

**Daniel CITIRIGĂ**  
“Ovidius” University of Constanța, Romania

## **WORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA: KING CAROL II’S CULT OF PERSONALITY OUTSIDE ROMANIA**

Даниел ЦИТИРИГА  
Университет „Овидий” – Констанца, Румъния

### **ПРЕКЛОНЕНИЕ И ПРОПАГАНДА: КУЛТЪТ КЪМ ЛИЧНОСТТА НА КРАЛ КАРОЛ II ИЗВЪН РУМЪНИЯ**

The paper discusses King Carol II’s cult of personality outside Romania. Analyzing carefully the themes and subjects presented in the foreign press, the author comes to the conclusion that articles about the King published in newspapers abroad were very similar to those published in Romanian newspapers. The author points out that certainly, the foreign journalists consulted their Romanian colleagues about subjects concerning the Romanian king. In this connection, a significant example was the King’s visit to London in November 1938, which was preceded by a series of articles written at the Department of Press at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest with the aim to prepare the success of the royal visit and create a very favourable image of the King and his country.

**Keywords:** King Carol II, personality cult, intellectuals, Romania.

#### **Romanian intellectuals, between opportunism and real belief**

Obviously, King Carol is one of the controversial leaders of Romania. The first child of the princely couple Ferdinand and Maria, Carol was the third king of Romania (1930–1940), the first representative of the Hohenzollern dynasty who was born in Romania, on 3<sup>rd</sup> /15<sup>th</sup> of October 1893, at Sinaia. Carol continued to bring about hard-fought debates among historians, and not only among them, as he was both appreciated for his qualities, especially for being involved in the country reform and support for culture, but also criticized for his superficial attitude towards his obligations as heir prince. Until taking over the reign, the Heir Prince three times gave up the throne, each time after love affairs. Still, after King Ferdinand’s death in 1927, and after three years of regency, Carol came back to the country, and through the Act of Restoration, he was installed on the throne on June 8, 1930.

Certainly, their new monarch had at that time an extraordinary support, both for institutional reasons – regency was not a formula to meet the Romanians’ expectations – and also for subjective reasons: the King was an intelligent, charismatic, athletic person and a spiritual nature. It is asserted that King Carol I has said the following, speaking about his young grandson: “he was a real Romanian man who

used to curse and make debts”. No matter if this formula is accurate or not, there is no doubt that King Carol II was favoured by his position of the first sovereign who spoke Romanian without any accent, he was baptized as Orthodox and he was well integrated into the Romanian spirit.

Under these circumstances, the youth adventures, especially that with Elena Lupescu, because of whom he parted from Princess Elena, which was presented in detail in the Romanian and foreign press, affected dramatically his image and Carol II was a monarch concerned to restore it<sup>1</sup>. On the other side, following the memoirs published by the King, the attraction of the infallible leader becomes obvious. During his visit in Istanbul in 1938, King Carol did not hide his admiration, mixed with some envy, caused by the discipline demonstrated by the Turkish officials in the presence of President Kemal Atatürk: “It is nice to hear how these two ministers speak warmly and respectfully of their leader. For them, and I mean for entire Turkey, their leader is their God. One can talk about God, but cannot talk about their leader. All his orders are sacred, but what he orders is thoroughly thought over and discussed. Decision is taken after debating the problem in detail, after taking all the necessary approvals, and once taken, no matter what it is, there are no more discussions, but it is carried out without any hesitation” (Carol 2001: 180).

Taking into consideration those prerequisites, the sovereign, and he was the first Romanian king to do so, established the cult of personality: June 8<sup>th</sup> (the Restoration Day) was to be celebrated with much more splendour than the National Day (May 10<sup>th</sup>). Events were organized such as “Bucharest Month Festival”, “Week of Books” (since 1935), Railway Transport Celebration (1939). The King’s image of “creative spirit” was materialized in formulas like “King of peasants”, “King of miners”, “King of workers”, “King of culture”, etc. (Majuru 2012: 321). It was also important that during this period, the king made efforts and really managed to become a real *Maecenas*, and in a society where intellectuals were part of the political class, there was little done until the cult of personality. The man who proposed to become an enlightened king, first, for the culture, had the purpose to raise the education level in the Romanian villages which were still in a precarious situation in the 1930s (Murgescu 2010: 310-312), but also to cause a change in the old academicians’ classical approaches, promoting the young generation of writers and a modern view (Boia 2011: 112-157). However, for the most outstanding contemporary intellectuals the King was an interesting partner in discussion, no matter the generation. Thus, knowing well the way of thinking of the elite, it seemed not difficult for the King to gain them over, even under the circumstances of the regime of monarch’s authority,

