

GUARD OF THE MOTHERLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED PROPAGANDA: OLT COUNTY (1938-1940)*

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Abstract. *Our study is divided in two main parts, built around a common idea: formation of the youth, in the institutionalized frame of the Guardians of the Motherland, in the direction of learning by them the ideology of the monarchic authority regime, and also to be included inside a social-politic ritual, that symbolized, in the conception of carlist's protagonists, the united "front" of the nation around her leader, King Carol II. In the first part, are being analysed the main modification introduced with the law of organisation and functionality of the Guardian of the Motherland, from 15th of December 1938, and are highlighted those activities from the guardian's programme dedicated to learning and practicing a special ceremony, meant to induce in youth's conscious the filling of national solidarity and devotion towards King and motherland. The second part of the study analyse one of the main propagandistic instrument of the new regime: sending into public space the guardian's ceremony as integrated part of the socio-politic ritual, staged with the occasion of great national holidays, our analyse being fixed on the festive events that took place in Olt County.*

Keywords: *Guardian of the Motherland, propaganda, Olt County, solidarity, King Carol II.*

The authority regime of King Carol II, that happened between 10/11th of February 1938 and 6th of September 1940, meant the end of traditional democracy and was characterized by a series of political, social, economic and cultural measures and reforms that targeted, next to the transformations on institutional level, restructuring the society on new bases.

In "the new state", the central power, the summation of law – executive – judiciary trio, became the privilege of "the head of state" – the King – by emptying the content of the 3 fundamental institutions: the Parliament, the Government and the judiciary power¹. More than that, the press, considered to be the 4th power in the state, became the subject, even from 10/11th of February 1938, to an excessive censorship². The traditional multi-party system, incompatible with authority monarchy, was replaced with mono-party system, by creation, on 16th of December 1938, of the first unique party in national history, National Renaissance Front³.

Romanian citizens "received", with the passing, on 27th of February 1938, of the "King Carol II" Constitution, clearly defined obligations, while their rights have diminished. On the base

*The study is part of the research project called "Institutionalized propaganda during King Carol II: Olt County (1938-1940)", included in the research programme "Propaganda and ritual in Romania (1866-1989)", of the Institute of Socio-Humane Research „C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” from Craiova.

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¹*Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea]. Promulgată prin Înalt Decret Regal Nr. 1045 din 27 Februarie 1938. Publicată în „Monitorul Oficial” Nr. 48 din 27 Februarie 1938, Edited exclusively by "Liga pentru Unitatea Culturală a tuturor Românilor" (League for Cultural Unit of the All the Romanian), f. l., 1938, p. 15 (following, will be quote: Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea] ...); Ioan Stanomir, Libertate, lege și drept. O istorie a constituționalismului românesc, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 126.*

²„Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year CVI, No. 34, 11th of February 1938, p. 802.

³Armand Călinescu, *Noul regim: cuvântări 1938-1939*, Edition 2nd, București, Editura DoMinor, 2003, p. 97.

of citizen's duties and rights was set the principle of the social solidarity, proclaimed in the detriment of individualism. The Romanian citizens became, first of all, "social functionaries"⁴, that owed all to the *motherland* and, implicitly, to the King, that is the vision of the article 4 from the new Constitution:

"All Romanians without distinction of ethnic origin and religion have to: see the Motherland as the most important goal of their life, sacrifice to defend her integrity, independence and dignity; contribute thru their work at her morale ascension and economic development; fulfil with faith the public tasks, without which the State cannot live on"⁵.

The doctrinaires of the regime considered that article 4 from the carlist Constitution contained "the essence of national ideal", that all citizens had the duty to learn it. In the same time, they spread the idea that, for achievement of "the ideal" proclaimed by the Constitution, was necessary "to form first a *new mentality*, [and] a united spirituality, a union of conceptions in administration of general interests"⁶.

To achieve the principle of social/community solidarity, and also other principles written in the Constitution, special structures have been created and old ones have been reformed, amongst these being: The Guardians of the Motherland, Social Service and cultural community homes, National Renaissance Front and its annex formation, the National Guard, and also guilds of workers, private functionaries and skilled workers. Not the last, on 3rd of October 3, 1939, the Ministry of National Propaganda was set up⁷. The coordinated activity of all these services/institutions had as main task "integration of ideology" of the new regime in the conscious of the citizens⁸.

In this context, institutions and propaganda represented, next to the censorship of the communication means and the advantages of the siege state, two important instruments for achieving of the objective that targeted the creation of a new Romanian society. All state's institutions have been placed in the service of promoting the carlist ideology and sustaining the new

⁴Paul Negulescu, *Principiile fundamentale ale Constituției din 27 februarie 1938*, București, Atelierele Zanet Corlăteanu, 1938, p. 16.

