**A Character Sketch of Chief Matenge in**

Chief Matenge as an example of corrupt leadership in Bessie Head’s "When Rain Clouds Gather"

**Character Sketch - Chief Matenge**

Chief Matenge is first revered to in the novel as Pamount Chief Sokoto’s "troublesome and unpopular younger brother". He has "an overwhelming avariciousness and unpleasant personality". He is "intensely disliked by the villagers". Chief Sekoto 'wanted his brother [Matenge] destroyed for all the family feuds and intrigues he had instigated." "Chief Matenge lived in the central part of the village in a big cream painted mansion. He had once been married and divorced, his wife retaining the two children of the marriage. For many years he had lived done in the cream mansion until quite recently he had acquired a guest and friend in a certain politician named has Tsepe." He keeps slaves that he "'received as part of his heritage" The mansion, the slaves, and a huge cream Chevrolet, which he parked under a tree in the yard, were the only things that gave Matenge a feeling of security in the village." He "commanded the largest following of diehard traditionalists, the ones who h m generation to generation saw to it that things remained as they were". He "understood tribalism". "Matenge was the epitome of this darkness with his long, gloomy, melancholy, suspicious face and his ceaseless intrigues, bitter jealousy and hatred." "It had always been his policy to transfer hate h m one object to another". "Matenge had hated his brother because he felt the chieftaincy should be his" He hated Dinorego "who had refused to sit on his advisory council". He hated Gilbert. Chief Sekoto considered Matenge to be "belonging to the insane part of mankind". He is extremely paranoid. He believes that Gilbert are plotting to murder him. He "administers the village" and is "responsible for the comings..."

Makhaya has fled South Africa because of his involvement in a bomb plot. He crosses the border into Botswana, and after being befriended by Dinorego, he decides to stay in the village of Golema Mmidi. Dinorego immediately introduces him to Gilbert, a British agricultural specialist who has also made the village of Golema Mmidi his home. Dinorego calls Gilbert his son, and explains to Makhaya that Gilbert is a giving person, always wanting to help people become more prosperous. He tells him that Gilbert can even eat the local food—sour milk porridge and goat meat—which has turned European stomachs in the past. Gilbert has been working diligently on a cattle cooperative in Botswana for three years, and everyone has been looking forward to reaping its benefits except Chief Matenge. Matenge, who is a spoiled and authoritarian troublemaker, has been dispatched by his brother Sekoto to Golema Mmidi to keep Gilbert from becoming a nuisance. Matenge and Gilbert have been at loggerheads for many months over the cooperative, and every advance that Gilbert makes in the project results in two steps back because of Matenge’s intrusions. Dinorego refers Makhaya to Gilbert, believing the newcomer can assist the Englishman in his agricultural undertakings. Gilbert invites Makhaya to share a meal with him at his house, and he is amazed when Makhaya explains the simple tribal name that he was given. Gilbert decides that Makhaya is not interested in... - See more at:

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**Mma-Millipede**

Like Dinorego as father, Mma-Millipede is quite deliberately given motherly characteristics. She functions as a surrogate mother for Makhaya, replacing the family he left behind. He is instantly attracted to her warmth and caring nature, however, he also finds it intimidating. Mma Millipede comes into her own in chapter nine, yet in the preceding chapters we are introduced to her “habitual good humor and kindness,” and her “kindly motherly way.”
As a victim of the harshness of tribalism, she represents that is possible to start over, to expand your world and love others, despite what may have happened in your past. Makhaya learns from her not only in the emancipation of chapter nine, but also in the way she holds herself around others. Like many of the other characters, it is her ‘generosity’ of spirit that is the key to her influence.

Maria

Maria is a young, uneducated but intelligent and attractive Botswana woman. She is described as having a “quiet but humble personality” and an “almighty air of neatness and orderliness about her.” We also learn from Maria that you do not need to be educated to be clever, when one of the villagers states: “you’ll never know with Maria, she’s too clever.”

Maria separates herself from the rest of the woman in the village, which, like most of the characters of the novel makes her an outsider as well. In this distance, Maria is considered aloof by others, and that is verified in the way she behaves in a group. Maria, like all the other major female characters of the novel is independent, but at the same time receptive to the advice and guidance of those around her.

