

# The Diefenbaker ears

By PETER C. NEWMAN

INSTANT 12: THE 1963 ELECTION

(This is the final of a series of twelve excerpts taken from the much longer version contained in RENEGADE IN POWER by PETER C. NEWMAN, copyright Canada, 1963. Peter Newman; published by McClelland & Stewart.)

It seemed such a short time since that glorious spring of 1957 when the man from Prince Albert had first soared into the Canadian political scene with his proud ambition, and buoyed up by the people's trust. Yet less than six years later, in the crueler springtime of 1963, the Conservative ministry was collapsing like a defective balloon at a spoiled child's birthday party.

John Diefenbaker was being criticized on all sides, derided by his one-time disciples, abandoned by his closest colleagues. At home, newspapers that once sanctified his every idiosyncrasy were calling for his resignation. Abroad, usually circumspect statesmen were gently leaking the word that Diefenbaker's defeat would be highly desirable. As he pushed into his tenth election campaign, he seemed to stand almost as alone as he had more than two decades before, when he had first come out of the West.

But John Diefenbaker had always felt that he stood alone. He had fought his way to the Party leadership in the 1953 election, he had stood alone, and now he faced the political climax of his life, still alone and still fighting.

Many of the nation's editorial writers wondered why, when the odds were so heavily stacked against him, Diefenbaker still insisted on clinging to the prime ministership, thus risking not only his own humiliation but permanent damage to his Party. The answer lay buried deep in the complexities of the man's character.

No matter who or what conspired against him, Diefenbaker adhered with scarcely diminished faith to the sacredness of his own mission. He felt that he was bound to win the 1963 election campaign, because he was somehow meant to have power.

In planning their campaign strategy, the primary concern of the Conservative leader's chief political advisors, Dalton Camp and Roy Fairbairn, was to revive that mystic bond between Diefenbaker and "the average Canadian" which had been forged in the 1957 and 1958 campaigns. This meant that the Prime Minister's claim for re-election would be based, not on the authority of his office as he had attempted in 1962, but on a direct, emotional appeal to the people.

**FACE TO FACE WITH LEADERSHIP YEARNING**  
In the campaign's initial stages Camp and Fairbairn were more concerned with the effect the crowds would have on Diefenbaker than with the impression he might make on his audiences. They wanted Diefenbaker to come face to face with the voters' yearning and leadership, which had awakened in him the charismatic qualities that had inspired the triumph of his first two campaigns.

To achieve this rapport, Diefenbaker's first tour of the campaign was scheduled as a whistle-stop journey through the Prairies. His train pulled out of Ottawa's Union Station, shortly after midnight on February 28. The next morning, at his first stop, he was asked, "Have you given any thought to appearing on television with your competitors?" Diefenbaker glared at his inquirer, and replied: "I have no time to give a damn for a politician who is a competitor." It was a bold beginning for a politician who three weeks before had very nearly been overthrown by his own followers.

Between Winnipeg and Saskatoon, Diefenbaker was scheduled to leave his train only at Melville, Watrous, and Semans, where local organizers were set to produce sizable advance crowds. But the timetable had to be changed when word came around, and people began spontaneously to gather on station platforms in Lethbridge, Nanton, and other flag stops. The local station agents advised the campaign caravan of the crowd, asking Diefenbaker at least to wave as his train went by. Instead, the Prime Minister ordered the train to halt at every stop.

**CHILDREN FOLLOWED HIS EVERY MOVE**  
The inhabitants of the flat, sad little towns turned out by the hundreds in the March chill to pay deference to their champion. As Diefenbaker strode the station platforms, shaking hands and patting shoulders, a scramble of adoring children followed his every move.

During his six years in office, John Diefenbaker had been derided by most of the political prophets of an Old Testament prophet: "The first who shall judge them." "Winnipeg March 4." "The right hand knoweth not what the left hand is doing." "It is a March 11." "Frog in the hole." "The greatest war that the real source of political power in Canada still lay close to the soil."