⁵*Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea]*, ..., p. 10.

⁶Paul Negulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁷*Codul general al României 1856-1940*, vol. XXVII, *Coduri, legi, decrete-legi și regulamente cuprinzând a treia parte din legislațiunea anului 1939*, part III, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeria Statului, Imprimeria Centrală, București, 1940, p. 2275.

⁸Paul Negulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

regime. “the moral recovery of the nation”, expression that became the motto of the official propaganda, targeted all social segments from youth up to adult population.

Starting with this context, our study is divided in two main parts, built around a common idea: formation of the youth, in the institutionalized frame of the Guardians of the Motherland, in the direction of learning by them the ideology of the monarchic authority regime, and also to be included inside a social-politic ritual, that symbolized, in the conception of carlist’s protagonists, the united “front” of the nation around her leader, King Carol II. In the first part, are being analysed the main modification introduced with the law of organisation and functionality of the Guardian of the Motherland, from 15th of December 1938, and are highlighted those activities from the guardian’s programme dedicated to learning and practicing a special ceremony, meant to induce in youth’s conscious the filling of national solidarity and devotion towards King and motherland. The second part of the study analyse one of the main propagandistic instrument of the new regime: sending into public space the guardian’s ceremony as integrated part of the socio-politic ritual, staged with the occasion of great national holidays, our analyse being fixed on the festive events that took place in Olt County.

Guardian of the Motherland, autonomy state’s institution, with legal personality, was set up on 7th of October 1937, having as purpose the moral, social, national and physic education, that was compulsory for youth of both sexes, with ages between 7 and 18, for boys, and 7 to 21, for girls⁹.

On 15th of December 1938, thru law for organisation and functionality of the Guardians of the Motherland, this institution was “reformed”¹⁰ based on the same principle as the constitutional one: generation of power from top to bottom. The main role came to the King Carol II, the supreme commander – “The Great Guardian of the Country”, that was assisted by the Superior Council of guidance with a consultative role. The effective leadership, administration, control and guidance of the Guardians of the Motherland was done by the commander of the Guard, which was appointed or revoked by the King.

The Guardians of the Motherland continued to be a state institution, with fully autonomy, with legal personality and its own patrimony. If in 1937, was specified that Guardians of the Motherland was set up “for study, guidance and application of education, and also for guidance, coordination and control of the activities of all state and private institutions, that have as purpose youth’s education or have direct or indirect contact with this problem”, in the decree-law from 1938, was stipulated the monopoly of the Guardians of the Motherland over the education of youth

⁹ „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year 105, No. 232, 7th of October 1937, p. 8190-8192.

¹⁰ „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year CVI, No. 292, 15th of December 1938, p. 5942-5947.

with ages between 7-18/21. That, according to article 3, will have to be organized only in guardians units, any other youth organisations being forbidden in Romania.

There will be introduced the mandatory action of taking the oath of faith towards the King, Country and the Guardians of the Motherland for guardians with age over 21, the guardians and commanders, and also for the members of leadership committees of the organisations under the control of Guardians of the Motherland¹¹; the mandatory action of taking the promise oath for guardians with ages before 14 and taking the pledge for guardians age between 14 and 21. The formula for the oath of faith towards the King, Country and the Guard of the Motherland mentioned in the decree – law was: “I swear allegiance to my King Carol II; / I swear love and sacrifice to my Country and Romanian Kind; / I swear listening and obedience to the Guard of the Country; / So help me God!”. The formulas for the promise oath and the pledge will be established by the Commandment of the Guard of the Motherland.

Also, the Guard of the Motherland supervised the nourishment and hygiene of the youth, in coordination with interested departments, and in collaboration with Social Service will elaborate and execute the programme for social work in community’s interest for youth, according to age, capacity, physical constitution, training, competence and the specific of the area where that social programme was deployed.

In the vision of the protagonists of the monarchic authority regime, The Guard of the Motherland represented the main institution complementary to the school, which targeted the education of youth. While the school contributed to formation of the personality by contact with cultural values, enriching the knowledge, developing intelligence, understanding the things and life, the Guard had as objectives development of the national solidarity spirit, doing practical things, development of the will, perseverance and formation of the youth’s “soul”¹². The coordinated activity of the two institutions had to have as overall objective imposing some new behaviour role models and formation of new mentalities in the youngster’s ranks so that the end result will be the creation of a “new man”, of some citizens in the way stated by the Constitution, loyal to the Country and King, that will ensure in the future the persistence of the regime¹³.