Gilbert

Gilbert is introduced to the reader in a romanticised way. He is larger than life, almost a mythical or fairytale figure. Head portrays this by how he introduces himself to Seketo – “one day, a strange, massively built, blue eyed young man walked into the paramount chief’s office.” Dinorego, Gilbert’s confidant and sounding board had “no words to describe Gilbert,” while Makhaya reflects, “he was not big, he was a giant.” All these introductions of Gilbert give us an insight into how he is perceived by the other characters, but also how his energy and determination empowered him.

As a white man in a small African village he clearly sticks out like a sore thumb, however, we learn that “he had not felt free in England either.” His own inability to feel a sense of belonging haunts him, yet not in the same sharp way that Makhaya feels it. Gilbert instead focuses on work and progress and stomps around the village and farm with hurried purpose. He is not however perfect or iconic. Head gives Gilbert an acute self-awareness in realising that he needed Makhaya as “he lacked sympathy, patience and understanding.”

While their relationship formed uncertainly, they quickly develop a reliance on each other. Gilbert states: “I could do with a friend around here.” Theirs is a friendship of mutual interdependence, where they act as the ying to the other’s yang. Makhaya needs Gilbert’s passion to pull him out of the narrow confines of his thoughts and give his life a sense of direction, while Gilbert needs Makhaya to be his human voice in achieving
his various projects. Gilbert, even when being described by his wife is held above others, as if he “does not live in this world.”

It is important that Gilbert is white, we need him to befriend Makhaya, to challenge his assumptions of race. The pair become “ancient blood brothers,” held together in their need for companionship. Moreover, Gilbert becomes a source of stability to the villagers, where “everything Gilbert did seemed to be harmonious and acceptable like the sunrise and sunsets.” Gilbert is another character who exemplifies the simple life, a role model for Makhaya to follow. For Gilbert life “meant love and work.”

**First impressions of Makhaya**

To fully understand the character of Makhaya, we must look closely at the way he is introduced to us in the book.

The first indicator of his personality comes on the first page of the book. In fact, the very first way Head describes Makhaya is that he is, ‘too easily jangled by the irritations of living.’ Therefore, from the outset of the novel, Makhaya can be understood as a character ill at ease. Head goes on to state that ‘the inner part of him was a jumble of chaotic discord.’ This feeling is further emphasised by the scenario in which he is introduced. He is literally at the border of another country while metaphorically and mentally he occupies the border of sanity.

Another important idea about Makhaya and our first instance of foreshadowing also occurs on the first page. Makhaya’s idiosyncrasy of avoiding others is demonstrated through averting is face as he felt like ‘no man was his brother or worthy of trust.’ This belief is challenged later on in the novel when we are introduced to Gilbert and as their friendship develops.

**Makhaya continued. Exploring the internal conflict**

As mentioned above, we learn from the outset of the novel that Makhaya is internally wrestling with several very large issues. In fact, throughout the course of the book, we ride his thoughts as they turn back and forth on almost every single issue of the day and how they relate to him. Colonialism, racism, feminism, tribalism, pan-African issues, apartheid, family, identity and belonging, all come under close scrutiny. Because of the third person narrative point of view and Head’s articulation of Makhaya’s thoughts, we do not have to guess Makhaya’s frustrations and desires. Instead of guessing, we are a spectator to watch Makhaya stumble along and find a path out of the mental anguish he suffers. In this journey, Makhaya realises his primary desire is for a simple life. The first ten chapters of the book consist of Head expressing this in countless different ways.
It is made clear in the final chapters as the external obstacles preventing this are removed, that in fact, the biggest barrier preventing his happiness and contentment is himself.

As a refugee running from South Africa, we understand his desire to leave is mainly driven by the inhumanity of apartheid and his inability accept the racial inequalities. Makhaya states: “he could not marry and have children in a country where black men were called “boy” and “dog” and “kaffir.” This existence, coupled with his upbringing in “one of the most custom bound and conservative of tribes in the whole African continent,” illustrate his complete lack of freedom and that the desires of his heart are unattainable.

These extremes propel him to leave South Africa believing he needed a clean break from his past. However, after years of numbing hatred he has cut himself off from making real connections with those around him. It is not that he is indifference to others, it is the “wall” he has put in place to protect himself. Therefore, while he desires companionship, he is his own worst enemy in not being able to achieve it. His hatred both nurtures and isolates him and keeps him in his “lonely self-containment.” This is described by Head as “shut-away worlds were the sunlight never penetrated, haunted worlds, full of mistrust and hate.” To peal away and break down these layers of hate, we need a white man (the old object of his hate) and a new family.

