

The Union Internment Camp Tokens



Francois Malan



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PREFACE

I was fortunate to have recently acquired a complete set of Union Internment Camp Tokens in pristine condition. A search in the South African numismatic literature revealed that very little information is available on these tokens. This stimulated a number of intriguing questions:

- Why did so few of these tokens survive? Why were larger numbers not smuggled out of the camps as souvenirs?
- What were the original mintage figures of these tokens?
- In which of the camps were the tokens used? There were a large number of camps in South Africa and why do the early token collectors, and the more recent token catalogues, only refer to four camps (Andalusia, Koffiefontein, Pietermaritzburg and Baviaanspoort)?
- The 1929 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War state that *“Officers and persons of equivalent status shall procure their food and clothing from the pay to be paid to them by the detaining Power.”* A large number of Italian soldiers were detained at the Zonderwater camp near Cullinan. Did these POWs also use the internment camp tokens?
- Some of the Italian POWs were used as cheap labour by the farmers and were paid 1/- per day. How were these various payments on the farms facilitated if the internment camp tokens were not allowed outside the camps?

Furthermore, this study highlights the historical significance of these tokens. It is a visual reminder of the turmoil in the South African political arena while the Second World War was raging in Europe and in the Pacific. The loyalty of the Afrikaner nation was split and there was support for Nazi Germany from groups such as the Ossewa-Brandwag. These tokens are therefore an important part of the numismatic history in South Africa, but it has been largely ignored, probably owing to the extreme difficulty of assembling a complete set for collections.

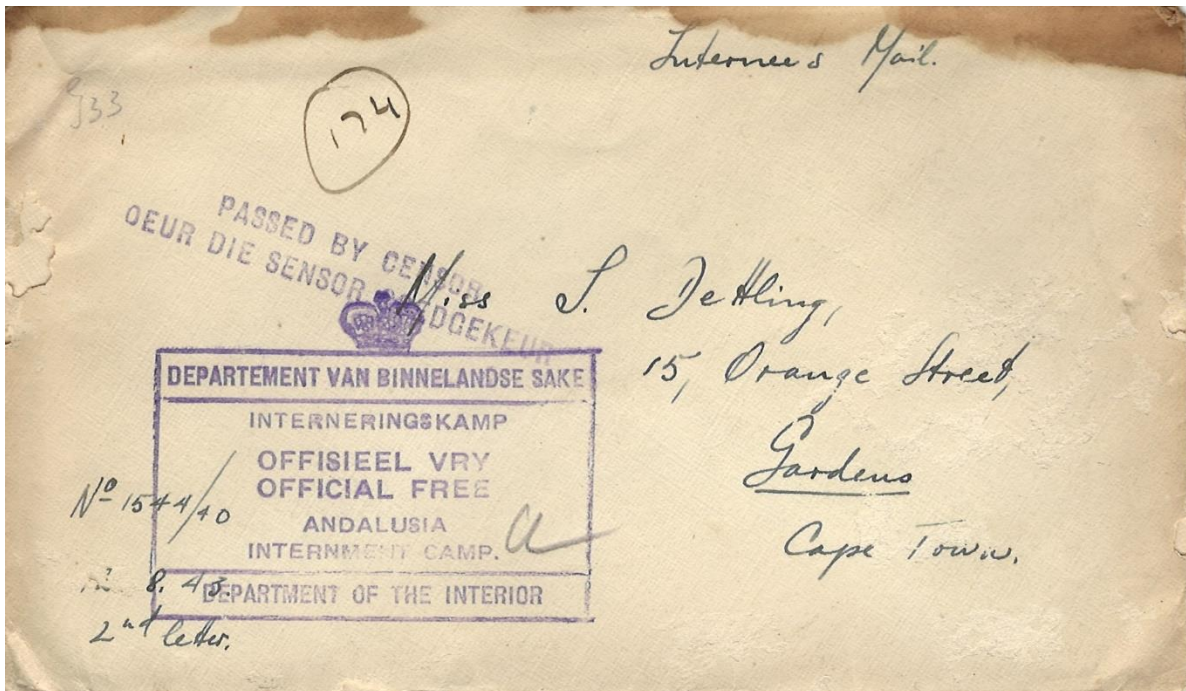
As there was the need for a good booklet on these tokens, I collected all the information I could find. The National Archives of South Africa was a treasure trove and I found most of the material I was looking for in two filing boxes. It was evident that nobody had previously opened these boxes and the files were undisturbed since it was deposited in the archives. It was with great excitement that I uncovered information that was hidden to collectors for more than 75 years and I therefore reproduced many of the original documentation in this book. I hope the numismatic fraternity enjoys this new material on a rare and historic set of tokens.

Prof Francois Malan
July 2022



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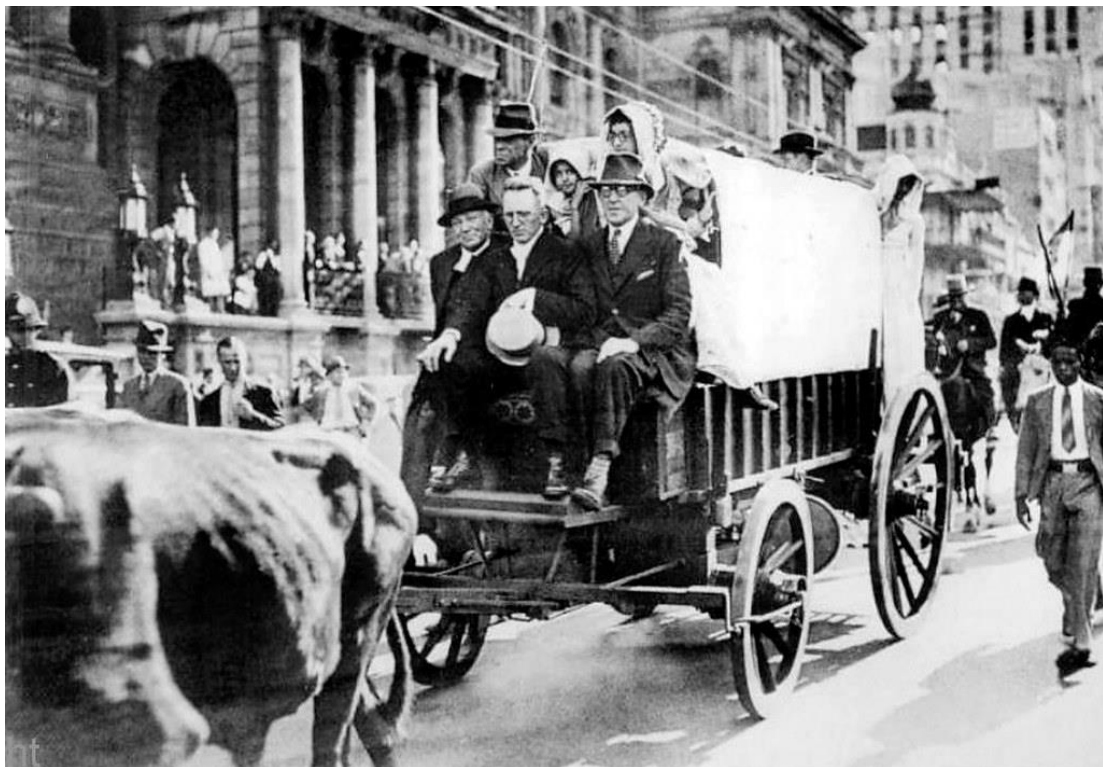
The official stamp of the Department of the Interior on a letter from the Andalusia internment camp.



CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNMENT CAMPS DURING WWII

Following the end of the Second Boer War, the Afrikaner nation struggled to maintain their identity and culture (Fokkens, 2012). There was, for example, an overt attempt at Anglicisation and transforming the Afrikaners into good British subjects. This was strongly supported by the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, and no Afrikaans was allowed in government schools except for three hours a week. This fostered a strong resentment of British culture. There were also socio-economic hardships that plagued the Afrikaner and the decline in rural areas forced many unskilled Afrikaners to the cities. The economy in the cities was dominated by the English community and this prevented many Afrikaners from securing jobs. As a result they became the “poor whites”. After the centennial celebration of the Great Trek in 1938, Afrikaner nationalism flourished and the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) was formed in Bloemfontein on 4 February 1939 (Van der Schyff, 1991). It was established as a cultural organization, but its character became increasingly militant during the Second World War.



Centennial celebrations of the Great Trek on 8 August 1938 in Cape Town. These celebrations ignited Afrikaner Nationalism.

Strong pro-German feelings were prevalent within the Afrikaner community during the 1930s. After the South African parliament voted in favour to enter the war in support of Britain, the Government feared an uprising and a repetition of the 1914-1915 Rebellion during World War I. This prompted Smuts' War Cabinet to take pre-emptive measures. Proclamation 201 of 1939 and the War Measures Act 18 of 1940 provided the government with emergency powers. The following are the relevant regulations in Proclamation 201:



Arrest and Detention of Dangerous Persons.

15. (1) The Minister of Defence or the Chief Control Officer or a control officer or a commissioned officer in one of the forces may cause to be arrested or himself arrest with or without warrant or other order of arrest any person whose detention is, in the opinion of the said Minister or the Chief Control Officer or of the control officer or commissioned officer concerned, desirable in the interest of the State or in that person's own interest.

(2) The person who has arrested a person under sub-regulation (1) shall as soon as may be bring the arrested person to a place of detention designated under sub-regulation (3).

(3) The said Minister or the Chief Control Officer may designate any place as a place where persons arrested under sub-regulation. (1) shall be detained and may cause any person arrested as aforesaid to be detained at such place during such period as the said Minister or the Chief Control Officer may determine, and may release him at any time either unconditionally or upon any condition which the said Minister or the Chief Control Officer may think fit to impose.



(4) The said Minister or the Chief Control Officer may make rules for the administration, good government of, and maintenance of order at any place designated under sub-regulation (3).

(5) Such rules may provide for sanctions for the enforcement of such rules, by way of the imposition of the duty to perform certain specified work in the said place of detention and in connection: therewith during a specified period not exceeding fourteen days, or by way of a fine not exceeding ten pounds or in default of payment of such fine, confinement in a specified room, building or locality for a period not exceeding ten days, or confinement in such a room, building or locality in company with others or apart from any other person for a period not exceeding twenty-one days.

Persons could therefore be arrested without a warrant if this was deemed necessary “*in the opinion of the said Minister*”. As a result of these war measures, suspects and enemy aliens were interned in camps, privately licensed firearms and ammunition were confiscated under Proclamation 139 of 1940, white trade union activities were suspended and general supplies were controlled (Fokkens, 2012). One of the motivations for these measures was that the military wing of the Ossewa-Brandwag, the “Stormjaers”, was involved in acts of sabotage. On 28 January 1942 there was large scale sabotage of the telephone and powerlines in many parts of the country (Van der Schyff, 1991). Further examples were the bombing of the Benoni Post Office, in which a person died, and the robbing of a car carrying the worker wages at the Venterspost Mine. These thefts were justified by the movement as a measure to support the Ossewa-Brandwag families that were needy as their men were interned in the camps.



The Ossewa-Brandwag leader, Dr. JFJ Hans van Rensburg, at a rally in Stellenbosch in 1941.

Fokkens (2012) gives a summary of the camps. Union citizens contravening the various emergency regulations were held under the War Measures Act without trial and were interned along with enemy spies and foreign nationals suspected of illegal acts. They were held at six

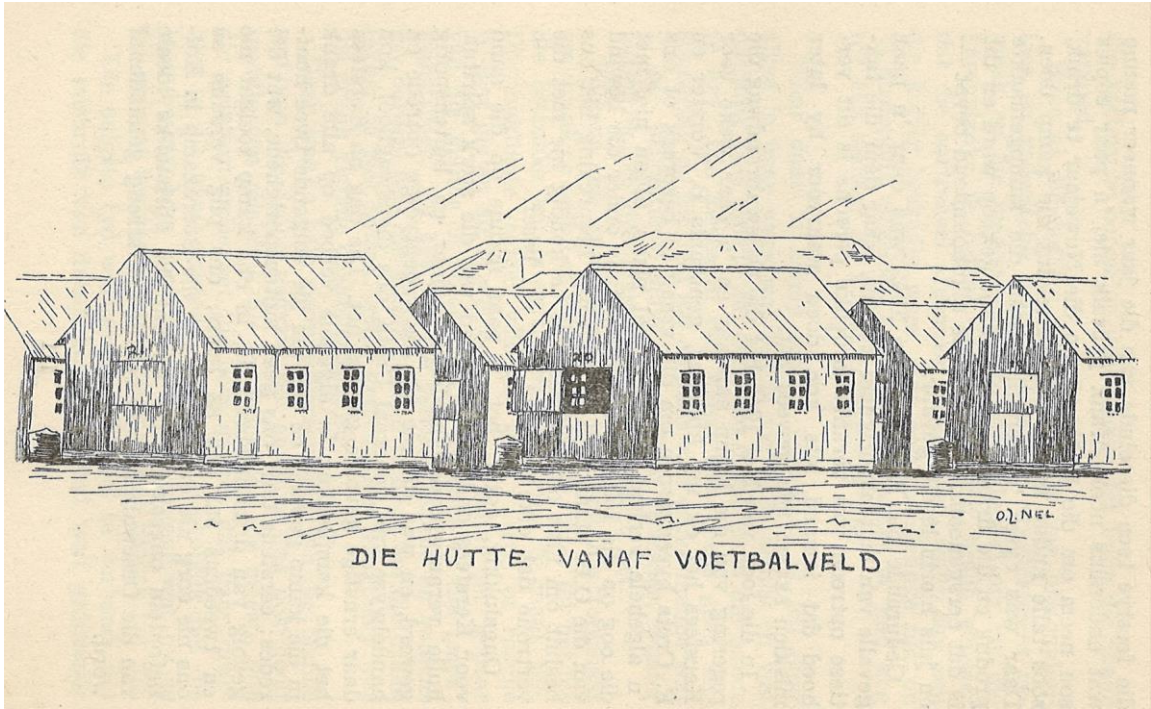


internment camps, namely Baviaanspoort, Leeukop, Andalusia, Ganspan, Zonderwater (sic) and Koffiefontein. Col. EG Malherbe, Director of Military Intelligence, noted in his biography that 6 636 Union citizens were interned during the war. The number of Italian POWs (prisoner of war) captured in Africa were far greater, however, and they were held in other camps.

