in Virginia's Smyth and Washington counties in the 16th century. This article adds the documentary evidence of an 1857 intertribal roll held by the Remnant Yuchi Nation of Kingsport, Tennessee. With tribal permission, the roll is published here for the first time. The article argues for an end to the long Virginia neglect of its Yuchi heritage.

Oral tradition preserved by Woktela(2) tells us that the Yuchi (alternatively Euchee) American Indian people originated at Cahokia on the Mississippi River near present-day St. Louis, reached western Tennessee by the 14th century, and eastern Tennessee by the 15th. The Spanish de Soto expedition encountered them in Southwest Virginia in 1541, as again did the Pardo expedition in 1567. By 1717, the small Yuchi tribe with its unique language had lost out in the English-promoted Indian slaving wars and had been scattered to many places throughout the Southeast.

The Trail of Tears in 1838-39 took most Yuchis west to Oklahoma as part of the Creek Confederacy — a loose coalition of diverse Indian towns in the South. Despite this removal, remnant Yuchi groups remained in Appalachia and the U.S. Southeast. In Appalachia the Yuchi became the leaders of a post-removal coalescent Indian movement, as demonstrated by the intertribal roll made in Carter County, Tennessee, in 1857 and curated by the Remnant Yuchi Nation in Kingsport. This roll, that is described and pictured here, is new and convincing evidence of the historic role of the Yuchi people in Virginia. For many years the roll was held in Floyd County, Virginia.

Today, five centuries after European contact, the federally recognized western Yuchi in Oklahoma are a minority group under the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation. The eastern Remnant Yuchi Nation continues to fight for Tennessee state tribal recognition, although it has abandoned efforts to become recognized in Virginia.

When Europeans contacted them in southwest Virginia, the Yuchi were a Mississippian people. The term Mississippian characterizes the American Indian societies that occupied the Mississippi River watershed and the Deep South during the years 800-1,600 AD. Mississippian peoples generally were platform mound builders, relied on maize-based sustenance, had social ranks and a complex political organization, engaged in ceremonial activities, and produced highly artistic objects with iconic designs from marine shell, copper and pottery. They also engaged in long-distance trade and exchange. In southwest Virginia caves substituted for mounds as Indian ceremonial and religious sites. Mississippian peoples produced a rich and abundant archeological record throughout their territory. That record is very well known — except in Virginia.

The archeological record of southwest Virginia divides into "proper archeology" and "improper archeology." Proper archeology is that done by professionals and any amateurs that they supervise.

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Improper archeology has principally been grave robbing to obtain Indian relics to collect or to sell, although some unsupervised amateurs have excavated to study long-lost Indian cultures and donated their finds to museums.

The Yuchi Indians left a fabulous archeological record in Virginia's Smyth and Washington counties. That record comes principally from two kinds of places: large village sites along the three main rivers of the two counties, the North, Middle and South forks of the Holston river, and the caves that occur abundantly in their karst landscape. This record is almost entirely undocumented by professional archeologists and the Mississippian archeological record of Smyth and Washington counties is found almost entirely in private collections and the publications of relic collectors, where that record has been studied for more than a decade by the author.(3)

In consequence, the Yuchi Indians are unknown to the vast majority of Virginians, who believe that American Indian culture in Virginia stops at Amherst County with the Monacan Nation.

Just as the author's article last year about the triumph of Anglo-America stressed the significance of western Virginia for the development of America, so the present article stresses the significance of western Virginia for its role in Indian culture. Sadly, the Virginia obsession with its eastern history continues to obscure the dominant role of Virginia's western history.(4)

INDIAN RECOGNITION IN VIRGINIA

January 2018 will forever stand as a landmark month in the history of Virginia American Indians. That month President Donald Trump signed legislation creating six new federally recognized Virginia tribes — the Nansemond, Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Upper Mattaponi, Rappahannock and Monacan — in addition to the Pamunkey Indian tribe that obtained federal recognition in 2016. There are also four Commonwealth of Virginia-only recognized tribes — the Cheroenka Nottoway, Nottoway, Mattaponi and Patomeck. Collectively, these 11 politically recognized tribes have an enrolled membership of about 6,000 individuals. Ten of the tribes are based in Tidewater, in the watersheds of the Rappahannock, York and James rivers. The 11th, the Monacan tribe, is situated near Lynchburg in central Virginia.(5)

It is 300 miles from Lynchburg to Virginia's Cumberland Gap. Thus there is a vast area of western and southwestern Virginia devoid of any recognized tribes. Ironically, as is recounted in this article, the earliest Virginia tribes we can document in the historic record come from the western part of Virginia. These tribes were encountered by Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century.