Makhaya is captivated by human generosity. He believes deep in his soul that “everything in life depended on generosity.” This is why the characters of Golema Mmidi have such a profound impact on him. Upon meeting Dinorego, he calls him his ‘son’ and invites him to his house and offers hospitality to a complete stranger. Again, when he decides to settle in Golema Mmiddid, it is a white man, George Appleby-Smith, who goes out on a limb to offer him status as a refugee. On reflection, Makhaya realises, “there was anything he liked on earth it was human generosity. It made life seem whole and sane to him.” Another white man, Gilbert Balfour offers him a job, with almost no knowledge of Makhaya’s past. And finally, Mma Millipede, a plump, motherly old woman, also familiar with the “tragedies of life” is his confidant, an ear for him to vent his hatred without judgment.

While all of Makhaya’s internal conflicts are not resolved in the novel, he does comes to accept himself and open up to those around him. It is not his powers of reasoning or the rationalising of his existence that gives “peace of mind” but instead, living within a community, and living simply. While his thoughts are not silenced, they are quietened by purposeful work and companionship.

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**Matenge**

Matenge is clearly the antagonist of the novel. Head’s characterisation of Matenge is almost comical. He is a overweight and egotistical meglomaniac. He lives off the poor and his inherited unpaid slaves. He parades his wealth and strokes his own ego in his dress and through his actions. He wears a purple robe and sits in high-
backed, throne-like chair. He is primarily concerned with bolstering his own image and nursing his ideas of his own self-importance.

He believes that his status as sub-chief is an inherited and fixed position and therefore unable to be challenged by anyone he considers inferior. Therefore, when he is threatened by Makhaya and Gilbert, he acts arrogantly and without consideration for the potential they offer to the community he is supposed to lead.

Matenge is ultimately undone because of his despotism and ruthless disregard for his villagers. Even his own brother is relieved by his death.

Paulina

Paulina is a lively, independent and proud character, who, like most of the characters of the novel have suffered tragedy. However, she is opposite of Makhaya, who internalises everything. Paulina instead, “was not by temperament given to brooding on the past, she soon recovered from the tragedy in her life.” Head clearly uses the opposites attract principal here. Paulina is over-confidant while Makhaya is reserved, Paulina is impatient and passionate, while Makhaya is cool and composed.

While Makhaya’s plans included a family, Paulina’s “included a man.” They find peace in each other’s company and are comforted by each other’s presence. While in Paulina’s company, Makhaya has a huge realisation that “it was only people who give love and happiness.” Makhaya is clearly different from the men she despises and with her character, she soon becomes smitten by his personality. Makhaya, in turn accepts that “it was contact with other living beings that a man needed the most.” Because of this, he proposes to Paulina and concedes he will “find out what love is like as we go along together.”

ESSAY QUESTIONS WITH INTRODUCTIONS

“I have not known a days peace and contentment in my life.” Discuss this statement in light of the various internal conflicts faced by Makhaya in the novel. Support your ideas with details from the novel.

In the novel When Rain Clouds Gather by Bessie Head, we are a spectator to trials and tribulations of Makhaya, the protagonist. While many of these trials are external, they also impact on his state of mind and on his emotional detachment. As an individual, Makhaya is internally tormented. He is tormented due to his antisocial tendencies, his inability to feel a sense of belonging, and the weight of external conflict which he constantly broods over. By using such a broken and fractured man as the protagonist, we are able to more easily understand the themes of the novel.
“When Rain Clouds Gather”[1968] is an attempt to suggest an alternative to desire for power.” Discuss this statement with reference to the thematic concerns of the novel. Support your ideas with details from the novel.

Bessie Head, by setting her novel When Rain Clouds Gather in a small refugee village in Botswana, challenges her readers to question their assumptions of power. The village of Golema Mmidi, barren and breathing poverty is described as a “utopia”. This twist in the portrayal of power, follows throughout the novel where we come to question all authority. In this, we undertake a thematic journey to discover an ‘alternative’ to the desire for power. This alternative is illustrated through addressing the themes of self determination, feminism and tribalism. Through the characters we come to understand that most power is irrelevant in the personal journey of self discovery.