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1922, the American press already presented information according to which Prince Carol was going to divorce the Princess, but that was strongly denied by the Romanian diplomacy in Washington. In 1923, there was the turn of the Romanian ambassador in Athens to discourage similar information, as well as of the ambassadors in Berlin and Stockholm (See A.M.A.E., vol. 61/2).

in 1938. Practically, that proved to be a prodigious partnership: intellectuals benefited from the King's intervention in supporting their ideas and many times the assistance came directly from the King's personal funds. Meanwhile, the monarch built himself an image, which had the role, on the one hand, to hide his youth mistakes, and, on the other hand, to present him as a far-sighted leader in the eyes of his people and of the foreigners. Perhaps the most interesting description of this situation was given by one of the most loyal among the King's men, Cezar Petrescu, certainly with the natural subjectivity: „once again, in His speech at the book celebration, the King addressed the poets, writers, novelists, essayists and critics, calling them, in common, „My writers”. This is an adoption declaration. [...] In 1938, the King's writers did not live anymore with the feeling that they had no public to write for and they did not have any chance to print the manuscripts of their nights of careful struggle. A terrible curse, which has followed us for centuries, in the country where Eminescu's volume has been printed due to V.G. Morțun's generosity, has come to an end”. The conclusion was doubtless: “the culture voivodate begins in this very moment with that” (Petrescu 1938b).

In the Romanian press and cultural journals, with a special role played by “Revista Fundațiilor Regale”, personalities as Tudor Arghezi, Nicolae Iorga, George Călinescu and Mihail Sadoveanu, to mention only the most outstanding ones, to whom we may add Petre Comarnescu's name, as well as the “unique” Cezar Petrescu, maybe the most “talented” writers in building the King's cult, participated in the intellectual praising. Since the phenomenon came into being from the beginning of the reign of Carol II, as expected, by establishing the monarchic authority regime, at the very moment when the Sovereign could become vulnerable for the attacks of the supporters of the parliamentary democracy, “the King's loyal people” would prove to be very useful in discouraging these tendencies. Certainly, the apogee was reached in June 1940, when, though Romania was in a difficult geopolitical situation, the tenth anniversary of the Restoration was celebrated.

In order to build this image, an entire propaganda team was activated (Scurtu 2004: 247-249), based on press censorship and the emergence in parallel of some “home” publications. For our survey, we are going to analyse few examples, relevant for their influence upon the public opinion. In the country, the most telling example is the newspaper “România”, published since 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 1938, under Cezar Petrescu's direction, as well as the journal “Revista Fundațiilor Regale”, addressed to elitist public while the monarch's image outside the country was carefully built by the Press Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the first issue, in the first page, the official newspaper “România” “gave” the floor to the King for a short „*Covenant*” in which the King explained the need of a new vision for the mission of the Romanian press: “The programmes are not very much trusted. And this is natural. The fluid life, in its organic evolution includes in itself enthusiasm, stands, searches, returns, changes, in a flexible adaptation to the continuously renewed conditions, in spite of the ideologists who believe that they have solved everything by placing the mystery of life in serene and cold equation. A