The different camps in South Africa are described by Findlay and Ryan (2003). They clearly distinguish between the two types of camps namely **Internment camps** and **Prisoner of War camps**. The Internment camps were established to house civilians that were suspected Nazi sympathisers. The main group in this regard was the members of the Ossewa-Brandwag. The first internment camp was established on 6 September 1939 at Baviaanspoort near Pretoria. The second was Leeukop, Rivonia, near Johannesburg and it was established on 21 September 1939. This was followed by Andalusia (the current Jan Kempdorp in the Northern Cape), Ganspan (near Andalusia), Jagersfontein and Koffiefontein. There was a camp at Windhoek in Namibia (also known as “Klein Danzig”), but this was a transit camp for the transfer of internees to the South Africa camps. There is no camp at Pietermaritzburg listed, so it is not clear why the early token collectors included it as a camp where the tokens were used. The full list of internment camps is therefore:

- Andalusia camp
- Baviaanspoort camp
- Ganspan camp
- Jagersfontein camp
- Koffiefontein camp
- Leeukop camp
- Windhoek camp (Namibia, transit camp)

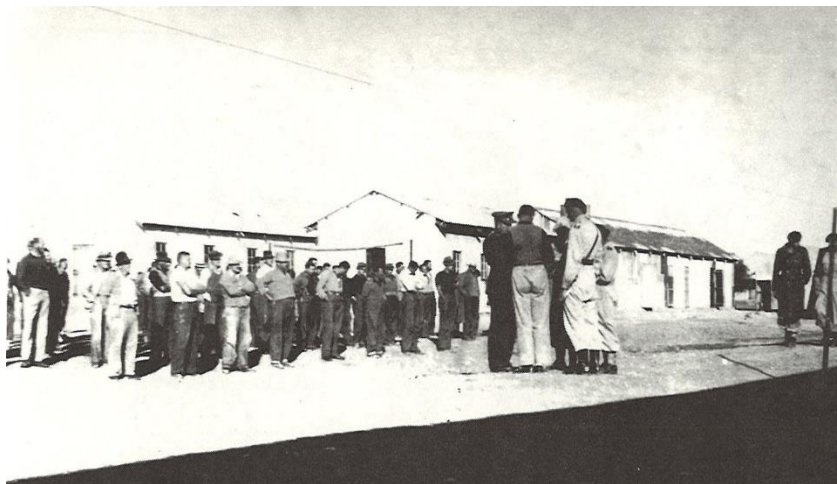
On 22 September 1940, the administration of the internment camps were given to the Department of Prisons. Nel (1948) mentions that the camps were eventually placed under control of the military with Colonel Strickland as Director of Internment Camps. After the introduction of the emergency regulations, several prominent members of the OB were interned as early as May 1940. On 17 June 1940, *Die Burger* reported that 1 600 people were held in the camps. By 12 November 1940, the figure more than doubled to almost 4 000 internees.



A drawing of the accommodation at the Koffiefontein internment camp as given by Nel (1948).



Drawing of the accommodation of an internee at Koffiefontein (after Van der Schyff, 1991).



Parade at Koffiefontein camp (after Van der Schyff, 1991).

STATE SPENDING £40,000 ON INTERNMENT CAMP

Long Lines of Huts to Relieve Congestion

A BUILDING programme necessitating an expenditure by the Government of about £40,000 is in progress at the Baviaanspoort internment camp on the outskirts of Pretoria.

With the rapid increase in the number of internees, to which the crew of the *Watussi* recently contributed a substantial addition, and the prospect of other German crews being interned in the future, additional accommodation at the Union's internment camps has become necessary.

Meeting of Supreme War Council

S.A. Press Association—Reuter
Paris, Tuesday.

A MEETING of the Supreme War Council was held in Paris this morning, at which Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M. Daladier, the French Prime Minister, and General Gamelin, the French Commander-in-Chief, were present.

A communiqué issued after the meeting states that France was also represented by M. G. La Chambre (Air Minister), M. Champetier de Ribes (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), and Admiral Darlan (Commander-in-Chief of the Navy). The French delegates were accompanied by M. Alexis Leger of the Foreign Office.

Great Britain was also represented by Lord Halifax (Foreign Secretary) and Lord Chatfield (Minister for Co-ordination of Defence). They were accompanied by Mr. Ronald Campbell (of the Foreign Office) and General Sir Edmund Ironside (Chief of the General Staff).

Welcoming the British representatives, M. Daladier congratulated Great Britain on the heroic and victorious naval action which led to the destruction of the *Graf Spee*.

IDENTITY OF VIEWS

The Supreme Council, adds the communiqué, after a thorough examination of the general situation, noted the complete identity of views of the British and French Governments regarding all the questions discussed.

The Council had consequently taken decisions and drawn up measures necessary to reinforce the means of action which are at the disposal of Great Britain and France for collaboration both in the diplomatic and

The Department of Public Works is therefore speeding up the erection of long lines of hutments to relieve the congestion at Baviaanspoort, where the internees will be concentrated in future. In addition minor extensions are being carried out at the Leeuwkop internment camp, near the Johannesburg-Pretoria main road.

It was emphasised yesterday that the additional accommodation at Baviaanspoort had been so designed that at the conclusion of the war when the internment camp will again become an inebriates reformatory and farm colony, the hutments will fill a useful peacetime purpose.

The extension of the institution as it existed before the war had been under consideration for a number of years, and, although additional accommodation has now become necessary for an entirely different reason, the Department of Public Works is taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out a building programme which would in any event have been necessary in the near future.

DORMITORIES TO BE BUILT

The hutments have been designed in the form of dormitories, each housing a number of internees. Each hutment or bungalow has been provided with its own verandah. The building programme also includes separate quarters for the unmarried staff.

There are now more than 500 interned Germans, and this number is expected shortly to rise to more than 1,000 if the crews of other scuttled German ships are sent to the Union for internment.

Because of the provision for extra accommodation at Baviaanspoort it is unlikely that another internment camp will be established in the Union at present.

Apart from a slight increase in the privileges granted internees and a temporary relaxation of the regulations, no special arrangements are contemplated for the Christmas season. While no objection will be raised if friends or relatives of internees wish to send them such luxuries as cigars and cigarettes, there is no intention at present on the part of the authorities to provide special facilities for internees for Christmas.

Chamberlain Broadcasts to B.E.F.

S.A. Press Association—Reuter
Paris, Tuesday.

BEFORE leaving France to-day Mr. Chamberlain, in a broadcast speech said: "As I am about to leave the British Expeditionary Force I am very glad to be able to say how much I enjoyed my short visit and how deeply I have been impressed by everything that I have seen.

"Considering the short time this force has been in France and the conditions of weather and other difficulties under which it has had to work, I was amazed at the progress they have made.

"I must congratulate the Commander-in-Chief very sincerely on the way in which his preparations for defence have been progressing and upon the smartness and efficiency of the troops under his command.