Sample Essays

**Question.** “I have not known a day’s peace and contentment in my life.” Discuss this statement in light of the various internal conflicts faced by Makhaya in the novel. Support your ideas with details from the novel.

**ESSAY 1**

In the novel When Rain Clouds Gather, by Bessie Head, the protagonist, Makhaya, is riddled with many afflictions. Throughout the book, he attempts to reconcile his conflicts and forge a new future for himself. He never achieves total closure, but he does realise some sense of peace though belonging to a community and improving the standard of life in Botswana.

At the start of the novel Makhaya is shown as a desperate, hopeless man escaping from a place where he is not regarded as human; apartheid South Africa. Makhaya says; “I want to feel what it is like to live in a free country and maybe some of the evils in my life will correct themselves.” We can acknowledge the fact that he is weak and unstable at this time and Head describes his inner self as “a jumble of chaotic discord.” In this, he borders on the line between sanity and insanity as he crosses into Botswana.

Throughout most of the book, Makhaya struggles with many major issues. Racism, sexism, depression and the search for identity are all tackled by Head as she attempts to liberate herself from the shackles of what she has experienced herself in South Africa. Makhaya in When Rain Clouds Gather is the voice of Head, and this makes his character and his struggles more genuine. Like Head, Makhaya, “was trying to flee [this] horror and replace it with innocence, trust, and respect.” We learn that the thing he craves the most is to settle down and to be uninhibited by the social indecencies of a racist state.

It is the move to Botswana that is the catalyst for change for both Head and Makhaya; Head says that “happiness is dirt cheap in Botswana.” Makhaya attains deliverance as he discharges his anguish and despair to the kind, motherly character of Mma Millipede and he finds a way around the metaphorical ‘wall’ that he
had built up to keep himself lonely and isolated. He also gains a new found hope in humanity as the village of Golema Mmidi welcomes him in with open arms. He is given refugee status, a home, a job and a family here and in a sense, he completes his search for identity in the village. With the death of Matenge, Makhaya’s final source of oppression is removed and he is free to live the rest of his life in contentment.

Although Makhaya does not completely escape his internal conflicts, he still finds a way to live with them. These conflicts are diluted significantly by the sense of belonging he achieves and the satisfaction of doing something meaningful with his life – creating ‘Utopia’. With his new found hope in humanity, Makhaya has found a way to conquer the things that had dominated his life for so long.

ESSAY 2

In the novel, *When Rain Clouds Gather* by Bessie Head, we are a spectator to the trials and tribulations of Makhaya the protagonist. While many of these trials are external, they also impact on his state of mind and on his emotional detachment. As an individual, Makhaya is internally tormented. He is tormented due to his antisocial tendencies, his inability to feel a sense of belonging and the weight of external conflict which is constantly broods over. By using such a broken and fractured man as the protagonist, we are able to more easily understand the themes of the novel.

Makhaya is internally tormented due to his antisocial tendencies. The way he acted as if no one understands him and little by little, conflict forms from these thought. As in the beginning of the novel, Makhaya mention that his family has given him this name ‘Makhaya’ the tribal man which he doesn’t want and say how the name doesn’t belong to him. He is literally saying that no one understand what he wants and what he doesn’t wants. The ways he thinks also differ from every people in Botswana. His ‘educated’ thoughts differ from the tribal ways of thinking which would make him an individual. As an individual his antisocial tendencies creates internal conflicts which constantly comes up and mess up his mind.

Makhaya is also internally tormented due to his inability to feel a sense of belonging. As he started living in Botswana, due to his individuality, he is unable to feel that he is part of the village. According to the novel, Makhaya feel and act very insecure toward the village because he feels that he don’t belong to the place. These feeling of insecure will invade his mind and make him think. As his think, his peace of mind will be invaded and would create a storm of internal problem which then interfere with his peace life and turn his into a man who has “not known a day’s peace and contentment in his life.”

Makhaya is also internally tormented due to the weight of his external conflicts which is constantly broods over. Throughout the novel, conflicts that constant comes up are external conflicts. Makhaya encountered so many external conflicts that it starting to affect his state of mind. In the novel, Makhaya experiences “hell” in his background when he took parts in Apartheid. He experiences death and many cruel things. That itself has already turn him into a broken and fractured man. He then moved to Botswana where he feels like he has
becomes an outsider to that place and starts living antisocially and without a sense of belonging. These feelings of being isolated and an act of antisocial have reinforced his thought of loneliness and constantly creates a storm in his mind, questioning his reasons of living.