Contrary to the popular view that Virginia began at Jamestown, it in fact began in the farthest western end of the present-day state in Lee County.(6) The first two Europeans to set foot in the present-day state of Virginia in 1541 were the Spaniards Juan de Villalobos (from Seville) and Francisco de Silvera (from Galicia) who were marauders from the de Soto expedition.(7) Twenty-six years later, in April 1567, Hernando Moyano de Morales led a detachment of Juan Pardo's soldiers northwards from Fort San Juan at Joara (present-day Morganton, North Carolina), and attacked an Indian village at Saltville that the Spanish called Maniatique.(8,9) Thus the Spanish encountered the Yuchi Indians in Appalachia in 1541 and 1567.

The Yuchi are a small group of Native American people who are today, as they were in the past, widely dispersed throughout the United States. Today, the principal Yuchi population resides in Oklahoma, with minor populations scattered throughout Appalachia and the Southeast. A unique characteristic of the Yuchi people is their distinctive isolate language. Woktela, the Yuchi historian and language student, strongly asserts that "tanasi," meaning meeting of the waters in Yuchi, gave Tennessee its name. Linguists such as Mary Linn judge that the Yuchi language separated from all other languages more than 6,000 years ago.(10) The uniqueness of their language gives the Yuchi historical distinctiveness. Today, only a handful of native speakers of the unique Yuchi isolate language are still alive in Oklahoma. An

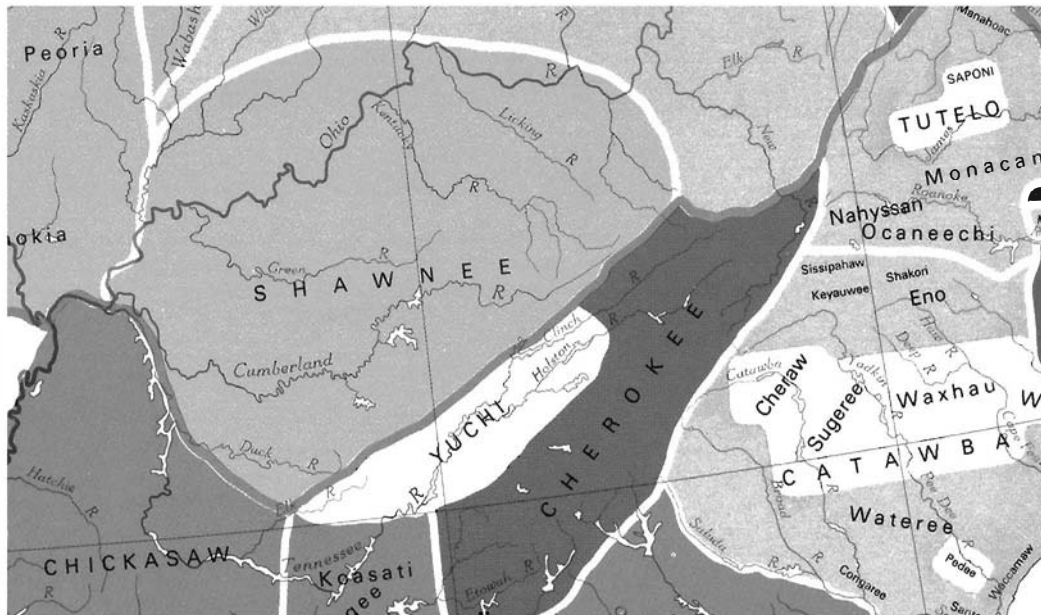


Figure 1. The Yuchi shown on the U.S. National Atlas. (Detail; public domain)

older member of the Remnant Yuchi Nation remembers that his grandmother, who lived in Gate City (in Virginia about 6 miles north of Kingsport), spoke some Yuchi. No living Virginia Indians are native language speakers. The Monacan people of central Virginia spoke an extinct Siouan language while the Tidewater tribes spoke extinct Algonquian languages.

Figures 1 and 2 are two noteworthy maps among many that show the Yuchi. Figure 1 shows a detail from a generalized map of Indian cultural areas with the Yuchi displayed along the Tennessee River and stretching into Virginia. Generalized maps such as this one cannot be taken too seriously; map lines of territorial demarcation are an Anglo-American concept unrecognized by Indians, and no map such as this can adequately represent five or six centuries of voluntary Indian population movement and settler forced relocation. For our purposes, the map simply legitimizes that the Yuchi play a role in the history of southwest Virginia.⁽¹¹⁾ Incidentally, the Monacan, the westernmost of the modern-day federally recognized Virginia tribes, appear on the very eastern edge of Figure 1.