"I should like to say also that I have been delighted at the excellent relations which exist between the British force and the French inhabitants.

"When I go back to England I shall be able to take to all at home a most welcome message of the good health and best spirits of the force and I have complete confidence in your ability to tackle any task with which you may be confronted.

"To all men at the front I wish a Happy Christmas and the best of luck for the New Year.

OUR EXISTENCE DEPENDS ON OUTCOME OF WAR Col. Reitz

S.A. Press Association—Reuter
London, Tuesday.

ON completion of the conference of Commonwealth Ministers held to ensure that the combined strength of the Empire shall be applied to the winning of the war, the various representatives issued a farewell message to the people of the British Empire.

Colonel Deneys Reitz in his message says:—

"We men of British and Dutch descent come of liberty-loving forefathers and do not propose to hold aloof from the struggle, on the outcome of which our very existence depends. We stand squarely by Britain and France, knowing that without them we have no future and by their side we have no fear."

Sir Mhammad Zafrullah Kahn issued a separate message declaring India's loyal co-operation.

"WITHIN THE LAW" AT THE METRO

It is a curious anomaly of the law that one can remain within it while still breaking it. That is what Mary

Article in the Rand Daily Mail on 20 December 1939 describing the extension to the Baviaanspoort Internment Camp. The tokens were only introduced a year and half later during June 1941.



In contrast, the Prisoner of War camps were established to house the Italian and German soldiers captured in North and East Africa. The largest of these camps were at Zonderwater near Pretoria, the Durban Road camp near Pietermaritzburg and the Kroonstad camp. It is reported that the Zonderwater facility was one of the largest POW camps in the world and could house up to 120 000 captured soldiers (Van Graan, 2021). The maximum number detained is unknown, however. For example, Kruger (1996) mentions 90 000 men. Ball (1967) refers to a maximum number of 63 000 on 31 December 1942. A large number of smaller POW camps were established as the need arose. Findlay and Ryan (2003) list more than forty of these camps in South Africa. The Durban Road camp at Pietermaritzburg is noteworthy as the authors mention that it housed Italian and German POWs, and no South African civilians were incarcerated there. It was therefore not one of the Union internment camps.

Gazzini (1987) is an important reference as it describes the method of payment in the Zonderwater POW camp. This reference is written in Italian and it had to be translated. It refers to a so-called “pay book” issued to all detainees. From September 1942, monthly payments were initiated and the arrears were also paid. In the pay book of each prisoner, there were columns in which the amount paid to the particular individual was entered every month, as well as purchases made. The necessary signatures accompanied the various entries. The rules associated with these pay books were inscribed in the booklet and were:

- Prisoners should not hand their books to other persons without receiving a receipt.
- If a prisoner lost his pay book, he had to report it immediately to the payment officer in the block.
- Lost books were replaced at the expense of the prisoner.
- Prisoners who altered the entries in the booklet would be subjected to severe punishment.
- Provisions regarding the use of the payroll would be issued from time to time.

The monthly payments were as follows:

- From the rank of sergeant to that of a marshal – 12 shillings per month plus 15 shillings at the end of each quarter.
- For soldiers below the rank of sergeant - 8 shillings per month plus 10 shillings at the end of each quarter.

The allowances were spent on items such as tobacco, cigarette paper, coffee or tea and hot drinks. Apart from the pay books, it seems that normal cash, especially shilling pieces, did



circulate in the camp, but was scarce. As the author wrote: “A prisoner with a handful of shillings in his pocket was a rich man. And in Zonderwater the shillings spread with astonishing ease thanks to the craftsmanship, services and outdoor work that the prisoners devoted themselves to with much fervor.” He also wrote: “Saving shillings, accumulating them, has always been difficult for everyone. But as the time of repatriation approaches, saving has become a common goal for many.”

The reference to shillings, and not the other coin denominations, is possibly as a result of the farm work done by the POWs at the pay rate of “a shilling a day”. The Mail & Guardian (2005) wrote: “Local farmers were delighted with the prospect of low-cost labour. However, a backlash from white artisans and workers soon meant that the conditions of employment strictly limited their use to ‘unskilled labour’, at a shilling a day.” Moore (2015) also confirms this employment: “In South Africa, the Italians could also be found contracted out to farmers although the Union government had to be wary of Trade Union objections to their deployment.” Ball (1967) mentions that that 4000 South Africans employed POWs, mostly for agricultural labour. Corgatelli (1987) wrote that to alleviate the labour shortage in South Africa during the war, Italian POWs from Zonderwater worked as labourers outside the camp for a wage of 1 shilling per day. Approximately 10-12% of the POWs worked outside the camps.



Daily wage of the Italian POWs if they worked as labourers outside the camps.

In summary, the POW camps did not make use of the internment camp tokens and these tokens were only used in the camps housing Union citizens. This was also confirmed by the documentation found in the National Archives of South Africa and is described below.



CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION OF THE TOKEN MONEY SYSTEM

On 15 June 1941, the Camp Commandants received a lengthy letter describing the introduction of the token money. It was noted that: “*The Amended rules for Internment Camps, approved of by the Honourable the Minister for the Interior, provide, in Rules 11(b) and (d) and 16(o) (ii), for the introduction of a token-money system in the Internment Camps.*” After the date of introduction, it would have been an offence for any internee to have money in his possession and it would be confiscated and paid into Revenue. The letter instructed the Commandants to request the number of tokens of each denomination required based on the camp population, the requirements of their canteens, the 1/- per day internment camp allowance (paid every 30 days). Tokens for reserve requirements should also be requested.

Strict requirements in terms of accounting of the tokens were specified in the letter. The use of the tokens caused significant complexity in the money affairs of the camps as illustrated by the examples given in the letter. One such an example is copied below:

“An internee is released and has 7/- in tokens in his possession, which he must exchange for cash. He is furnished with a receipt from the Token-money Receipt Book, and the transaction entered in the relative Token-money register and on his card. Thereupon he is paid 7/- from petty cash through the Ordinary Cash Book, the necessary voucher being prepared and card entered, as usual.”

Of particular interest to collectors, to understand the scarcity of the tokens, was the requirement that: “*When an internee is released finally or on parole or transferred to another camp or institution, the greatest care should be exercised to ensure that all tokens in his possession should be exchanged for cash so as to obviate the possibility of forgery.*” It therefore seems that the risk of forgeries was a major driving force that caused so few of the tokens to survive. The concluding paragraph of the letter also emphasized this aspect: “*Particular care must be taken to ensure that the internees do not, on leaving the camps, whether temporarily or permanently, take tokens with them, and that counterfeit tokens are not redeemed.*” There was clearly concern about the risk of counterfeit tokens before it was even introduced into the camps.



CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND MINTING OF THE INTERNMENT CAMP TOKENS

On 2 June 1941, the Director of the Internment Camps placed the order for the tokens in a letter to the Mint. The numbers ordered are given in the table below.

No. of Tokens	Denomination	Face Value
5 000	£1	£5000.0.0.
20 000	10/-	£10 000.0.0.
20 000	2/-	£2 000.0.0.
20 000	1/-	£1 000.0.0.
20 000	6d	£500.0.0.
20 000	3d	£250.0.0.
24 000	1d	£100.0.0.
129 000		£18 850.0.0.