The Guard had to capture the entire energy of the youth and channel it towards actions of national and social interest, the main points of the guardian’s programme were: Christian-Orthodox

¹¹Organisations under the control of the Guard of the Motherland were: Union of Sports Federations from Romania, The sportive Federations in the Country, Association of Romanian Archers, Association Carpathian’s Hawk, The Christian Association of Youth and Christian association of Women.

¹²C[onstantin] I. Băicoianu, *Studii economice, politice și sociale 1898 – 1941*, București, 1941, p. 838-839.

¹³Department Dolj County of the National Archive (following, will be quote: D.C.N.A., Dolj), fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 38/1938, f. 40.

religion, the cult for traditions, for the actions of heroes, for the Motherland, flag and King. The guardian's motto: "Faith and work for Country and King"¹⁴. The guardian's activities pursued also the development of "a high social conception", which will have as fundament: work for development of Romanian village, camaraderie, civic devotion, deep respect for public goods, for village's dignitaries, priests, scholars and village elders. In the same time, the guardian's programme had to deliver "a change of the way to be of the children: will teach them an ordinate life, will develop their discipline of mind, and will harden their bodies". Putting into practice of the guardian's doctrine had to bring, in the end, the birth "of the new man – the heroic man of tomorrow's Romania"¹⁵.

An important documentary material to analyse "the educational process" (with its moral, national-patriotic, social and physical dimensions) done in the Guard, is represented by the programme and instructions issued by the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940 (for the period between 1st of September 1939 and 31st of August 1940)¹⁶. These, extremely detailed and valid for the entire country, including Olt County, had numerous aspects, some of them being: the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag (pavilion); attributions of the commander and the units on duty; the activity of the nest at home; dividing and organisation of the guardian's meetings on trimesters; various details regarding the activity during a guardian's meeting (recreation, gathering and report, starting of the work ceremony, matters of hygiene and first aid, national songs and dances, physical education – gymnastic, games, sport, practice of the marches and parades etc.); psychic training; instructions for the main activities from guardians meetings for that year (passive defence, social assistance, traffic signs and rules, agricultural activities, care for the animals and birds, gathering and preservation of vegetables and fruits, economical advises, various house activities – manual labour, kitchen; work in the city/village, excursions and visits, contests, camps and guardians colonies, customs and folklore, national and guardian's holidays, Week of the Guardians).

From the diversity of the guardian's activities for our article are relevant the ones destined to create the sentiment of national and social solidarity, discipline, love and devotion for country and King and, in the same time, to create a social ritual that, corroborated with the one imposed to the adult social categories and transposes into public space, to give local communities or national

¹⁴ „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, No. 292, 15th of December 1938, p. 5942.

¹⁵ *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, coordinators: Dimitrie Gusti, Constantin Orghidan, Mircea Vulcănescu, Virgiliu Leonte, Edition I, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 489 (following, will be quote: *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, ...).

¹⁶ Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, f.l., Vreamea, 1939 (following, will be quote: Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ...).

community, the image of united “front” around the Dynasty, loyal to the authority regime of King Carol II. In this sense, we chose to analyse 3 types of guardian activities: the activity of the nest at home; the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag/pavilion and preparing for participation at national/local festivities (great national holidays, Royal Family’s anniversaries and main religious holidays).

According to the law of organisation and functionality of the Guard of the Motherland from 1938 (art. 26), The Guard of the Motherland was the one that will ensure “the unity in mind, filling and action of the guardian movement”, and the secret was, in the conception of the protagonists, the cellular type system used as a base for organisation¹⁷.

“*The activity of the nest at home*” was considered by the promoters of the carlist regime to be essential for the entire youth movement. The nest (formed out of 6 guardians) was the smallest unit in the hierarchy of guardian’s organisation but, in the same time, was considered to be the most important, and regarded as “the smallest cell of social solidarity”¹⁸ or “the small cell of synchronizing the individual with collective interest”¹⁹. It was considered that, if “workshop of labour” was well organized, the entire assembly will work well²⁰. In other words, if the spirit of social solidarity was “correctly” formed inside the cell, the carlist protagonists had the conviction that this spirit will extend at the level of the entire nation:

„We want to create a spirit that, from the cell’s solidarity will become a filling of national solidarity; from the pride sentiment of the small units, to the pride sentiment of the Kind”²¹.