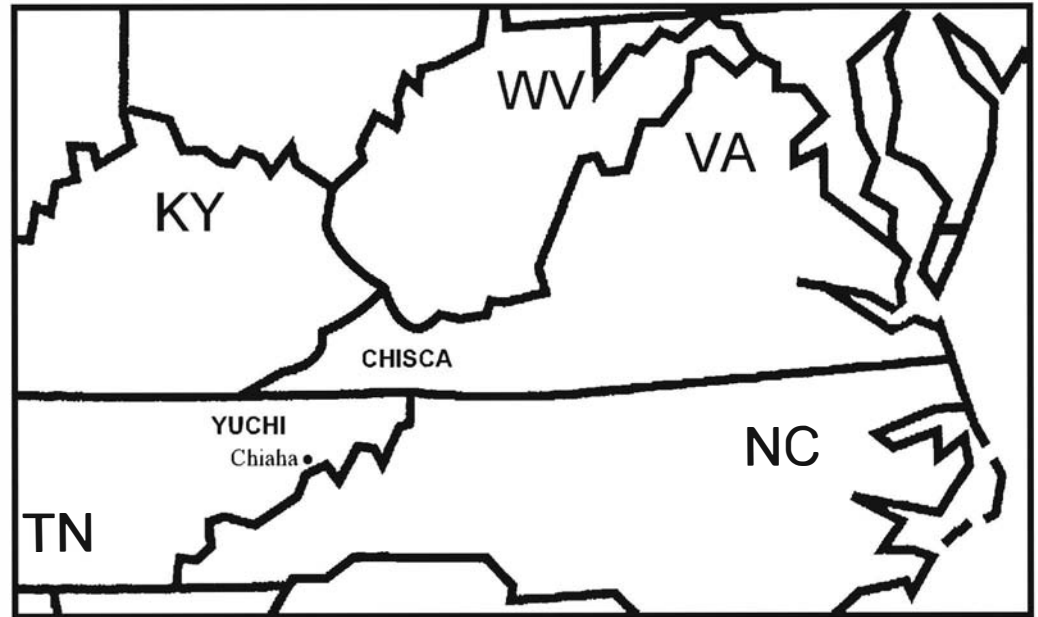
Modern historical scholarship has only recently turned its attention to the Yuchi, and principally through the efforts of Jason Baird Jackson.⁽¹²⁾ Modern scholarship places the Yuchi in northeast Tennessee and southwest Virginia. Figure 2 is a sketch map that follows a map published in 2012 by Brett Riggs and John E. Worth.⁽¹³⁾ The Yuchi and the Chisca were either the same people or closely related peoples who spoke the same language. The distinction between them involves the interpretation of some obscure 16th-century Spanish documents. The author is of the opinion that the distinction between the Chisca and the Yuchi made by some authors is a distinction without a significant difference.

In any event, these two maps and others secure the Yuchi claim to a place in southwest Virginia history. It is reprehensible that the small Yuchi tribe that played such a significant role in early Virginia history is so obscure and neglected today.

THE ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

The only extended study of the regional archeology of southwest Virginia is the nearly 50-year-old Smithsonian Institution survey conducted by C.G. Holland.⁽¹⁴⁾ He wrote: "It is rare to find a site in southwest Virginia that has not been systematically searched by nearby collectors." (Holland 1970, p. 37) Indeed, it is impossible to grasp the extensive Mississippian quality of the region where the present-day remnant Yuchi people live without taking account of the enormous amount of improper archeology that has been carried out there.⁽¹⁵⁾

Figure 2. The 16th century Yuchi in present-day Tennessee and Virginia according to modern scholarship. (Map by author; the town of Chiaha is discussed in endnote 8)



Holland described the extent of this improper archeology in 1970 on page viii of his preface:

In contrast to the professionals, the local collectors are a potent group in southwest Virginia archeology and I am indebted to some of them for much help. (16) On the other hand, they have been a most destructive force. About 40 years ago one of a family of several brothers began to dig at night in open sites and to enter caves for artifacts. Through the following years this man with single-minded determination dug in nearly all the open, pottery-bearing sites and caves within a large radius of Saltville [a town that bridges Smyth and Washington Counties]. The artifacts sought were mainly pipes, ear ornaments, shell pendants and similar objects that were highly prized and sold well. Others of the family took up this activity and the pattern spread to embrace many people in their town and surrounding community. It is estimated that 40 to 50 people are now engaged in this destructive digging between Tazewell and Washington Counties.