newspaper is an example of a vivid, warm body, guggling with dynamism inside it, and it is not an inventory of events” (“România” 1938a). In two days, publishing the entire Radio programme dedicated to the “Week of Restoration”, the newspaper showed completely its use and its vision, which was totally harmonized with the King’s words. Thus, readers learned in due time about the ample schedule dedicated to this event: on Monday, June 6<sup>th</sup>, Cezar Petrescu spoke about *The Guards and the Romanian Dynasty*; on Tuesday, professor Dimitrie Gusti, general director of the Royal Foundation “Principele Carol”, explained *The royal initiative for the villages*, and, previously, Ion Nistor, a former minister, dwelled upon *The cult of working in Restoration*; on Wednesday, June 8<sup>th</sup>, the programme was dedicated to the young generation: between 8.30 and 12.30, from the Stadium “Principele Carol” the Guards Celebration was broadcasted, which took place in the presence of the King and the Great Voivode Mihai. At 14.00, the message of the Country Guard commanders was read – a message, which was broadcasted in the evening to the youth from other countries in Romanian, French, Italian and English, and then the Radio Society praised the guards and the Great Guard; on Thursday, Professor Al. Rosetti spoke about *H.M.S. the King and the Romanian literature*; on Friday, Professor Ștefan Șoimescu, drew the attention upon *His Majesty the King, educator of the people*, and also G. Ionescu-Sisești, Minister of Agriculture and Estates, spoke about *The King’s initiative in agriculture*; on Saturday, spoke Victor Iamandi, Minister of Justice, and, finally, the Restoration Week ended with the conference organized by general Paul Teodorescu, Minister of Aviation and Marine, about *The Royal Initiative in the National Defence* (“România” 1938b).

In order to add an argument, Cezar Petrescu’s opinions had the role to fill the newspaper pages. On June 9<sup>th</sup>, in the full festival of Restoration, in the first page, beside a large photo of King Carol II, under the main title “After Eight Years, a New Country”, the above mentioned director published an editorial under the title “However, the Miracle was Fulfilled”. “No doubt”, stated the loyal writer, “that in the parties and through the parties today everything would be the same as yesterday. This means a chaos of elections, parliamentary debates, with the obvious pay by the day and interpretations, rutted roads, polemics, declarations, forgotten villages, the treasure house at partisans’ disposal – all it was but it is no more, and it will not be anymore” (Petrescu 1938a). Otherwise, the same Cezar Petrescu proved himself as one of the cleverest writers in this fertile area since 1935, when he published the volume “Cei trei regi/The Three Kings” where the chapter dedicated to Carol II has the subtitle “The Creator of Everlasting Romania” and includes pathetic sentences. In a fictionalized manner, by presenting the dialogue between two peasants born in Transylvania, husband and wife, the writer wrote the following: “...faith saved us. Nowadays we have a protector”, whom the characters, most likely imagined, saw “coming from the sky, as all miracles do” (Petrescu 1997: 149). Practically, there was no more surprise in 1938, that the same Cezar Petrescu signed the article dedicated to Carol II’s reign in the monumental work *Enciclopedia României* published under the care of King Carol II (Domnia Regelui Carol 1938: 945-970).

Certainly, with a director like Cezar Petrescu, the King knew that his thoughts would be accurately reproduced in the pages of the newspaper “România”. Thus, in the first week of its publication, the official newspaper presented the King’s main qualities most likely those preferred by him, taking into consideration that they would be repeated as a *leitmotiv* in the propaganda texts. One can learn about a *reformer* King, as “Carol the Great” (Sandache 1998: 71) compared with classical monarchs in this field as Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, “obviously adapted to the modern values”. Certainly, in this way, “the enlightened King” was a “friend of artists, thinkers and writers of his country who discovered an “august spirit”. The best example was the poet from Transylvania, Lucian Blaga. He was taken from his office of press attaché in Berna and was appointed State Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then sent as a Plenipotentiary Minister. There is one conclusion: “what has happened to the poet Lucian Blaga can be repeated with any other important man of great value in his country” (Petrescu 1938a).