In this context, in the programme done by Guidance Direction from the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940, it is recommended that the activity of the nest at home will be encouraged and monitored by the proper persons. These meetings will be organized, by rotation, at the houses of every member, in the spare time during the week, in the holidays, in vacations and

¹⁷The Guardian units where organized in: Phalanx (The Guardian male’s Phalanx and the Guardian Female’s Phalanx), counties (10 counties matching, territorial speaking, to the administrative – territorial units created on 14th of August, 1938), legions (had under the control all guardian units in the county), cohorts (had under the control all guardian units from a city or community), *stol* (a *stol* had under control all youth grouped in a institution, school, plant, factories etc.) and centuries (a century was for a class in the school), and under units in groups (one group had 2 up to 4 nests), nests (one nest had 6 guardians and had 2 small nests) and small nests (one nest had 3 guardians), “Monitorul Oficial”, part I, No. 292, 15th of December, 1938, p. 5944.

¹⁸Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ..., p. 21.

¹⁹*Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, ..., p. 488.

²⁰*Ibidem*.

²¹Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ..., p. 21.

even in some hours from the day reserved for the guardians meetings. In these meetings, the guardians could have the following activities: preparing the school lessons, lectures and comments on the “useful” books, preparing the celebrations, games, sports, guardian assistance works, visit of a museum, doing a trip etc.²²

Very important was the ritual from the beginning and the end of each meeting. This way, the nest meeting started with the sign of the Holy Cross and expression “God Help”, then the guardian’s Motto: “Faith and work for Country and King” and the Creed. The Creed formula was:

„I believe in God and the Church of my ancestors. I believe in the Country’s King, The Great Guardian, [and] the ruler of the faith of Romanian people. I believe in work and sacrifice, devoting my entire being for the elevation and prosperity of the Motherland. I believe in the Guard of the Motherland, the warrant for the unity of our kind, borders and Romanian soul”²³.

The end of every nest meeting was: the head of nest said the formula “Our thoughts are always with M.S. The King, Our Great Guardian. Long Live!”, and the rest of the members, standing in attention position, shouted “Hooray!” 3 times²⁴.

Lifting and taking down the national flag represented another point from the guardian’s programme, important for practicing a pre-established pattern by the authorities that was done in a wide frame (in guardian stols, cohorts, camps or colonies etc.).

The *ceremony for lifting the national pavilion* had 8 stages with the following succession: gathering in square; report; royal anthem, intonated in the same time with lifting the flag; the orthodox prayer: “The Lord’s Prayer” (intonated by everyone present, but said out loud by the guardians that belonged to unorthodox confessions); the biblical text (a short verse of more from the bible, that has a whole idea, read by a priest of another person appointed before, without being interpreted); the Motto and Creed (having identical formulas with the ones from the nest’s activity); guardians anthem (during the intonation of that one the assistance and the guardian unit, standing in the attention position, had to look at the national flag) and the commander’s speech²⁵.

According to the instructions of Guidance Direction within Guard of the Motherland, the Motto and the Creed had to be spoken in a specific way: “The Motto and Creed will be spoken out loud, rare, explicit and with accent on the words in such way that, every time will produce powerful

²²*Ibidem*, p. 21-22.

²³*Ibidem*, p. 10.

²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 22.

²⁵*Ibidem*, p. 4.

effects”²⁶. Also, “The Commander’s Speech”, the last stage of the ceremony for lifting the national flag, had to be short, not more than 5 – 6 minutes, but had to “produce a powerful educational impression over the units” of guardians: “That speech will have a national, moral and social content, being achieved by either using short suggestive stories (without drawing conclusions and lessons from it, those being drowned implicitly by everyone), or enthusiastic exposers”²⁷.

The ceremony for taking down the national flag had nine stages (gathering in the square, report, communications, change of shift, The Motto and Creed, Out Anthem, The Evocation, prayer, Royal anthem with taking down the Pavilion), of which 5 were identical with the previous ceremony. Had, as extra, various communications regarding the outfit, programme guardian’s behaviour etc.; changing the shift between units and also an important educational moment called “The Evocation”. That moment had to offer to the youth “straightening of life” using examples that, thru their suggestive power, to push the youth towards similar actions. This is way they had to mention personalities from national culture and history or the ones coming from local communities; important events from national history and even aspects regarding the carlist regime. The actual operation of taking down the national pavilion represented the last stage from the ceremony and was done while the Royal Anthem was intonated. After the flag was down the guardian unit will leave the place in parade/march formation, singing various songs²⁸.

The ceremony for lifting and taking down the national pavilion was executed with different periodicity, respective weekly, daily of in exceptional cases, depending of the situation/event. Lifting the flag meant, in fact, starting of something. This is why, in schools, boarding schools and factories organized after guardian’s system, the pavilion was lifted Monday and taken down Saturday. In the guidance centres and training camps of the Guard of the Motherland, the full ceremony was done daily. In exceptional cases, the national flag ceremony was done with the occasion of main national and guardian holidays.²⁹

Preparation for participation on the national or local festivities. The activities within the guard regarding festive events were considered very important, and preparing the guardians was a continuous process. At the beginning of the guardian’s year, special meetings were established for these kinds of activities, considering that the youth had to have “in every moment material already prepared to face any kind of situations”³⁰. In this sense, during the special meetings, the guardians

²⁶*Ibidem*, p. 10.