**"MISTAKES OF THE HEART"**  
The deficiencies in the sophisticated world of the cities and suburbs deride him. Now, he is hearing home in the heart of the heart and understood who he understood him. When he told a class of his supporters, "I am not a politician, I am a man," at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, he said: "I've made mistakes, but they've been mistakes of the heart," his audience knew exactly what he meant. "I'm not across the nation," he told them, "and I'm going to look into the face of Canada, to meet the people, to carry a message of hope... The last time, I flew over the people. This time, I'm down on the ground with you. I'm not asking for the support of the powerful, I'm asking for the support of the average Canadian, the group to which I belong."

Diefenbaker's strategy was a revelation of himself. Although he had governed Canada since 1957, he had ignored his own record in office. At a Winnipeg press conference, following his first Prairie tour, when asked to name the main issue of the campaign, he replied: "The record of the Opposition, the falsification by the Opposition, that is the issue of the campaign."

Diefenbaker came at the people like some mythological deity, a heroic hero, tantalizing the voters with the suggestion that by keeping him in power, they might make a political miracle come true. "I see, as I climb the hill—and it is a long hill—and when I'm whistled, I'm whistled to a hushed rally at Moncton, New Brunswick, in the early stages of the campaign."

**SPECIFIC MEANING**  
The Conservative leader gradually took on the air of an earthly representative of some extraterrestrial agency. "I don't know why it is," he confided to an audience of two thousand at Regina, "but during this campaign, whenever I hear 'O Canada' and I'm whistled to a hushed rally, I have a special meaning. I have an appointment with the Canadian people to carry on the message of the Liberal Party."

Liberal government. This time, the island turned against the Tories, and the Tories, in turn, shifted did not hold true across the nation, however. Out of a total of 78 million voters, only 373,000 fewer cast their ballots for Diefenbaker than had done so in the 1958 campaign. This left the Tories with 33 per cent of the popular vote and ninety-five seats in the Commons.

The voting pattern also revealed some trends that would significantly influence the future of all parties. By aiming his appeal at the anti-establishment non-urban sector of the population, John Diefenbaker had balkanized Canadian politics. West had been turned against East. Quebec against English-speaking Canada, and the city dwellers against the well-to-do farmers. Only one Tory had been elected in the 1963 election, and the city dwellers in Ontario and Toronto. Only eight of Quebec's seventy-five Tories had gone Conservative. Forty had gone Liberal. Party rallies, on the other hand, had remained loyal to Diefenbaker, and the Tories of the rural seats in the rest of the country. But among the well-to-do farmers, the well-educated, and the well-educated, Conservative support collapsed.

**PARTY**  
The 1963 election had indeed stamped Diefenbaker's personal appeal on Canadian Conservatism. The pre-election cabinet revolt, the Tories' bitter defeat, and the results of the campaign ruddy the base of his traditional support. Instead of being asked to speak for the industrialized centres of the nation, Diefenbaker turned the movement into the voice of the narrow and declining world of rural Canada.

But if he had altered the nature of Canadian Conservatism as it had been known since 1867, John Diefenbaker had also saved his Party from the humiliating rout at the polls. Although he had not been able to win the election, few impartial observers could deny that he had won the campaign.

The Conservative leader's failure to rally enough voters behind him in his passionate crusade against the interlocking forces of the industrialized majority of Canadians have at least begun to alter the course of their country's destiny as an economic dependency of the United States.

In his appeal to throw out the Yanks, Diefenbaker seriously misread the mood of his people. He had also failed to realize that at that point in Canadian history, the majority of the nation's citizens had been yearning for the calm reassurance of a strong governor who might bring them back into the stream of world progress—a position which had been forfeited during the Diefenbaker Years.

Instead of offering himself as a statesman willing to rescue his people from their malaise, Diefenbaker had sounded like a man asking the voters to salvage him. Once he had established his claim to martyrdom, he could not purge himself of it. The Prime Minister set in the dank purple of his railway car that election night in Prince Albert, reckoning the toll of his downfall. In fourteen days, he would drive to the official residence of the Governor General to surrender his seal of office. A LOST LEADER

Now, in the bleak evening of his career, the disappointment he had slacked the normally commanding posture of his jaw so that his chin spread over the collar of his shirt, like a man-made chin in which the paraffin has run. His frigid blue eyes reflected the lost look of a castaway who has traversed a lonely terrain of experience, leaving him isolated from other men.