In contrast, proper archeology in Smyth and Washington counties has been relatively modest in extent and never directed at studying Mississippian culture in the region. A 25-year survey of work by amateur archeologists in Washington County notes the prior disturbance of many of their studied sites by relic hunters and gives no hint of the rich Mississippian culture of the region.(17)

A rare glimpse of Mississippian Virginia from the perspective of proper archeology comes from a 1996 article by two archeologists that labels the Saltville-Chilhowie region of Smyth County a “salt powered chiefdom.”(18) These authors observed that the prehistory of Saltville is “one of the most fascinating developments within Native American cultures within the Commonwealth.” They noted that a site in Chilhowie yielded artifacts showing Mississippian influence, and decided that the use of the salt resource spurred the development of high cultural level in the region. They concluded: “Due to the perishable nature of the salt resource and the destruction by modern development and/or looting of the majority of archaeological sites relating to it, direct evidence for the mining, manufacturing, and trading of salt from Saltville is difficult to obtain. Through an examination of collateral evidence, however, it would appear that such activities did occur in the Saltville Valley with far reaching implications for the social organization of Southwest Virginia”

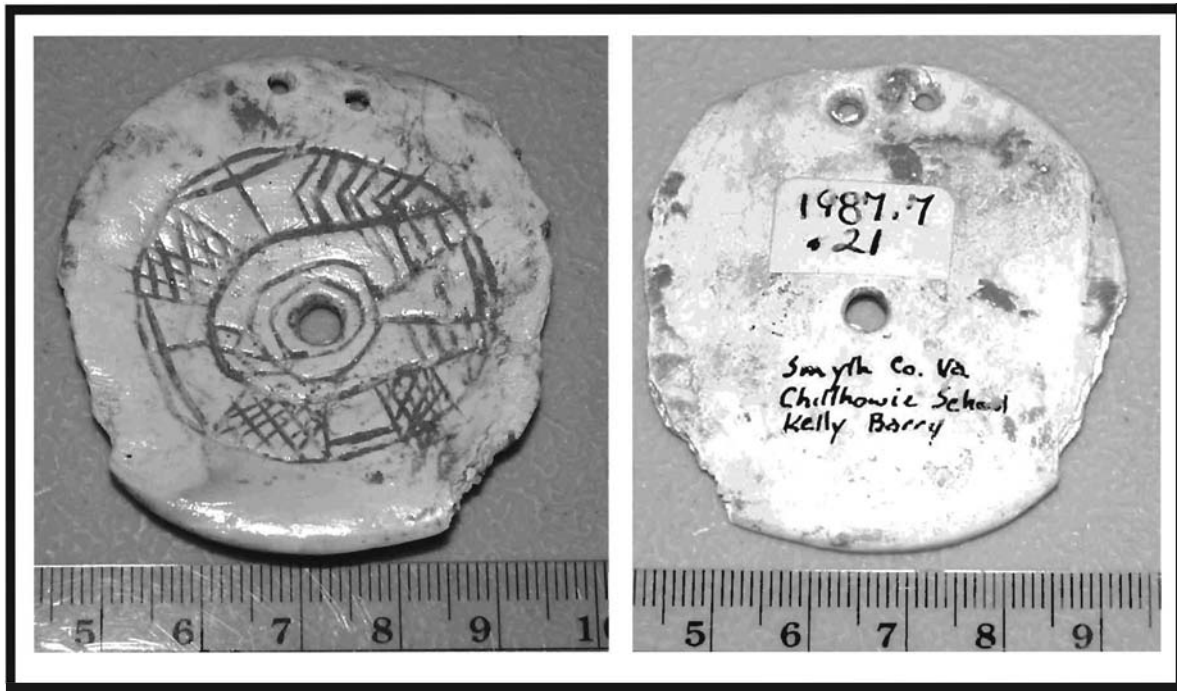


Figure 3. A Saltville style gorget. Labeled "Smyth Co. Va, Chillhowie [sic] school, Kelly Barry [sic]." (In a private collection; author's 2007 picture)

North

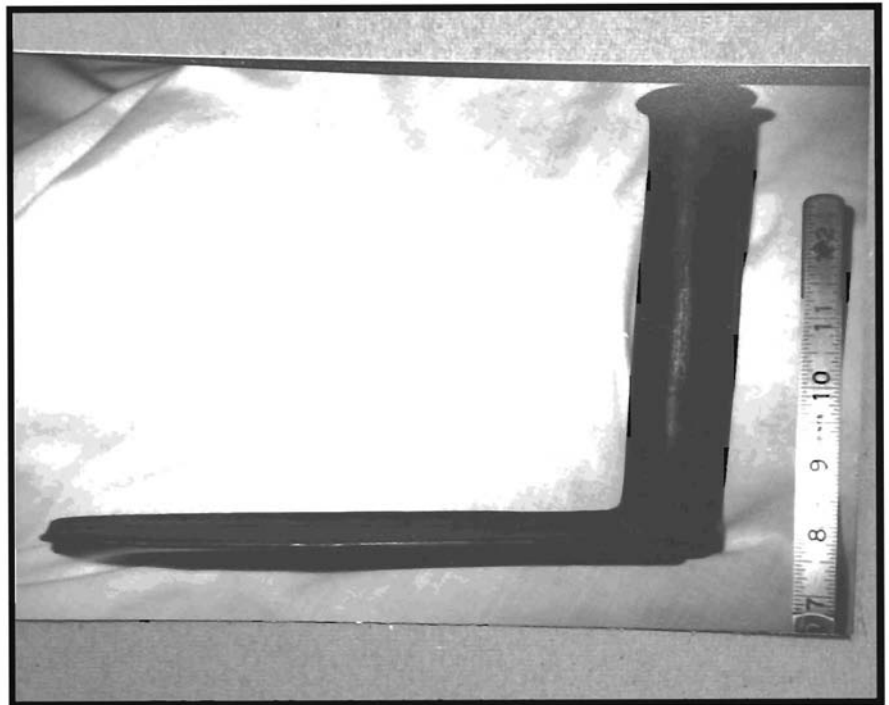
↙ The author has argued that the vast amounts of broken pottery found up and down the valley of the Middle Fork of the Holston River constitute evidence that salt brine from Saltville was transported by river to places with ample available wood and there boiled down to yield solid salt.(19)