²⁷*Ibidem*, p. 11.

²⁸*Ibidem*, p. 11-14.

²⁹*Ibidem*, p. 16.

³⁰*Ibidem*, p. 179-180.

learned and rehearsed patriotic songs, selected, learned and recited patriotic poetries and various skits etc.

In general, the pattern used to deploy the main festive events, in which the guardians participated, had the following stages: the service done in a church from the city/village and the speech of the Church's representative; the national flag ceremony and the speech of the guardian unit's commander regarding the importance of that day; parade while singing patriotic and guardian songs and occasional rest³¹.

Important moments from guardian's life, like appointment, promise oath, pledge, receiving stars for seniority or given prizes to the ones that extinguish themselves in the guardian's activities, were included in the programme of national holidays and Royal Family's anniversaries or in the one of religious holidays. Therefore, the appointment³² of the new comers into a unit was done during the festivities from 8th of November (the birth day of heir prince Mihai, the Great *Voievod* of Alba Iulia), 24th of January (Day of Unification of the Principalities) and 23rd of April, the celebration of "St. Gheorghe", the patron of Guard of the Motherland.

Also on 23rd of April, the promise oath was taken or, if the case, the pledge. The formula for the promise oath, compulsory for the youth age between 7 and 14 was: "*I believe in God and I promise to follow the teachings of the Guard of the Motherland to become a good guardian of our Country, Kind and King*", and the formula for the pledge, compulsory for the that became over 14 years old during the year was: "*I pledge myself to God to live in the faith of my ancestors, and dedicate my work to the Guard of the Motherland, ready for any sacrifice for our Country, Kind and King (our underline)*"³³. Appointment, promise, pledge and oath (for the ones over 18/21) were done after divine service, more precise between the special prayer and the speech of Church's representative.

On 16th of October, when the entire country was celebrating the birth day of King Carol II, on the last stage of the ceremony of lifting the national pavilion – "The Commander's Speech" – were granted seniority stars to the ones that on September 1st had a year of guardian activity. Also, the occasional rest, were given prizes to guardian's units that distinguish themselves at the contests organized between 8th of June – 16th of October³⁴.

In the programme elaborated by the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940, "The Guardian's Week" (1st - 7th of June) which ended with "The Holiday of Youth and Restoration" (8th

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² The formula for investment was the following: "In the name of the Great Guardian, I invest you as Guardian. Be a guardian worth the and with dignity" (*Ibidem*).

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 181.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 180.

of June) received detailed planning. The Guardian's Week was considered "the result of work in a guardian's year" Every day was dedicated to a specific problem that had to be lived intensely, in every one of its characteristic aspects"³⁵, as follows:

- June 1st was "Day dedicated to the city/village", when the guardians had to contribute thru work on promotion of the village, district or city (cleaning the gardens around public monuments, help the projects on going for holy places or other institution of local interest, cover the holes on public roads, cleaning in front of the house etc.). During the same day they also had to rehearse the programme for 8th of June.

- on 2nd of June – "Day dedicated to church and family". The guardians, with their families, after lifting the pavilion, went to church, where "the commander will read «The Apostil», and the guardians will say «The God's Prayer», «The Creed» and will answer questions from the Holy Book". In the same day, the guardians had to show their love and gratitude towards their parents by small gifts, by taking the cares of the house or by other actions.

- on 3rd of June – "Day dedicated to nature and health", when older guardians, previously selected, participated in sports contests, and the small ones on field trips, during which they played games, dances and sports, specific for their age. In the same day medicinal plants were gathered.

- on 4th of June– "Day dedicated to guardian solidarity", when the guardians give aids, like clothes, food, fruits, flowers etc. to the poor families and to the ones with many children, to old people in asylums, to sick people in hospitals etc. In the same day, the guardians had to make donation and also gather donations from other people.

- on 5th of June – "Day dedicated to preparation of the great celebrations from June 8", when the last rehearsals for the celebrations from June 8 were done, in the presence of authorities, families and friends of the guardians.