In conclusion, Makhaya is constantly attacked by various conflicts throughout the story. Both of his external and internal conflicts create an effect against his mind. And that effect is reinforced by the fact that he is a broken and fractured man. These facts turned Makhaya, the individual, into a man who has “not known a day’s peace and contentment in his life”.

ESSAY 3

In the novel *When Rain Clouds Gather* by Bessie Head, the theme of power is the most dominant theme in the book. Power is for the most part seen as a corrupting and cruel influence in this novel, but Head also addresses an alternative to the drive for power. This alternative is conveyed through the actions and beliefs of characters in the story who actively search for freedom.

In the novel, power purposely is shown as dominating and corruptive but this is used to highlight actions of those characters not driven by power. A character like Gilbert is a great example to show the alternative to the need for power. Gilbert is a captivating, kind and sympathetic Englishman who studied agriculture at university and came all the way from England to help the people of Botswana to farm more effectively. The people of the village Golema Mmidi, where he settles and develops an experimental farm, do not feel a sense of awe for the land they are farming on, but Gilbert feels differently and, while talking to Makhaya about the land, says ‘This is Utopia, Mack’. Gilbert’s generosity and sense of community helps to convey an alternative to the need for power in other character such as Matenge.

Head conveys the idea of an alternative to the need for power through the beliefs and actions of the main character Makhaya. Throughout the novel Makhaya’s beliefs and thoughts about power in anyway are explained in large depth. Makhaya has had confrontations from many types of power throughout his life so far, for example feminism, racial or class power. These types of power in Makhaya’s view are seen as unbalanced. Makhaya wishes for a live with a balance of power where the black man was not ‘...called boy, dog or Kaffir.’ and a life where the chiefs did not ‘live in mansions and the villagers always lived in the huts.’ and a life where an average tribal man would ‘hesitate to jump on a young girl.’. Makhaya does not want a world of unbalance but a world of freedom and a world without boundaries.

In the novel *When Rain Clouds Gather* by Bessie Head, the alternative to the desire for power is shown through the actions and views of characters in the novel. The corrupting and cruel influence of power is used in the story conveniently to highlight the alternative of power.

*EXTRACT*
’Where is all this talk of democracy going to get us, Mack?’ he said one day, glumly. ‘Only a reasonably developed country can afford the time to debate these pros and cons. What we need here is a dictatorship that will feed, clothe and educate a people. I could work well with a dictatorship which says, “Look here, Gilbert, fill in this poverty programme.”’

He looked at Makhaya, half laughing, half in deep earnest. Makhaya returned an almost hostile look. Not any politics in the world meant anything to him as a stateless person, and every political discussion was a mockery, he felt, of his own helplessness. Since he kept so silent, it forced Gilbert to add apologetically:

“I’m not saying that the dictator should stay there, forever, Mack. He must eventually give way to the democracy. But in my opinion a dictatorship is the best method for governing a country like this. What do you think?”

Makhaya nearly laughed out loud. Gilbert’s statements were an explanation of his own personality. He was a man only impressed by results, and he had been unable to produce these in Botswana the way agricultural experts had produced them in Russia and China. Makhaya wanted to put forward the idea that certain types of socialism might not be suited to African development. Africa had a small population, and it might well be that socialism of every kind was an expedient to solve unwieldy population problems. But his mind swerved away from even this. If a man talked about governments and political systems, he’d soon want to be a part of the whole rotten crew. He preferred to live in the bush.

‘Why not leave this country, even Africa, to trial and error?’ He said slowly, uncomfortably. ‘This is only my opinion. I don’t think I approve of dictatorships in any form, whether for the good of mankind or not. Even if it is painstakingly slow, I prefer a democracy for Africa, come what may.’

Question 13: How does this extract reveal Makhaya and Gilbert’s differences in perspective and personality?