In 1997, professional archeologists reported that of 37 known Indian burial caves in Virginia (34 of which are in Smyth and Washington Counties) "...only three remain relatively undisturbed by looters" and that "... the looting of these sites is so extensive and is continuing."(20) Dick Slattery reported to the author that after the "father of plains archeology" Waldo Wedel was lowered into a cave near Saltville, Wedel told him that the Indians had "filled that cave" and that there were "wagon loads of bones down there."(21)

In 1957, the new Chilhowie High School venue was the location of an Indian grave site digging frenzy. When earth moving commenced an Indian grave field containing more than a hundred burials was quickly uncovered and within days "hundreds of amateurs" had pockmarked the field with hasty and careless diggings. Our knowledge of these 1957 events comes only from newspaper reports.(22) This site produced the gorget (throat ornament) pictured in Figure 3 which the author photographed in a private museum in 2007. Artistically engraved marine shell gorgets and finely made, polished stone pipes are characteristic of Mississippian Smyth and Washington counties and have been found there in abundance over the years either as grave goods or as cave finds. Almost all of these items are held privately by relic collectors.

The Mississippian art objects called gorgets that are made from the outer shell of saltwater conch shells were studied by Jon Muller in Saltville in 1964, when he met and interviewed local collectors and photographed their engraved gorgets. This pioneer study of styles of gorget engraving throughout the Mississippian world became his 1966 Ph.D. dissertation.(23) Muller saw and photographed about 30 gorgets from Smyth and Washington counties and named the engraved rattlesnake design of a particular type of gorget (such as the one in Figure 3) the "Saltville Style." In 1996, Muller's photographs were incorporated into a book about gorgets published by the Peabody Museum.(24) The West

Figure 4. Large stone pipe 7 inches high × 10 inches long. Said to be in the Robey Maiden collection circa 1965. (From print given to the author in 2005 by the late Tom Totten of Saltville)



Virginia archeologist Darla Hoffman reviewed Virginia and West Virginia gorgets in 2001⁽²⁵⁾ and the present author reviewed Saltville-style gorgets in 2010.⁽²⁶⁾ The author has visited many relic collectors in their homes and at their shows and taken many photographs of shell gorgets and stone pipes. Present-day Virginia archeologists are generally uninterested in these gorgets and mostly unaware of the pipes.

The best account of stone pipes from Chilhowie in Smyth County and the Cornelius farm site in Washington County is in a book aimed at the Indian relic collecting community.⁽²⁷⁾ This book pictures many fine pipe specimens. Figure 4 shows a stone pipe said to have been in the Robey Maiden collection and said to have come from a cave near the Madam Russell Church in Saltville. Maiden was one of the family of brothers mentioned by Holland as quoted above. On a note of caution, the evidence provided by pipes in private collections must be used judiciously because pipes are fairly easily reproduced and so fakes are an evidentiary problem. Modern reproduction gorgets are also known, but they apparently require more skill to make than pipes.

The author is annoyed and frustrated that neither Virginia historians nor Virginia archaeologists pay much attention to the Mississippian history of Smyth and Washington counties. He expressed his frustration in a book review published in 2012 in a magazine for relic collectors.⁽²⁸⁾ In the review he expressed himself troubled by the efforts of professional archaeologists to control the nature of archaeological evidence by declaring objects held in private collections to be “looted” and unprovenanced and thereby inappropriate or improper for analysis and study and wrote that the “...transformation of Indiana Jones into the thought police is bizarre and absurd.” More importantly, this assertion of prohibition against certain artifacts amounts to an act of cultural genocide against the Yuchi. As Woktela has written, by declaring its artifacts unacceptable “[i]t remains the last act of genocide to write a culture out of history.”