- on 6th of June – "Day dedicated to heroes and great men". The guardians had to participate at the ceremony of the programme established by the Society "Cult of Heroes" (religious services at the cemetery of Heroes or at the monument of Heroes or in front of the churches, putting flowers, intonation of: "Hero's anthem", "On our flag", "Our anthem" and "Royal anthem", parades etc.). In the afternoon, the guardians visited Romanian artist's displays, participated at celebrations in which were showed "the deeds of great men borne in the city/village", visited the birth places of those personalities etc.

- on 7th of June – "day dedicated to guardian's work and soul", was considered "the payment day for work, after a year of guardian activity", when prizes were awarded, obtained on

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

various contests that took place between 16th of October and 5th of June. Was the day when were highlighted the guardian's achievements "from everywhere and from the city/village and will be spoken of the guardian's soul in the action of ascension and straighten of the Kind"³⁶.

„The Guardian's Week” was ended with the day of 8th of June, when it was celebrated “The great Holiday of Youth and Restoration”, when a special programme had to be elaborated, especially because, in 1940, is been 10 years of reign for King Carol II. In this day “*the guardians everywhere will raise an altar of worship to the Great Protector and Ruler of our national destines (subl. n.)*” and “the entire manifestation will take place in a frame of imposing greatness”³⁷.

The general pattern/scenario for 8th of June had 3 major stages: in the mornings takes place the highlighted of the guardians units, ceremony for lifting the national pavilion, demonstrations of physical education, choirs and national dances; in the afternoon – sports celebrations in open air, and in the evening retreat with torches and rest by the fire³⁸.

The activity of the nest at home, the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag and preparation for main national or local festivities represent only a part of the complex activity of the Guard, but it is relevant for our study.

The learned and practised ritual by the youngsters within the Guard ere eloquent to show the way the carlist regime's supporters thought to shape the youth. On long term, it is very likely that learning from childhood (starting with the age of 7) and rehearsing the guardian's ceremonies could contribute to the achievement of the official objective: creation of future citizens that will obey “consciously” the King and his regime.

On short term, however, these rituals became useful to the regime in the propagandistic sense, especially, with the occasion of great national holidays or Royal Family's anniversaries, of which organisation and deployment became, starting with February 1938, a state monopoly. The ritual practised by youth within the Guard represented a component of the festive ritual, showed in public space, with the occasion of festive events, by the representatives/members of various existing professional categories of the time.

The Great national holidays, the Royal Family's anniversaries and important religious holidays were turned into propaganda instruments of the carlist regime's ideology, of worshipping “the saviour opera” of King Carol II. The public space was transformed into a favourable for “the citizen's education” according to the carlist ideology.

³⁶*Ibidem*, p. 203-207.

³⁷*Ibidem*, p. 182.

³⁸*Ibidem*, p. 208.

Thru pre-established ritual, these kinds of events had to create the image of “national front” united around the Dynasty and confirm the regime as one of order and discipline. In the same time, the festive events represented, according to the official logic, moments in which the actors involved in the pre-established programme had the opportunity to give the wide public examples of manifestation of their solidarity with the regime of King Carol II³⁹.

Eloquent, to demonstrate the joint participated of the guardians and representatives of the various professional and cultural categories existing in those times, is the following document regarding the agreement established between the Minister of National Education, The Guard of the Motherland, Social Service and the Inspectorate for pre-Military Training. That agreement was transmitted, on 3rd of May 1939, to the schools directors, by the chief general inspector of the Regional Inspectorate of Schools Craiova. The collaboration norms regarding the festive events, established by the four mentioned institutions were:

“The great national holidays will be organized under the supervision of local authorities, which represents the government. For their success all institutions will collaborate with their own elements. School and Guard of the Motherland will organize them with youth from primary and secondary school, and also with the rest of the youngsters until 18, respective 21 years of age. The pre-militaries will organize the events with youngsters above 18 years old, according to its special law, and the Social Service with his mature elements, that are out of the care of the other institutions. The regular celebrations will be organized separately by every institution with no interference. Joint celebrations will be done only after a previous agreement of every organisation and in full collaboration. The Guard of the Motherland had established previously, in agreement with the Minister of National Education, that all schools celebrations will be organized within the Guard”⁴⁰.

Information coming from archived documents, regarding the festive policy of the carlist regime, demonstrates the fact that, within Olt County, the units of guardians were present in the local community’s life with the occasion of various national holidays, Royal Family’s anniversaries or important religious holidays (like: “Day of the Nation” – 10th of May; Day of “King Carol II” Constitution – 27th of February; “Restoration Day” – 8th of June; Hero’s Day – celebrated in the same time with the religious holiday “Ascension of God”, having variable date; Unification

³⁹D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 20/1939, f. 184v, 202-203.