But as the instincts of a harsh lifetime in politics laboriously began to take hold upon him, he stirred with an old emotion. Sir Robert Borden, driven historic city, had driven historic city. But as the instincts of a harsh lifetime in politics laboriously began to take hold upon him, he stirred with an old emotion. Sir Robert Borden, driven historic city, had driven historic city. But as the instincts of a harsh lifetime in politics laboriously began to take hold upon him, he stirred with an old emotion. Sir Robert Borden, driven historic city, had driven historic city.

## VITAL STATISTICS

**BIRTHS**  
GAUTHIER — At the Charlottetown Hospital, Thursday, January 22nd, 1964, to Mr. and Mrs. Herb Gauthier, Rusticoville, (nee Norma Doucette), a son, weight 8 lbs., 10 ozs. A brother for Cindy, Glenn and Scott.

**MARRIAGE** — At the Charlottetown Hospital, on Monday, January 20th, 1964, to Mr. and Mrs. James A. Mallard, Souris, a daughter, Jane Frances, weight 8 lbs., 10 ozs. A sister for Cathy.

**ENGAGEMENTS**  
REFUSE WHITEWAY — Mr. and Mrs. Fred Refuse, Marystown River, wish to announce the engagement of their daughter, Linda Alice to John William Whiteaway, son of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Whiteaway, Dover. The marriage will take place at Marystown River on February 13th, at 4 o'clock.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**IN MEMORIAM**  
NICHOLSON — In fond memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. We little knew when we wrote, Kate and Roy Campbell.

**PAYNTER** — In loving memory of my dear husband W. Nelson Paynter who passed away January 26, 1960. Sweet are the memories that we have of you. I miss you, but I love you. I hope you are at peace. Love, your wife Ruby.

**SADLY MISSED** — In loving memory of my dear father Donald (Dan) Stewart who departed this life 29 years ago January 25th. Sadly missed but always remembered by daughter, Nettie.

**CRAIG** — In loving memory of Mrs. Eleanor O'Riley Craig who passed away January 26, 1963. Dear are the memories silently kept. Lovingly remembered by Jean, Lloyd and children.

**NICHOLSON** — In loving memory of Louis Nicholson, who departed this life January 25, 1963. One year has passed, one year of pain. But since year closing to meet again. Time performs wonders and miracles too. But still there are many things time cannot do. Time cannot erase a loving face or mend a broken heart. Time cannot stop the falling tears. That grief and sorrow start. Time cannot break my faith and trust. In those blessed words I know. In which God said "Because I live you shall live with me, when my life's work is over. Then I'll be yours and you'll be mine to have forevermore. Never a morning dawns, never a night comes but what I think of you. Sadly missed and lovingly remembered by Mary.

**CARD OF THANKS**  
We wish sincerely to thank all our friends from near and far for so generously remembering us at Christmas. Joseph G. and Janet Campbell.

**Announcements**  
**CITY & QUEENS**  
"WE TREAT THE stick well" — "Giggey's Pharmacy. New Brunswick's Finest Canadian Taste so good. Available now at Giggey's Pharmacy. Dial 4370 for prompt free delivery.

**BURNS CONCERT** — All your favours at the Y's Meats' seventh annual concert, Saturday, January 25th at 8:00 p.m. P.W.C. Auditorium. Tickets \$100 at Reddiss, Newson Electric or Birk's Jewellers.

**DANCE, COBRAN** Ban Hall, Saturday night, January 25th. Sponsored by C.Y.O. Music by the "Stardusters". Canteen service.

**SPECIALS AT the Gala Beauty Salon:** \$7.50 Cold Wave \$4.00; \$10.00 Cold Wave \$7.00; Shampoo set and cut \$17.50. Telephone 4-9481 105 Kent Street.

**DR. L.H. KILLORN** will be absent from his office until further notice.

**SATURDAY NIGHT** dance. New Glasgow Recreation Centre. Music by the De-Tones. Ad. \$1.00. Dancing 9:30 - 12 p.m.

**DANCING TONIGHT** North River recreation hall, 9:15 midnight. Admission 25 cents. Good music. Canteen service. In aid of Junior Farmers.

**CRAIPLUD RINK** — Regular skate every Saturday night. REGULAR SATURDAY night Dance R.C.A.F. Association Club Rooms. Dance 9:30 to 12:00 p.m. Music by the "Farians". Members and guests invited. Door prize.