This section concludes with an anecdote. A decade ago a Smyth County grave robber⁽²⁹⁾ who much admired the culture of the Indians he was digging up complained to the author that he was disturbed by their cultural practice of burying their dead beneath their dwellings. A couple of years later, during a meeting with Yuchi elders in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, the author was told of the Oklahoma Yuchi former practice of burying their dead under their houses, a practice he later found recorded in the literature.⁽³⁰⁾ It was this Sapulpa meeting that created for him a visceral belief in the reality of the Virginia Yuchi — more real than his already long-held cold academic belief.

THE 1857 YUCHI ROLL

Although referred to here as the Yuchi roll because it is held by the Remnant Yuchi Nation (as it apparently has been for the past 161 years), the roll is actually an intertribal roll. The roll is pictured in

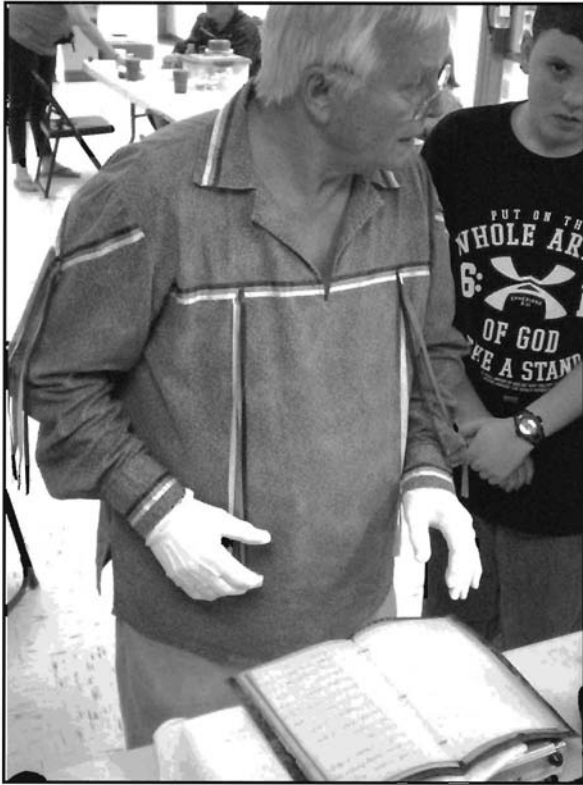


Figure 5. Chief Lee Vest and the Remnant Yuchi Roll.

Figures 5 and 6. The roll's inscription names six tribes having members listed in the roll and calls the listed families "the Appalachian people." The roll is 12 pages long, begins with an inscription and then lists 49 head-of-household names and names a total of about 300 individuals. It must have been a brave act for remnant American Indians in the East to declare themselves an intertribal people less than 20 years after Indian removal on the Trail of Tears.

The roll is 10½ inches long and 6¾ inches wide. Its leather cover and inside pages are held with twine which is punctured through the leather and pages, and secured with abalone shell discs or buttons (Figure 6). At one time the front cover was beaded, but over the years this work has been lost and all that remains are the needle holes. The roll is kept in a secret location, and stored in a handmade canvas envelope inside a metal case, along with protective gemstones and herbs.

Remnant Yuchi oral history suggests that the writer of this document was a man named Vest, who identified as a Pamunkey Indian, although nothing else is known about him.

Here is a transcription of the remarkable inscription that is the frontispiece of the roll (Figure 7):

March 21, 1857

On this day that Creator has brough[t] [and] seen fit that we come together as the Appalachian People. We come from many tribes, the Monacan, Saponi, Yuchi, Tutelo, Cherokee, Shawnee, but now we gather as one. We ask Creator to protect and deliver us from the dark evil that tracks us.

The reader can decide for him- or herself who or what is the "dark evil" tracking the "Appalachian People."

By legally controlling who is or is not defined as an Indian, historic Indian tribal rolls play a huge role in the life and political status of American Indians in the 21st century. The 566 federally recognized tribal nations set their own individual criteria for who is a member and how a person goes about enrolling in a tribe. The most common requirement for someone to newly enroll in a tribe is to prove a direct line of descent from a person named on the tribe's base roll, with other typical requirements being tribal blood quantum, tribal residency, or continued contact with the tribe. Under U.S. law, being able to decide who belongs to their tribe is an essential element of what makes tribes sovereign entities. Because of federal benefits granted to enrolled Indians, struggles to decide who legally qualifies as a Native American are notoriously vicious.(31)