The next subject was dedicated to the King’s relationship with the Romanian peasants. As a result of the world economical crisis, their situation was not a good one and in this way, the King was the man of vision who “cut the Gordian knot” and restored to the peasants property over land with no debts, as the author underlined. There was a similar conclusion in this case: “We lost a few thousand money lenders, but 14 million peasants were saved”. This was the reason to state that “peasants worshiped King Carol II, who, as was the case with the legendary king, expressed his wish that peasants should have daily “meat on their table” (Petrescu 1938a). However, these changes were possible only in the presence of an “innovative King” about whom readers could learn from the following text in the newspaper “România”: “as regarding economy and social life, King Carol II reminds us Roosevelt’s brave spirit. He tries out a vast work of “guidance” with the support of a brain trust”, and that meant the Monarch founded a Superior Economic Council, including the majority of the former ministers of Finance and Industry, beside young men coming from Romanian schools, but trained in European centres. This process of modernization included also the old contingent of the militaries – retirement “with all honours and a reasonable pension”, but preserving some “merited advisors”. It was somehow predictable that a special section was called “The King and books”. “Regarding cultural development, the article underlined that “King Carol II is the most important editor and printing worker in the country”. Real “patron of books”, the King distributed to large social categories, at a reasonable price, the best publications selected according to a “purely aesthetical criteria”. In such situation, the conclusion was a rhetorical question: “are we amazed, as the Romanian people gather around the enlightened King whom they consider the main witness of its Rebirth?” (Petrescu 1938a).

In the same year, 1938, in “Revista Fundațiilor Regale”, Petre Comarnescu, whose literary talent was used as much as possible, maybe in the notes written for the political police Securitate and under the name “Anton” (Dosarele secrete 2014) dedicated a praising study to King Carol. Under the title “The Social Mission of the

Foundation “Prince Carol”, the essayist states that “the ethical imperative is now fulfilled in a vast social action and there will be materialized through a series of methods and executive bodies who will find a source of inspiration in His Majesty Carol II’s directions and guidance, as He is the founder and heart of the entire new movement in the social life of our country”. Under these circumstances, the work “founded and organized definitely by the Monarch” was an answer given by “a wise man and a man who loves his nation”, as Petre Comarnescu stated, “the enlightened King, the wise man benevolent to people is the one who sees virtues and needs, qualities and wishes. He is able to teach people about their conscience – what they are and what they should have, what they should be – thus bringing up-to-date with His heart and mind the superior meaning of reality” (Comarnescu 1938: 637). In order to be more trusted, the author referred to the King’s speech on June 6, 1938, given on the occasion of the opening of the Fourth Exhibition of the Royal Student Teams. “We did not begin with preconceived ideas”, the King stated on that occasion. We did not come in the villages as teachers with the intention to educate minor pupils. We came to learn ourselves and the pupils at the beginning became the country’s teachers”<sup>2</sup>. Petre Comarnescu appreciated these words, which showed “a scientific understanding” of the phenomenon, as they were at the same time, the “strengthened echo of old needs”, which benefited from a superior filter “through a superior understanding” and which “came back as calls”. Those calls were so strong and clear and they “are amazing even those who whispered them once, at random, as a hope” (Comarnescu 1938: 638).

### **A phenomenon, which passes over the country’s borders**

It is very interesting in the case of King Carol II’s cult of personality that it passes over the country borders. In this way, we mention two phenomena: on the one hand, the foreign press sometimes dedicated to the Romanian King texts as praising as those in the country; on the other hand, the Monarch’s visit in the capital of Great Britain between 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1938, was prepared by articles written at the Department for Press at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest. Thus, this method should have been used many times.

Our first case study for promoting the King’s image outside the country is based on the most praising articles published by the Polish press on the occasion of the Romanian King’s visit in the company of the Great Voivode Mihai in 1937, which are to be found in the Foreign Affairs Ministry Archive in Bucharest. The first quality mentioned by the Polish press – if really all texts were written by Polish journalists, which is rather difficult to ascertain – was the King’s approach to the Romanian young generation. On June 25, 1937, under the title “The King of culture and youth.

---

<sup>2</sup> The speech was published in the volume *Fundația Culturală Regală Principele Carol, 1934-1938*, on the occasion of the Fourth Exhibition of the Royal Student Teams, “Lucașfăruț” Workshops in Bucharest (Fundația Culturală 1938: p. VII ff.).