A total of 129 000 tokens with a face value of £18 850 was ordered. The number of £1 tokens was only a quarter of the other denominations and the 1d order was the largest. It was noted in the letter that the eight sketches forwarded by the Mint was approved, except that the word “*Internerings Kampe*” should be one word. The Director of the Internment Camps requested that the £1 and 10/- pieces should be minted in red and the remainder in black. The Mint replied on 3 June 1941 that enough red fibre was available, but grey fibre will have to be used for the other denominations. It was also possible to make the delivery at the end of June.



Teleg Adres } Internments."
Teleg. Address }

Alle Briewe moet gerig word aan die DIREKTEUR.
All Communications to be addressed to the DIRECTOR.

Telefoon } 2-8194/5/6.
Telephone }

DWM/OL



By beantwoording gee op
In reply please quote

No. 24

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

KANTOOR VAN DIE DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNERINGSKAMPE,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS,

331 PRETORIUSSTRAAT-STREET,
PRETORIA.

CONFIDENTIAL : BY HAND.



-2-6-1941

Sir,

SECURITY OF INTERNMENT CAMPS : INTRODUCTION
OF TOKEN MONEY SYSTEM.

With reference to your letter No.C.2/58/2 of the 27th ultimo, I wish to confirm verbal request made to you today to proceed with the manufacture of the necessary tools and dies required for the production of £18,850.0.0 worth of fibre discs, as indicated hereunder:-

<u>NO. OF TOKENS</u>	<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>FACE VALUE.</u>
5000	£1	£5000.0.0.
20000	10/-	10,000.0.0.
20000	2/-	2,000.0.0.
20000	1/-	1,000.0.0.
20000	6d.	500.0.0.
20000	3d.	250.0.0.
24000	1d.	100.0.0.
<u>129000</u>		<u>£18,850.0.0.</u>

The eight sketches of the fibre discs forwarded by you have been approved, as submitted, and the sizes and wording as recommended are satisfactory. Kindly note, however, that the words 'Internerings Kampe' should be one word - 'Interneringskampe'.
mm

It is understood that you will be able to produce the £1 and 10/- denominations in 'red' fibre and the balance in 'black' fibre. This differentiation in colour is an essential requirement.

It is understood that the cost of the tools and dies will amount to £180.0.0 approximately, and that the charges for fibre discs will be at the rates indicated in your letter referred to above, i.e. some £138.0.0 for the 129,000 tokens referred to in the first paragraph hereof.

If at all possible, I shall be glad if you will furnish me with four copies of the eight sketches as these are required for 'Treasury' and 'Audit' purposes.

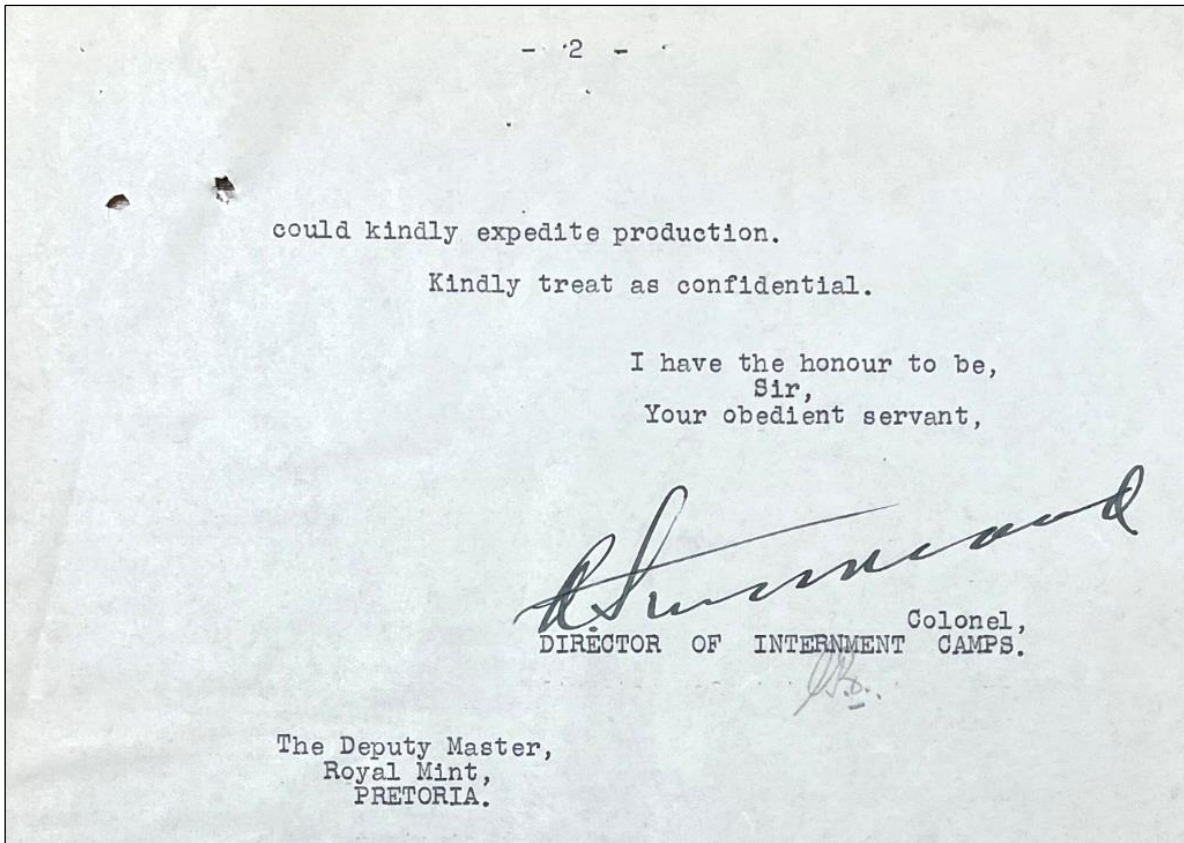
As it is desired to introduce these tokens with as little delay as possible, I shall be pleased if you

WORKS ORDER

41/110

- could -

*Suggest sending
4 photographs
at their expense.*



The choice of fibre material for these tokens was surprising. If there was a concern about the possibility of forgeries, metal tokens would have possibly made it more difficult to manufacture counterfeit copies in the camps. The internment camp tokens used in Australia during WWII were indeed metal tokens. Interestingly, these are also now rare, especially the higher denominations, as it was apparently against the Commonwealth Coinage Act to keep them in circulation and it was melted down after the war.

The costs for the manufacturing of the tokens is shown below and it was £295. This was less than the total sum of £318 given in the order from the Director of the Internment Camps.



(To be retained by the Supplier).
(Moet deur die verskaffer gehou word).

Z. 26.

To The Royal Mint,
dan Pretoria.