The federal government considers the Oklahoma Yuchi to be part of the Muscogee (Creek) Indian Nation and Yuchi is one of the official languages of that Nation. The only Yuchi roll of which the author is aware, precedent to the one pictured here, comes from the 1832/1833 Creek census that is called the Parsons and Abbott Roll, after the names of the men who made it during a town-to-town tour of the Creek Confederacy. The roll contains the names of all the heads of households of the individual Creek towns. The Euchee Town census lists 106 names of Yuchi family heads located beside the Chattahoochee River at present-day Fort Benning, Georgia.(32)

The story of the remnant Yuchi roll comes from oral history. At the age of 4-5 years old, around the time of the end of World War II, Chief Lee Vest first saw the 1857 roll on a shelf in a covered, bucket-like container in his grandfather's (William Arthur Vest) home in Floyd County, Virginia.(33) Chief Vest surmises that the roll at one time must have been in the possession of his great-grandfather Edgar Floyd Vest (1853-1937), about whom little is known. Vest family tradition holds that the roll has always been in the family's possession. The chief's grandfather died in 1977 at the age of 94 in Roanoke, Virginia, and his empty home in nearby Floyd County was subsequently vandalized. After that, the roll with great luck was salvaged and moved to Tennessee, where it has since remained, and became a sacred possession of the Remnant Yuchi Nation. Chief Vest writes of the vandalizing: "[s]omeone had been there and the contents of the home were littered all over the place. Family pictures, clothing, household items, several pieces of antique furniture, etc., had been taken. I began to pick up the family pictures and other items. In the rubbish I also found the Roll Book and several other historic tribal pieces."

Prior to 2007, the Remnant Yuchi Nation was called the Appalachian Confederated Tribe. In 2007, the name Remnant Yuchi Nation seemed to offer better promise of Tennessee state tribal recognition, and so the name was changed. However, the name Appalachian Confederated Tribe much better reflects what the inscription in the roll shows, that six tribes of people in Holstonia came together and confederated in 1857 as one people, so as to be united in strength, and named themselves the "Appalachian People."(34)

Chief Vest has noted that Virginia law once encouraged Indians to deny their heritage and that the now-notorious 1924 Virginia Racial Integrity Act required that Virginia Indians be classified as "colored" on birth and marriage certificates, and threatened doctors and midwives with jail for noncompliance. The result, he said, was "paper genocide." Thus it was that his Monacan forefathers were hiding out in the rugged terrain along the isolated border country of Floyd and Montgomery Counties in Virginia. In the 1930s, many Floyd County pregnant Indian mothers traveled to Beckley, West Virginia, to

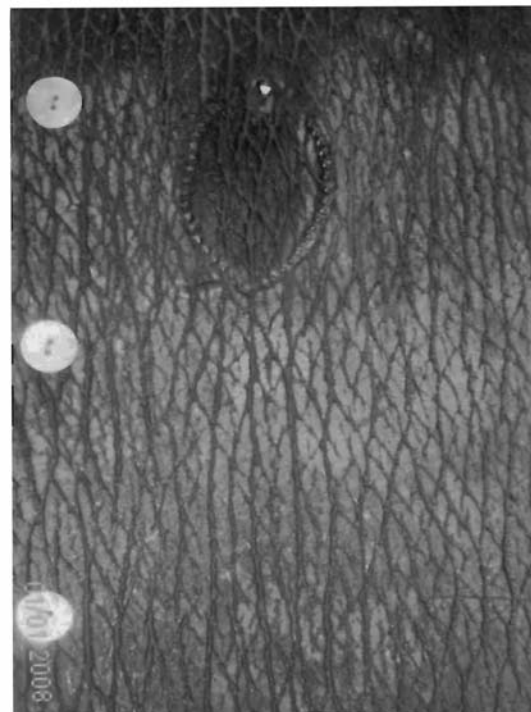


Figure 6. Front cover of the Remnant Yuchi roll book.

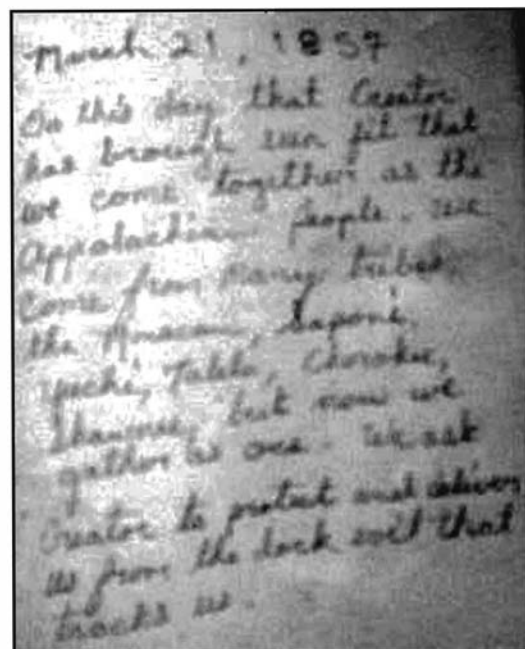


Figure 7. The inscription on the first page of the Remnant Yuchi roll book.

give birth in a place where they could obtain birth certificates that identified them as Indian and escape the strictures of a Virginia society that "...prohibited them from graduating high school, voting and even owning land." Chief Vest himself was born in Beckley for these reasons.