The sovereign who's Gospel is idealism", the Polish daily paper "Wiek Nowi" characterized the royal guest in a manner that would make proud the most passionate Romanian journalists: Carol II is the first Romanian King born and raised on the land of His country; he is the first Heir Prince Whom the people followed and embraced with love since the day of His birth. He was the first King with a spiritual education which harmonizes with the specific of Romanian intellect and tradition". In His status of the first Romanian King baptized Orthodox, he had not only the mission to be the Head of the Country, but that of being the "spiritual guide of the people". Thus, after less than twenty years after the Great Union, the Romanian people entered upon "the heroic stage" as the Polish newspaper called that period" (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 56).

Carol's inclination to take over the fate of this young nation was, at the same time, a historical mission, appreciated by the Sovereign at its real value: "understanding the constructive work and the creative spirit as being the signs of future, the Romanian King concentrated His entire attention to the institutes of culture and physical education, towards the youth spiritual progress. For this reason, King Carol II received the name "King of Culture". All this attention paid by Carol II to the cultural and sport institutions was to a great extent evidence of "His idealism, as well as His decision to rely on youth in order to build his country, as the young generation is in charge of the future of the Romanian nation" (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 57). Obviously, in the case of this article, much attention was paid to this theme by the press in Poland taking into consideration that the above mentioned text was especially broadcasted at Radio Lwów on June 22.

The Polish Zionist paper "Chwila" proceeded similarly to the above mentioned situation. According to the opinion of the journalists who signed an article dedicated to the Romanian King, "that who wants to make a portrait of King Carol II should take into consideration that the intellectual element is preponderant in the psychical structure of this Monarch and that His positive talents as well as His working power, really unusual, create Him a special personality compared to the other kings". Such a personality could not be a dilettante but "he was meant for the position of great responsibility that He occupies" (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 60). If until this moment, the qualities were mostly theoretical, the applied part follows further on mainly because it seems that it can solve a dilemma connected with the King's time for reading<sup>3</sup>: "reading, which for most of the people represents a kind of entertainment, a leisure, for Him is a documentation time, a time for assimilating, judgement and synthesis with the purpose to obtain the best knowledge and expertise in order to improve Himself for the supreme position from where he watches the interests of His people". The books He consulted could not be counted as the quantity was

---

<sup>3</sup> Romanian historiography does not have clear references about the King's quality of enthusiastic reader. According to His daily notes, it is obvious that He used to see a film or even two films per day, however reference about King Carol II's lecture, there are but contemporaries' memoirs.

“enormous” and He could not read but late in the night when His assiduous work ceased. However, results were likewise: “His fine judgement and the way He understands and selects human values trouble even the people around him, most of the men of culture who appreciate the Monarch’s power to know human psychology” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 60). However, King Carol II’s personality was particularly defined by the diversity and complexity of his activities as there was “an excellent and harmonized balance between the static and dynamic elements. The intellectual who is able to fathom with all necessary patience and comprehension the vast and at the same time delicate problems He has to solve in His situation is at the same time the champion of movement in plain air, promoting the organized movement of the Romanian youth of whom He wants to make an element educated from all points of view for the glory and development of the Nation” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 60).

From the perspective of the events following in less than a year, maybe the most interesting text was that published in “Wiek Nowi” on June 27, under the title “Educator and reformer. King Carol II is guest of the Polish Republic”. Ironically, the article managed to praise exactly the aspects, which shortly were defining the monarchical regime in Romania: “we see that in the middle of the system crisis, which troubles the majority of European states, the government managed to have a place raising envy: no dictatorship, no oligarchic government, but a parliamentary and democratic state and, in spite of that, without the chaos caused by governing political parties”. One should take into consideration that this image of “strong and consolidated Romania” was “King Carol II’s personal work”. He was much more a visionary leader as he did not aspire to “have the full power of a dictator”, he did not use extraordinary means, he did not use methods, which lead to a “totalitarian nation”, he did not use concentration camps and did not crush physically anyone, and, in spite of that, “he was able to fulfil a great work”. His vision consisted in the fact that “He did not stay apart from his people in order to put them in the discipline yoke; He was always near to the people who adored Him, the friend young people, the protector of culture, the first Scout, the enlightened educator and wise reformer” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 71).