Order DIRECTOR OF E110315
-2-6-1941
PRETORIA
DIREKTEUR VAN OORSADE DARE SEAMPE
OORSADE DARE SEAMPE
KANTOORDATUMSTREPE

Please *render the undermentioned *service(s) to
supply goods
Geliewe die volgende *dienste to *lewer aan.
goedere verskaf

DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.
DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNERINGSKAMPE

*for which purpose Rail warrant No. _____ is enclosed.
*vir welke doel Spoorwegorder No. _____ ingesluit is.

M(c)(16).

DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.
DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNERINGSKAMPE.

Allocation— Vote and Sub-head. Toewysing Vir en Sub-hoof.	SERVICE DIENS. ARTIKEL ARTIKEL.	Quantity. Kwotechtheid.	RATE TARIEF.	AMOUNT. SOMME.
	Manufacture of fibre discs according to sketches submitted. Letter C 2/58/2 d.d. 27/5/41.			
	Discs: 5000 @ 2/-			138 0 0.
	20,000 " 10/-			
	20,000 " 2/-			
	20,000 " 1/-			
	20,000 " 6/-			
	20,000 " 3/-			
	24,000 " 1/-			
	Tools and dies Depts. minute 24 d.d. 2/6/41.	approx.		180 0 0.

To be filled in by Supplier.
Moet deur verskaffer ingevul word.

Order for the manufacturing of the tokens and the dies.

G.P. S.31928-1940-20 300. ROYAL MINT. R.M. 184.

5th July 1941.

Director of Internment Camps,
337, Pretorius St.,
Pretoria.

No 5406

IN ACCOUNT WITH
THE ROYAL MINT, PRETORIA.
(Cheques to be made payable to the order of the Deputy Master, Royal Mint.)

DATE OF DELIVERY.	QUANTITIES AND DESCRIPTIONS.	PRICE.	TOTAL.		
			£	s.	d.
25-6-41	To Supplying of Fibre Token Coins				
	5000 at £1 per 1000		5	-	-
	20,000 " 15/- " "		15	-	-
	20,000 " 15/- " "		15	-	-
	20,000 " 17/6 " "		17	10	-
	20,000 " 17/6 " "		17	10	-
	24,000 " £1-17-6 " "		45	-	-
	Dies & Tools.		180	-	-
			£ 295	-	-

Your Order dated 2-6-41 No. E 110315
Mint Order No. 11, 10 File No. 101/1791

Chief Clerk and Accountant

WHEN REMITTING PLEASE GIVE No. OF THIS ACCOUNT.

Invoice for the manufacturing of the tokens and the dies.



The Mint in Pretoria had experience with fibre coins as it manufactured the so-called “school money” issued to schools as a teaching aid. These fibre coins were struck between 1930 and 1939 and it is speculated that the scarcity of metal during the war and the Mint’s experience with these fibre coins resulted in the choice of fibre tokens for the camps. No proof of this hypothesis is currently available, however.



Example of fibre coins struck by the Mint as a teaching aid to schools.

The author was fortunate to have stumbled upon the original design drawings of the internment camp tokens at the Mint during a visit on 8 March 2018. These drawing are reproduced below. Only the reverse of the 1/- token was included amongst the drawings and the obverse of this denomination was not available. The drawings are valuable to token collectors as it indicates that the designer was Ernest Naylor (E.N.) and the designs were made during May 1941. The obverse designs are all dated 19-5-41 and the reverse design was dated 21-5-41. It seems as if it was originally planned to manufacture English and Afrikaans tokens of every denomination, but one language for each design was later adopted as per instruction from the Director of the Internment Camps. The Afrikaans wording on the 2/- reverse design also had a spelling mistake which had to be corrected.

An unsolved mystery is why square, oval and diamond shapes were selected for the 2/-, 6d and 3d tokens respectively. A round shape would have presumably simplified the process of manufacturing the dies.



Original designs of the interment camp tokens as found amongst the historical material stored by the South African Mint.



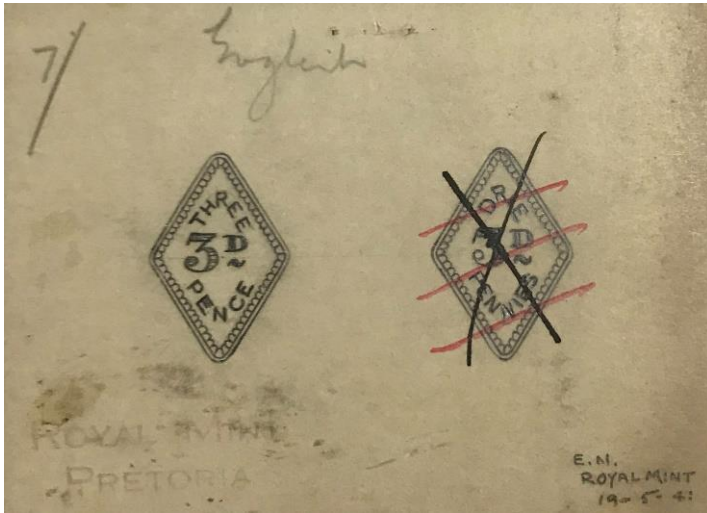
Reverse designs of the internment camp tokens and the original spelling mistakes on the 2/- Afrikaans token.



Designs of the reverses for all the tokens.



Design of the one penny token.



Design of the three pence token.



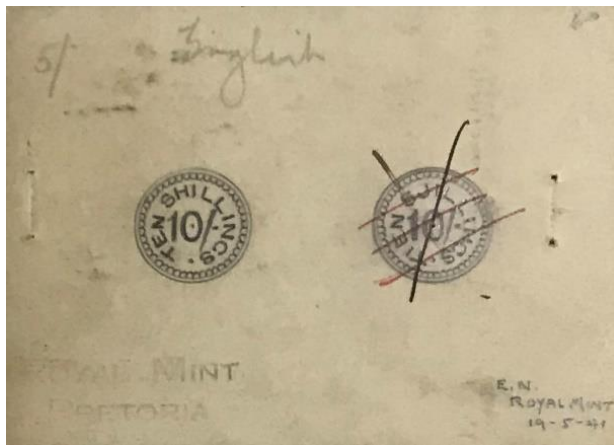
Design of the six pence token.



Design of the one shilling token. The design drawing for this denomination was not available.



Design of the two shilling token.



Design of the ten shilling token.



Design of the one pound token.



The dimensions of the tokens are given in the table below. From the dimensions of the 1d, the density of the compressed fibre was calculated to be approximately 1100 kg/m³. In comparison, paper varies from 250 kg/m³ (tissue paper) to 1500 kg/m³ (special paper). Normal printing paper is approximately 800 kg/m³. The fibre material used for the tokens is therefore in the upper range of these paper densities. Note that the £1 forgery is heavier than the genuine token and this was also the case for the 10/- forgery as mentioned in a letter from the Mint on 18 November 1944. These forgeries are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Denomination	Malan (2022)		Carroll et al. (2022)	
	Mass (g)	Dimensions (mm)	Mass (g)	Dimensions (mm)
£1	0.7	22.06 × 1.68	0.70	22.2 × 1.7
£1 (forgery)			0.83	22.3 × 1.9
10/-	0.5	19.35 × 1.78	0.54	19.3 × 1.7
2/-	1.4	26.09 × 25.93 × 1.73	1.43	26.0 × 26.0 × 1.8
1/-	0.9	25.62 × 1.75	1.04	25.7 × 1.8
6d	0.7	24.03 × 19.54 × 1.72	0.71	24.0 × 19.6 × 1.7
3d	0.6	29.01 × 19.33 × 1.74	0.62	29.0 × 19.2 × 1.9
1d	1.6	32.22 × 1.78	1.61	32.3 × 2.0

P. 4.

Mr. Harrows

Intenment Camps Libe con

The attached estimate for dies for the £1 will be applicable for all denominations required. Tools, jugs and chutes for the following are in existence for the following, £1, 10/-, 1/-, 6^d, 3^d, 1^d, all of which will be done in Coinage Press. The remaining denominations, 2/- can be done on Kruger Press or Coinage Press which is adapted for Kruger Press dies.