Bessie Head’s novel When Rain Clouds Gather is a novel about difference. Makhaya and Gilbert are two men who are worlds apart. They come from very different backgrounds and have a different perspective on almost everything. Makhaya wants to live in a country that compared to his homeland of South Africa is free from apartheid, racial oppression and conflict between rich and poor, black and white. Gilbert on the other hand has lived in a democratic, liberal society for too long, and craves the certainties and formality of a dictatorship, formalities which give a sense of direction and purpose. The different views of politics held by Makhaya and Gilbert also reveal some of their other personality traits.

Makhaya spent his whole life under the system of apartheid and attempts to escape by crossing into Botswana. His exposure to the strict racial separation, travel rules and heavy police jurisdiction in South Africa lead him to cross the border, therefore, when his best friend in Botswana, Gilbert, whom Makhaya even regards as a brother, says, “I could work well with a dictator which says ‘look here, Gilbert, fill in this poverty programme,’” Makhaya challenges him: “Why not leave this country (Botswana), even Africa, to trial and error?” Makhaya,
after his experience in South Africa “does not approve of a dictatorship in any form.” He prefers the freedom of democracy, even if that means solving problems by “trail and error”. The greater efficiency of a dictatorship would put an end to freedom in Botswana, and thus obliterate Makhaya’s purpose in crossing the border.

Makhaya left South Africa for many reasons, one being that if he lived in a free country he thought that “maybe some of the evils in his life will correct themselves.” Makhaya has not had an easy life. His life was a “jumble of chaotic discord”, and he put up a mental wall to keep people and conflict out of his life. He did not want people to hurt for him, so he completely blocked them out. In his solitary confinement, his past could not haunt him directly, but he knew that his problems were there and that if he did not deal with them, they would destroy his life and he would never find the peace that he craved.

Gilbert is not entirely opposed to a democratic government. What he is offended by is debating “the pros and cons” of various governmental systems, “all this talk of democracy” in a country which is too poor to afford the luxury of discussion when urgent action is needed “to feed, clothe and educate a people.” Gilbert thinks that a dictatorship is the “best method for governing a country like this,” but once the urgent problems are solved he envisages democracy taking over. “I’m not saying that the dictator should stay there forever, Mack.” At the same time as he rejects debate, Gilbert’s nature is such that he clearly enjoys this one. He looks at Makhaya “half laughing, half in deep earnest.”

Similarly Makhaya’s response is two sided and ambivalent. On the one hand he is hurt, as he is a “stateless person” and Gilbert’s discussion of politics seems to “make a mockery” of his helplessness. On the other hand Makhaya is “amused” by Gilbert’s unconscious hypocrisy. He can see that Gilbert is a practical man impressed only “by results,” but Gilbert has not been able to produce agricultural improvement in Botswana the way experts produced them in Russia and China. Socialism clearly worked in those populous countries, but state control might not be suited to a small country like Botswana.

Makhaya fails to put this idea forward however, as he does not wish to think in terms of the politics of the developed world. He would prefer to “live in the bush” in the same way as the chiefs resist Gilbert and change and cling onto old traditional ways. In addition, Gilbert clearly sees a dictator giving him the freedom to carry out his agricultural programmes in his own way, but the wrong dictator might second-guess Gilbert or even oppose him entirely.

Gilbert too, like Makhaya is in a self-imposed exile. He left England because of its allegiance to the past. England lacks excitement, vision and direction. “It’s full of nice orderly queues and everybody lines up in these queues for a place and position in the world.” Gilbert likes to work and finds meaning and peace of mind in the work itself, rather than in work as a career step and as a social and class advancement. Botswana is therefore, for him, a Utopia in that there is real work to be done and if successful visible results in the amelioration of the people’s lives. For example, when Gilbert fenced off the land he was given, within a few weeks the native sweet
grass that was over grazed by the cow returned. He attains satisfaction by being proven right in such a case. Makhaya on the other hand has a more open mind and is willing to learn.

It is their difference in personality that helps account for the different political positions that each holds. For instance Makhaya’s toleration of the “trial and error” of a democratic government is explained by the fact that such a process of discovery would help Africans to learn what is best for the continent.

Makhaya and Gilbert are very different people united by a similar quest. Each wants to leave the problems and restrictions of the past behind, and each envisages that a stay in Botswana will help redirect their lives. Makhaya is looking for peace and resolution, whereas Gilbert is searching for a life of meaningful action as opposed to the drifting and posturing back home. Ironically their quest for a new life brings these two very different people into close association.