The theme of youth education was mostly preferred by the Polish press. Thus, “Dziennik Polski” from July 1, 1937, under the title „King Carol II, educator of the Romanian youth”, stated that the monarch was in charge personally of the education of his son, the Heir Prince Mihai, for whom “he has not only strong paternal love but also the greatest concern watching upon the cultivation of His intellect and nature, guiding His only son’s training and education”. Similarly, it was reported that the Royal Palace in Bucharest hosted the secondary school where Mihai was trained and had as colleagues the sons of Romanian lawyers, peasants, officers, workers and merchants. In this way, the King wanted to connect his son’s education with the entire youth of Romania. In order to have a well-disciplined organization, at the King’s initiative the “Country Guard” was established with the role to unite all the organizations, which served civic education as well as cultural, professional, and



physical training. Otherwise, the King himself founded a State Office for educating the Romanian youth, taking over the leading position and that meant that the organization, ideology and general orders were reserved for the Monarch. Under these circumstances, “daily, He dedicated few hours of His work to youth education by surveying these subjects, taking decisions, taking care of details and asking for information about the activities of every section of the “guards” from the most distant provinces of Romania” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 78). Thus, youth education in Romania guided by the “Royal Authority” was but “a patriotic movement” and the promotion of culture and civilisation was “the most important aspect in Romania”. Practically, the results were more than visible: from the Black Sea to Transylvania and from the Danube to Bukovina, all villages had their guard section, beginning with the six-year-old children and up to the young people graduating from the high schools, a spirit of regeneration covered Romania with an elementary force: this enthusiasm was followed and supported by the Royal wise and foreseeing decision to include the Romanian Heir Prince into the “Country Guard” as a leader of the organization” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 78)<sup>4</sup>.

For “Gazeta Lwowska” King Carol II’s reign meant a turning point in Romania’s foreign policy, based on “the consolidation of the society, the improvement of the bad parliamentary habits and the rebuilding of the state on strong and modern base without sudden and radical changes and without important modifications of the system”. All these achievements were possible as the King familiarized with his people since youth, “gladly” getting close to the peasants, as he was confident in the nation’s physical vigour and potential for further civilizing. Certainly, the Monarch’s concern for culture was also presented but not being poor in organizing things. Those seven years proved “his political understanding and the great expertise gained in the difficult art of leading” and that made the authors of the article to state: “Romania can be happy with such a leader” (A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3, f. 81).

We do not come to an end with this part of our study, dedicated to the foreign press, but to underline that these types of articles were not published only on the occasion of some official visits of the Monarch. In this way, a relevant example is the article in the French newspaper “Excelsior” under the title “At the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, HM King Carol II was celebrated by his people”, reproduced on the first page of the newspaper “România”. According to the French journalists, since 1930, Romania entered upon a fertile period, “with continuous progress in all fields”, which, no doubt, “was stated and prolonged due to the enthusiasm and dynamism inculcated by the King, due His Personality”, who was called by „Excelsior” not less but “a real democrat, monarch of the modern times” (“România” 1938c).

Obviously, in order to realize these achievements, assiduous work and total dedication were necessary. Thus, the less important problem was known by the

---

<sup>4</sup> The results of these approaches were quite diverse in the interwar period (See also Momoc 2012).

Monarch, the Royal vigilance” was the guarantee of success. That happened mostly if “was not he the Sovereign, Carol might have become an excellent engineer. As if he was leading a factory, he watched carefully to the proper function of the complicated and multiple state life...”. Certainly, the King was not a dilettante and professional information was his belief in order to find the most appropriate solutions. In this way, “there was a pile of newspaper cuttings on his table and often he verified if these cuttings were not made too briefly, if there was not omitted an interesting detail”; however, the same journalists stated that the King wanted to inform himself with the same accuracy, on the spot, beside the information coming from collaborators. Under these circumstances, it was possible that “unexpected”, He would come to a town hall or a hospital in order “to inspect them in detail”. Here is the conclusion: “personal survey and direct action sometimes are this King’s motto and He is never tired and is always in service of his country”. In the same context, as “man of duty”, the Monarch was the artisan of a foreign policy who followed “a perfectly defined behaviour line” (“România” 1938c).