Malan
19-5-41

Note describing the dies and the presses to be used for the minting of the tokens. Note that the “Kruger press” was proposed for the minting of the 2/- denomination.



In terms of the fibre material, it appears from a handwritten note found in the archives that this material came in the form of sheets and in various thicknesses. The thickness used for the tokens was probably 1/16 inch, which equates to 1.59 mm. The slightly thicker token measurements given in table above is probably the result of the fibre material squeezing outwards into the design of the dies during the minting process. As the fibre material was sourced in the form of sheets of size 7 feet \times 3 feet (213 cm \times 91 cm), the blanks for the tokens had to be punched from these sheets.

Mr. Brown
The following fibre is
in stock.

Grey	$\frac{3}{64}$ "	- 20 lbs
"	$\frac{1}{32}$ "	- 115 "
"	$\frac{1}{16}$ "	- 165 "
Red	$\frac{1}{32}$ "	- 45 "
"	$\frac{1}{16}$ "	- 160 "

Mr. Davis states there should be no
difficulty in getting more and he is
enquiring as to the possibility of getting
an alternative color to grey and red.
Clafle
13-5-41

States can obtain 50 sheets
red and 50 sheets grey.
(Sheet = 7' \times 3' @ $\frac{3}{32}$ " sheet)

Note describing the fibre sheets that were in stock at the Mint in 1941.

The manufactured tokens were dispatched on 25 June 1941 as indicated by a delivery note from the Mint. This was an amazing effort as the order to proceed with the manufacturing was only received on 2 June 1941. The dies were also delivered to the Director of the Internment Camps a few days earlier on 20 June 1941. No additional tokens could therefore be struck after this date. It is not clear if the dies were destroyed after the war as it will make an interesting set of collectibles.



G.P.-S.33027-1940-50-300. R.M.C.O. 120.

Mint Office Copy. ROYAL MINT, PRETORIA.

P.O. Box 464. Nº 4538
PHONE 2-5611.

DATE 25-6-41

To Director of Internment Camps
331 Pretorius Street

Date 25-6-1941
Time despatched _____
Time received _____

Please receive the undermentioned goods in good order and condition.

Your order No. 41/110 Mint order No. _____

<u>700</u>	<u>5,000</u>	<u>(Packed by Misses E.C. & S. S. Roberts Dippenaar)</u>
<u>10/-</u>	<u>20,000</u>	
<u>1/-</u>	<u>20,000</u>	
<u>10</u>	<u>20,000</u>	
<u>30</u>	<u>24,000</u>	
<u>10</u>	<u>24,000</u>	

Receiver _____

Delivery note for the tokens. These were delivered to the Director of Internment Camps.

G.P.-S.33027-1940-50-300. R.M.C.O. 120.

Mint Office Copy. ROYAL MINT, PRETORIA.

P.O. Box 464. Nº 4531
PHONE 2-5611.

DATE 20-6-41

To Director of Internment Camps
331 Pretorius St
P.O.

Date 20-6-1941
Time despatched _____
Time received _____

Please receive the undermentioned goods in good order and condition.

Your order No. 41/110 Mint order No. _____

7 Pairs of Dies for S.O. Internment Camps

Receiver Direct

Delivery note for the 7 pairs of dies. These were also delivered to the Director of Internment Camps.



CHAPTER 4

THE GREAT TOKEN AUDIT

On 8 March 1943, Col. L Strickland, the Director of the Internment Camps, issued a note to all the camp commanders to conduct an audit of the tokens in circulation in the various camps. The internees handed in all the tokens in their possession, it was counted and a list was compiled of the numbers of tokens of each denomination. The consolidated list is of significant historical value as it lists in which camps the tokens were used in 1943. These were:

- Andalusia
- Koffiefontein
- Baviaanspoort
- Jagersfontein
- Ganspan

This conclusively answers the question in which camps the tokens were used and it confirms that the tokens were not used in the large Italian POW camp at Zonderwater. Interestingly, the Leeukop camp is not included in this list, although the proposed use of the tokens in this camp was mentioned in a letter written by Strickland on 15 June 1941.

The audit revealed a shortfall of tokens to the value of £564.17.3 and it was attributed to the following factors:

- Possible failure by the internees to hand in all the tokens as they might attempt to take some of the tokens out of the camps as souvenirs.
- There might have been tokens in the private belongings of the internees in the hospital camps.
- Internees might have lost tokens.
- Some tokens might have been damaged and an exchange was not asked for.

With regards to the keeping of souvenirs, Strickland emphasized that a strict search should be carried out on internees on release or transfer. This appears to have been very successful in the end, as during 1947 when the tokens were destroyed, the shortfall of £259.17.1 was less than half that of the 1943 number (also see Chapter 7). A key objective of the audit was to test if there were any forgeries in circulation in the camps and it was concluded by Strickland that, owing to the loss of tokens at each camp, it was indicative that no forgeries were in circulation at that stage.

COPY/MP.

24/8.

8 March, 1943.

Secret.

TO ALL CAMP COMMANDANTS.

TOKEN-MONEY : GENERAL TEST OF POSITION.

In view of the closing of the financial year on the 31st instant, I have decided to have a general test of the token-money position at all my camps on the 1st April, 1943.

Please instruct the Internees' Camp Representative(s) at your camp to Furnish you with a list, in triplicate, of token-money held by each internee (and the canteen(s) in your camp as at 1st April, 1943.

The statement must give the following particulars:-

(1) No. of Internee;	(2) Name; Initials;	(3) Token money held and denomi- nations of coins.								
			£1	10/-	2/-	1/-	6d	3d	1d	Total Amt.
(4) Internee's signatures as to correctness of column (2).			(5) Internee's signature in acknow- ledgment of return of tokens.							

Internees must be instructed, in the form of a Camp Order, to hand in all tokens in their possession to the Camp Representative(s) - and his assistants, if any - at a given time and a stipulated place for counting and retention by him in order to enable the latter to prepare the required list. The internees must sign in column (4) as to the correctness of the statement and must sign in column (5) when the coins are returned to them - as soon as possible after 1/4/43. At each stipulated place an officer, or a Senior N.C.O. of your staff, must supervise both the collection and the re-issue of token money. Both the Camp Representative and the Supervising Officer/N.C.O. must certify the lists.