⁴⁰Idem, fund Liceul Elena Cuza, File No. 1/1938-1939, f. 454.

celebrations – 24th of January, 1st of December; birth day of King Carol II – 16th of October; Labour Day – 1st of May, that became from 22nd of February 1940 “labour and Good Joy Day” etc.). The correspondence between central and local authorities or between different local authorities, that took place with the purpose of establishing in detail the programme of deployment of national holidays, and also various reports regarding the actual deployment of those events in the area of Olt County demonstrate the fact that local units of the Guard of the Motherland special reserved moments within the pre-established programme.

For example, according to the programme- model regarding the celebration of a year from passing the “King Carol II”⁴¹ Constitution, sent, on 22nd of February 1939, by the royal resident of Olt County to all authorities under his command, next to the representatives of various professional categories, The Guardians had to be also present. Suggestive in that sense, is the fragment from the mentioned programme-model:

“[...] At 9 o'clock, in every school of any grade conferences will be held, in which it will be highlighted the greatness of the day and multiple good actions of the King Carol II Constitution. The conference will be preceded by “Royal Anthem” and will be ended with the “Royal Anthem”. At 10:30 the guardian stols will go toward the Cathedral and be deployed all the way following the instructions given by the County's guidance Command centre. At the Cathedral will be brought and deployed on the left flank of the Company of Honour, all the flags of the stols in Craiova. In the Cathedral only the Army Flag and its Guard will get inside. [...] After the service and the speech of Commander General to the troops, the authorities, associations and guilds, will walk in procession towards the Unification square, where the parade will take place in the following order: guardians; pre-militaries; army (following the indications of Commander General); associations, guilds and allegoric chariots. After the parade from Unification square, the guardians, pre-militaries and all associations, groups and guilds will remain in the Unification square arranged after a plan made by Police, in agreement with the Commander of the square of Craiova Garrison”⁴².

Eloquent, for our analyse is also the report regarding the deployment of the national holiday “Constitution Day”, in Craiova, that second administrative inspector, Gheorghe Buldur, has sent to

⁴¹Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Propagandă și festivitate în timpul regimului carlist. Studiu de caz: Ziua Constituției „Regelui Carol al II-lea”*, in vol. „Destin de istoric: in onorem Dinu C. Giurescu”, ed.: Cezar Avram, Dinică Ciobotea, Vladimir Osiac, Foreword by Dan Claudiu Dănișor, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 509-524.

⁴²D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Liceul Carol I Craiova, File No. 7/1938-1939, f. 196-196v.

the Ministry of national Education on 1st of March 1939. According to that document, the guardians had participated at festivities according to the programme:

“[...] In the nicely arranged city, in the general atmosphere, the stols of guardians, with the proper ceremony, have celebrated with the correct fast, the passing of the new Constitution. Some of the teachers, with warm and glorious words, after they pointed out the characteristic of the new Constitution and its purpose in the settlement of the new times, praised H.M.S. the King (...) .

Towards 11 o'clock delegations from every stol, nicely equipped and with necessary discipline, went towards Cathedral St. Dumitru, where all authorities and guilds were gathered, following the programme established by the County and Army Commander. The rest of the schools, under the command of guardian commanders, were sent on all the streets, where the procession of authorities and guilds with allegoric chariots will pass through towards the Unification square, in front of the presidential palace, where the commemoration gathering will take place, after the divine service from the Cathedral. Here, after the usual service, The Bishop Irineu spoke to the assistance, (...) and in front of the Cathedral, addressing to all delegates of the guardians The Commander of the First Army Core will held a speech (...). Everyone will go towards the presidential palace. Here the first one will be the parade of guardians, army, guilds and ploughs with their allegoric chariots (...).

In the afternoon, inside community home in the city (M. Eminescu) was a nice celebration with contest, part of it of the guardians (...).

Eventually, they sing popular and patriotic songs, with the choir “Song of Oltenia”, recitals and poetries suitable for the moment, instrumentation songs, by the students from different schools and most important the gracious and elegant dances by the teams from secondary girls schools. All ended in a general good atmosphere, and at 10 o'clock the crowd has assisted the beautiful retreat with torches, to finish like this *the commemoration of the saviour day (our underline)*⁴³.