**CARD PARTY** in Stanley Bridge School on Monday, January 27th, at 8 p.m.

**CRAIPLUD RINK** tonight: Englewood High School vs. Stella Maria High School. Play-off hockey, same time 7 p.m. Admission 25 and 35. Skate after. Ice Sports Monday night.

**NORTH RIVER Rink** tonight Saturday. Fovall Rink vs. Nine Mile Creek Bulldogs. First game semi-finals, game time 8 p.m. Admission 25 and 30 cents. Skate after.

**RESERVE THURSDAY** evening, February 20th, for variety concert in the High School, Hunter River. Sponsored by Cavendish Resort Association.

**RESERVE FEBRUARY 2nd**, 1964, for the annual Guide Training Day Tea and Display. Y.M.C.A. 8:30-9 p.m. Tickets 50c.

**KINGS COUNTY**  
YOU CANNOT afford to miss the Scottish concert in Montague on Wednesday, January 29th. Some pleasant surprises in store as well as your old favorites.

**PRINCE COUNTY**  
**CARD PARTY** in Cape Traverse Hall on Monday, January 27th at 8:15. Lunch served by Cape Traverse Women's Institute.

**NOTICES**  
**TENDERS**  
**HOUSE and LOT**  
NO. 93 WALTHEN DRIVE  
Charlottetown, P. E. I.

SEALED TENDERS will be received by the undersigned up until Noon on the 5th day of February, 1964 for the lot and bungalow of the late George M. Grant at No. 93 Walthen Drive in Charlottetown.

Lot is 86 feet deep with a frontage on Walthen Drive of 52 feet.

House is 17 years old, consisting of living room, kitchen, two bedrooms and bath. Cement foundation and cement basement floor. New oil furnace in 1963. Garage. Immediate possession.

Highest or any tender not necessarily accepted. Inspection on the premises, evenings 7 to 9 p.m.

Lloyd B. Grant  
A Walthen Gaudet  
Executors  
Estate Late George M. Grant  
P. O. Box 336  
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

# EATON'S SPOTLIGHT SALE

DAYTIME DRESSES, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**

MON. TUES. WED. JAN. 27, 28, 29

**WOMEN'S DRESSERS, DUSTERS, BLOUSES, FOUNDATION GARMENTS**



**Savings for Springtime!**  
**DAYTIME DRESSES**  
Gay Spring style fashioned in "unanzorized" and mercerized combed cotton...  
**FOUNDATION GARMENTS**  
**Corsettes**  
Rayon brocade bustle with front side fastening...  
**"Gothic" Bandeau**  
Embroidery trimmed cotton broadcloth with "Breathing Waist"...

**WOMEN'S BLOUSES**  
Lively and lovely blouses to brighten up your wardrobe now and into Spring!  
Tuck-in and overblouses in Terylene, Arnel and surah (rayon). Styles include: Buttoned down back style, high necked neck, labret front with lace edging and short sleeves. Embroidered front, pearlized buttons, modified half neck, short sleeves; Gay sun-bright colors in large floral on dials background, 3/4 length sleeves, convertible sleeves, double cuffs, slit sides, Four large "pocket" buttons down front; Rayon surah blouse to be worn in or out. Pretty colours in black, splashed, or colour on several backgrounds, 3/4 length sleeves, convertible style collar, "pocket" buttons on front and cuffs. Assorted colours and patterns. Sizes 12 to 20. Not exactly as illustrated.

**WOMEN'S BLOUSES**  
Lively and lovely blouses to brighten up your wardrobe now and into Spring!  
Tuck-in and overblouses in Terylene, Arnel and surah (rayon). Styles include: Buttoned down back style, high necked neck, labret front with lace edging and short sleeves. Embroidered front, pearlized buttons, modified half neck, short sleeves; Gay sun-bright colors in large floral on dials background, 3/4 length sleeves, convertible sleeves, double cuffs, slit sides, Four large "pocket" buttons down front; Rayon surah blouse to be worn in or out. Pretty colours in black, splashed, or colour on several backgrounds, 3/4 length sleeves, convertible style collar, "pocket" buttons on front and cuffs. Assorted colours and patterns. Sizes 12 to 20. Not exactly as illustrated.

**EATON'S SEMI-ANNUAL SALE OF HOME FURNISHINGS**  
Continues until Saturday, February 8th.