IN CONCLUSION

The 1857 roll is documentary evidence of a post-removal 19th-century presence of an organized Yuchi-led group at the Virginia-Tennessee border.

The principal conclusion of this article is that Virginians should acknowledge their Yuchi people, past and present. Sadly, to date, failures of Virginia history and archeology have produced a situation where an entire culture is largely ignored. Virginia historians should devote more attention to the period of Virginia history when Virginia was Florida and Spanish. Virginia archeologists should embrace improper archeology, for surely the point of archeology is to tell about the culture and lifestyles of vanished people who can speak for themselves principally through their burial objects.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to David Fuerst, David "Woktela" Hackett and Chief Lee Vest for invaluable guidance and commentary. Thanks to Tom Totten for salvaging the picture of the Robey Maiden pipe. Thanks to Harry Haynes for acquainting the author with the Virginia Mississippian culture. Thanks to Tony and Tonia Adams for much information about the culture of Indian relic collectors. Thanks to Kathryn Beatrice for newspaper clippings about the 1957 Chilhowie events. Thanks to the many private relic collectors whom the author has visited and to Charlie Burnette in particular.

ENDNOTES

1. An abbreviated version of this article was presented on March 11, 2017, at the Appalachian Studies Association annual meeting in Blacksburg, Virginia, with the title "The Yuchi Indians of Appalachia." The author uses the term 'Holstonia' to designate the general region of the watershed of the upper Holston River in Tennessee and its tributary three forks in Virginia. The author is an adopted member of the Remnant Yuchi Nation.
2. Yuchi oral tradition is the specialty of David Hackett of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, who goes by the Yuchi name "Woktela," or "keeper of the record." He maintains the website www.yuchi.org.
3. Notable among relic collectors publications is the 11-volume series collectively titled *Who's Who in Indian Relics* published irregularly from 1980 to 2017. It shows many pictures of southwest Virginia artifacts with their contemporary owners. It has never been cited in any professional archeological article.
4. Wallenstein, Peter. "The Grinch That Stole Southern History: Anthem for an Appalachian Perspective." *The Smithfield Review*, IV: 67-82, 2000. Wallenstein's article frames an alternative way of viewing the history of the South, one that emphasizes the decisive role played by Appalachia at various points in the past.
5. Glanville, Jim. "Recognition for more of Virginia's tribes," *Newport News Daily Press*, 25 February 2018. The op-ed argues that the American Indians of western Virginia and the early history of western Virginia deserve much more study.
6. Glanville, Jim. "16th Century Spanish Invasions of Southwest Virginia." *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal*, XVII(1): 34-42, 2009.
7. Glanville, Jim. "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567 Revisited." *Smithfield Review*, 18: 97-134, 2014.
8. Beck, Robin A., Jr., "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540-1568," *Southeastern Archaeology* 16(2) 162-169, (1997). Chiaha was at present-day Dandridge, Tennessee. Woktela the Yuchi historian commented: "Chiaha, as Yuchi Chief Sam Brown has noted means 'People of the Eye' in Yuchi—or Goose-eyed People. Whether they were Yuchi or Koasati is uncertain to me, but they were a part of the Yuchi alliance in the region."
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 14. Holland, C. G. *An Archeological Survey of Southwest Virginia*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970. Online at http://www.sil.si.edu/SmithsonianContributions/Anthropology/pdf_lo/SCtA-0012.pdf. Accessed June 2018.
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 16. The present author is likewise indebted to some of them for much help.
 17. Bartlett, Charles S. Jr., ed. *Archeology in Washington County, Virginia. Commemorating 25 Years, 1972-1997*. Abingdon, Virginia: Archeological Society of Virginia, Wolf Hills Chapter, 1997.
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 27. Hart, Gordon. *Hart's Prehistoric Pipe Rack, Volume #2*. Huntington, IN: Hart Publishers, Inc., 1999. Pipes from Chilhowie are on pp. 111-119. The Cornelius farm pipes are on pp. 144-153.
 28. Glanville, Jim. "A Review of Finders Keepers: A Tale of Archaeological Plunder and Obsession by Craig Childs (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2010)." *Central States Archaeological Journal*, 56(1): 45-46, 2012.
 29. This now dead informant need not be named here. He was very helpful to the author in the beginning days of his study, submitting to a lengthy interview.
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