Though he was characterized as animated by the most generous feelings, in the article the authors’ view is that this did not exclude the strictness, which King Carol used in need. The monarch was mostly characterized by “His accurate and perspicacious spirit”, an “exuberant” and very popular monarch. Shortly, “His nature is perfectly harmonized with Romanian temper”, and in the future, “due to the King who governs and due to the young generations whom He was able to unite, the Romanian renewal will be consecrated” (“România” 1938c).

Analysing carefully the themes and subjects discussed by the foreign press, even the style, these articles were very similar to those published in the Romanian newspapers. Certainly, the foreign journalists consulted their Romanian colleagues for documentation, and sometimes it was possible that these texts were sent already written, through the diplomatic service in Bucharest. In this way, a relevant example can be found on the occasion of another visit, to London, this time in November 1938. According to entire press file, preserved at the Romanian National Archives, the King’s visit was preceded by a series of articles written at the Department of Press at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest (Citirigă 2015: 167-187). The articles had the role to prepare the success of the royal visit and create a very favourable image of the King and his country. It has to be mentioned that the subjects were resumed: education, culture, army, reforms, and as a novelty – King Carol II’s faith in God and his extraordinary relationship with the Church.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

**A.M.A.E., vol. 61/2:** *Arhiva Ministrului Afacerilor Externe*, collection 71/1920–1944 Dosare Speciale.

**A.M.A.E., vol. 377/3:** *Arhiva Ministrului Afacerilor Externe*, collection 71/1920-1944 Dosare Speciale.

**Boia 2011:** Boia, L. *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950*. București: Editura Humanitas.

**Carol II 2001:** Carol II, King of Romania. // *Însemnări zilnice 1937–1951*, vol. I, 11 March 1937 – 4 September 1938. Bucharest: Scripta.

**Citirigă 2015:** Citirigă, D. *Diplomația Coroanei. Casa Regală a României în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est*. Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca.

**Comarnescu 1938:** Comarnescu, P. Misiunea Socială a Fundației “Principele Carol”. // *“Revista Fundațiilor Regale”*, year V, no. 12, December. București: Imprimeria Națională, pp. 636-644.

**Domnia Regelui Carol 1938:** Domnia Regelui Carol al II-lea. // *Enciclopedia României*. București.

**Dosarele secrete 2014:** *Dosarele secrete ale agentului Anton. Petre Comarnescu în arhivele Securității*. L. Boia (ed.). București: Editura Humanitas.

**Fundația Culturală 1938:** *Fundația Culturală Regală Principele Carol, 1934–1938*. București: Fundația Culturală Regală “Principele Carol”.

**Majuru 2012:** Majuru A. Regele Carol al II-lea i mitul „României veșnice”. // *Monarhia în România- o evaluare. Politică, memorie și patrimoniu*. Ed. by L. Brătescu, Ș. Ciubotaru. Iași: Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, pp. 320-338.

**Momoc 2012:** Momoc, A. *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice. Școala gustiană între carlism și legionarism*. București: Editura Curtea Veche.

**Murgescu 2010:** Murgescu, B. *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)*. Iași: Editura Polirom.

**Petrescu 1938a:** Petrescu, C. Minunea, totuși, s-a împlinit. // *“România”*, year I, no. 8, June 9.

**Petrescu 1938b:** Petrescu, C. Scriitorii regelui în 1938. // *“România”*, year I, no. 24, June 23.

**Petrescu 1997:** Petrescu C. *Cei trei regi*. București: Editura R.A.I.

**“România” 1938a:** “România”, year I, no. 1, June 2, 1938.

**“România” 1938b:** “România”, year I, no. 3, June 4, 1938.

**“România” 1938c:** “România”, year I, no. 14, June 15, 1938.

**Sandache 1998:** Sandache, C. *Viața publică și intimă a lui Carol al II-lea*. București: Editura Paideia.

**Scurtu 2004:** Scurtu, I. *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866–1947)*. Ediția a II-a, revăzută și adăugită, vol. III, *Carol al II-lea*. București: Editura Enciclopedică.