From the documents regarding the involvement of the guardians in the public festivities, that took place within Olt County, we notice also the instructions of the Guardian Legion Dolj, regarding the celebration, in 1939, of “Day of 24th of January” – Unification of the Romanian Principates. These instructions, based on the orders received from the central command of Guard of

⁴³Idem, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 20/1939, f. 82-82v.

the Motherland, were sent, on 22nd of January 1939, to the guardian commander of “Carol I” high school in Craiova. According to those:

“Morning: 1. During the lifting of the National pavilion, the Stols will organize a celebration, following guardian’s instructions, one of the teachers-commanders will held a speech to the guardians about the meaning of the day. 2. Every Stol will supply a Century, formed out of 6 nests, guardian way fully and correctly equipped – preferably from the superior class – that will be in front of National College “Carol I” under the command of a guardian commander and 10:30 precise, to join the column towards Cathedral St. Dumitru, where we have to be before 10:45. (...) the order in line will be by seniority in the Guard (...)”⁴⁴.

The parade of the guardians had to be done on a pre-established course, as follows:

“Thru the front of the Police, Madona Dudu and the street that goes thru the back of the Cathedral; the entrance to the alley from the street St. Dumitru towards Minerva. – Occupying the left side of the alley until the military music and the girls the right side. The march formation is the one in the march column and ones we arrive at the destination we will do a right turn (the girls a left turn) the centuries having formation in line of nests by flank of twos. – The commanders on the right flank of the centuries”⁴⁵.

From the Cathedral, the guardians had to parade up until the presidential palace (today, the headquarters of the Prefecture), where:

“(...) the occasional speech of the Professor Commander Papagheorghe will be held, followed by the Royal Anthem, with music. The Unification Dance is next, the girls forming an interior circle and the boys and exterior one. At the stopping signal the entire detachment will align as a column and head the direction of Carol I College from where every unit with its commander will go to school”⁴⁶.

⁴⁴Idem, fund Liceul Carol I, File No. 7/1938-1939, f. 129.

⁴⁵*Ibidem*.

⁴⁶*Ibidem*.

In the afternoon, in the hall of Theatre of “Carol I” College, had to take place a celebration “given by all stols of Guardians”, under the supervision of the Royal Resident of the Olt County and with the assistance of Royal Cultural Foundations, Region of Oltenia⁴⁷.

The youth within the Guard of the Motherland was included in the programme of various national holidays in the period of 1938-1940⁴⁸. In general, the youth followed the dispositions regarding the patterns by doing the pre-established programme by the competent authorities. There were also cases when some youngsters tried to run from the obligation to participate at the main anniversary events. In this sense, eloquent is a notice issued by Inspectorate of Scholar Region of Craiova, on 14th of May 1940, and sent to the schools directors from Olt County and which specify the following:

“The Commander of the Guard of the Motherland, in his desire that guardians will participate in great numbers at the demonstrations for 8th of June (Day of Youth and Restoration – author’s note), has given in this sense dispositions to all schools. Seeing that some students are trying to avoid the programme of 8th of June by different means, we ask you to give dispositions to the schools in your County that these students will be first examined by the school’s doctors, being allowed to miss only with the agreement of them”⁴⁹.

The analyse we have done, allows us to conclude that activities learned and practiced by the youth within the Guard, and the ceremony of lifting and taking down of National flag, parades exercises, specific songs, impeccable outfit of the guardians etc., represented constant moments in deployment of the main festive events. In this context, the local guardian units contributed, next to other social categories (public functionaries, members of various cultural associations etc.) to propagation, in the wide public rank, of the image of united “nation” around King Carol II and the filling of devotion towards carlist regime. From this point of view, we can say that the Guard of the

⁴⁷*Ibidem*.

⁴⁸See, for a detailed analysis, Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Celebrarea „Zilei de 10 Mai” în timpul regelui Carol al II-lea în Ținutul Olt (1938-1940)*, in vol. „Stat și societate în Europa”, vol. 4, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 229-244; Idem, *Dimensiunea festivă și propagandistică a plebiscitului de la 24 februarie 1938. Studiu de caz: Oltenia în „Arhivele Olteniei”*, New Series, No. 25/2011, Craiova, Editura Academiei Române, p. 141-154; Idem, „Mother’s Day” in the Year 1939 – Opportunity for Celebration and Propaganda: Olt County, in „Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»”, Craiova, No. 12/2011, p. 96-104; Idem, *Sărbătoarea Muncii, între tradiție și reformă în timpul regelui Carol al II-lea (1938-1940)*, in „Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, Craiova, nr. 26, 2012, Editura Academiei Române, p. 215-232; Idem, *Propagandă și festivitate în timpul regimului carlist. Studiu de caz: Ziua Constituției „Regelui Carol al II-lea”*, in loc. cit.

⁴⁹D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Liceul Elena Cuza Craiova, File No. 1/1939-1940, f. 310.

Motherland represented an important instrument for official propaganda. Never the less, we cannot deny the fact that, in certain way, the youth's education within Guard of the Motherland also had positive effects, given the youth a set of values and behaviour role models in their way towards adulthood.

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