Immediately upon receipt of the schedules, Camp Commandants must prepare and submit to me, together with two copies of the lists, a reconciliation statement of the token-money position at each camp. Such statement must reflect:-

- (i) The total amount of token-money received from me or from other Camps since the introduction of the scheme, giving the numbers of tokens of each denomination;
- (ii) The number of tokens of each denomination returned to this office or transferred to other camps (including tokens spoiled, damaged, etc.)
- (iii) The amount of unredeemed tokens as reflected in your March, 1943 return;
- (iv) The amount and number of tokens of each denomination reflected on the Camp Representative's list, and
- (v) The amount and number of tokens of each denomination held in stock by you on 31/3/43.

(Sgd.) L. STRICKLAND

COLONEL.
DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.



TOKEN MONEY - INTERNMENT CAMPS.								
	£1	10/-	2/-	1/-	6d	3d	1d	Value.
Issued to Andalusia Stock as at 31/3/43	1745	7710	5315	6900	8800	5200	5220	6783. 5. 0
DEFICIENCY	189	56	107	122	166	505	492	246. 6. 3
Issued to Koffiefontein Stock as at 31/3/43	711	6178	2500	3000	2160	2000	4040	4295.16. 8
DEFICIENCY	634	5969	2330	2699	1769	1243	2984	4058.12.11
Issued to H/O Clerk Baviaanspoort Stock as at 31/3/43	2578	4532	5000	5000	4200	6048	8391	5809.11. 3
DEFICIENCY	16	7	96	78	149	382	427	43. 5. 7
Issued to Ganspan. RTD to Stock	260	640	360	300	440	160	660	646.18. 0
DEFICIENCY	244	620	333	288	406	146	540	615.18. 6
Issued to Jagersfontein Stock		1600	600	900	900	650	1800	943. 2. 6
DEFICIENCY		1591	599	893	891	624	1758	937. 9. 0
		9	1	7	9	26	42	5.13. 6
RESERVE STOCK.	11	643	6696	4306	4539	6304	4405	
<u>SUMMARY OF STOCK DISTRIBUTION.</u>								
Issues								
ANDALUSIA	1745	7710	5315	6900	8800	5200	5220	
KOFFIEFONTEIN	711	6178	2500	3000	2160	2000	4040	
H/O CLERK	2578	4532	5000	5000	4200	6048	8391	
JAGERSFONTEIN	-	1600	600	900	900	650	1800	
RESERVE STOCK	11	643	6696	4306	4539	6304	4405	
GANSPAN DEFICIENCY	16	20	27	12	34	14	120	
DAMGD COINS DESTROYED.	-	2	1	5	2	9	17	
	5061	20685	20139	20123	20635	20225	23993	£19292. 4. 2.
RECD FROM MINT	5061	20685	20139	20123	20635	20225	23993	£19292. 4. 2
<u>DEFICIENCIES AS AT 31/3/43.</u>								
ANDALUSIA	189	56	107	122	166	505	492	246. 6. 3
KOFFIEFONTEIN	77	209	170	301	391	757	1056	237. 3. 9
H/O CLERK/BPT.	16	7	96	78	149	382	427	43. 5. 7
JAGERSFONTEIN	-	9	1	7	9	26	42	5.13. 6
GANSPAN	16	20	27	12	34	14	120	30.16. 6
DAMGD. COINS	-	2	1	5	2	9	17	1.11. 8
	298	303	402	525	751	1693	2154	564.17. 3
Stock on Hand 31/3/43.	4763	20382	19737	19598	19884	18532	21839	£18727. 6.11



CHAPTER 5

THE FORGERIES

On 23 October 1944, the Camp Commandant at Koffiefontein, Lt. Col. JHJ van Rensburg, issued an order that after 30 October 1944, no internee will be allowed to redeem more than £4-0-0 worth of tokens. This order was deemed necessary as it appeared that hoarding of the tokens was taking place and it affected the functioning of the payment system in the camp. To prevent hardship, the internees could deposit the excess tokens for credit to their private accounts. Any sums in excess of £4-0-0 found in the possession of internees after 30 October 1944 would be confiscated.

This instruction led to an unwelcome discovery. Lt. WG Eden reported two days later that, during the collection of the excess tokens on 25 October 1944, internee No. 1209, EF Roettcher, and internee No. 1190, EJ van der Merwe, handed in counterfeit £1 and 10/- tokens. The total number of forgeries was seventy-seven £1 tokens and nine 10/- tokens. Eden reported that: *"I noticed that these tokens had a peculiar appearance as to shade of colour and appearance and I immediately instructed Sgt. Jacobson who was with me to keep these tokens apart from the remainder which had been handed in by the other internees."*

The matter was handed over to the Police at Koffiefontein, and Roettcher was arrested for *"being in possession of counterfeit token money."* This led to a trial (No 295/1944) on 4 December 1944 in the Magistrate court in Koffiefontein. A total of seventy-six £1 tokens and eight 10/- tokens were submitted as evidence (one of each from the original total was sent to the Mint for analysis). There were two accused, namely NJC Pretorius and EF Roettcher, both South African citizens. EJ van der Merwe turned state witness and he was released into No. 1A camp at Koffiefontein after the trial. He testified that molds were made for the forgeries and the counterfeit tokens were made from a mixture of asbestos, glue and putty ("stopverf"). The ingredients were mixed to the consistency of clay, placed in the mold and pressure was applied by a screw mechanism. The impressions formed had an "edge" when remove from the mold. This was removed with a pair of scissors and the edges of the tokens were also filed smooth after it was dry. The completed tokens were subsequently painted to ensure they were the same colour as the real tokens. A mold also existed for the 10/- pieces, but one half broke and it was destroyed thereafter. A total of approximately 100 £1 and 10/- forgeries were made. One of

the witnesses testified that internees were allowed to trade amongst each other using token coins. The forgeries were never used in the camp, however. The outcome of the case was that both Pretorius and Roettcher were found guilty and fined £15 or 2 months G.H.A. (the meaning of this is not clear – possibly “Gevangenisskap Harde Arbeid”?)

Teleg. Adres | "Internments."
 Teleg. Address | "Internments."
 Alle Briewe moet gerig word aan die DIREKTEUR.
 All Communications to be addressed to the DIRECTOR.

Teletoon Telephone | 3194/5/6.

By beantwoording gee op
 In reply please quote

No. 24

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SECRET

TREASURY
 KANTOOR VAN DIE DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNERINGSKAMPE,
 OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS,
 1-7-1944 331 PRETORIUSSTRAAT/STREET,
 PRETORIA. 30 OCT 1944
 Ref. No. F. 4/115/13

THE SECRETARY FOR FINANCE, PRETORIA.)	For information.
THE CONTROLLER & AUDITOR-GENERAL, PRETORIA.)	For information.
THE SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE, PRETORIA.)	For information.
THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, BLOEMFONTEIN.)	For information.

COUNTERFEIT TOKEN MONEY.

Your Authy F.4/115/13 dated 13.6.41, refers.

I forward herewith for your information, copy of my Camp Commandant, Koffiefontein minute No. P.M.6 dated 26.10.44, together with annexures referred to therein.

My Camp Commandant has been instructed to hand the matter over to the S.A. Police at Koffiefontein.

As far as I am aware, there has been no loss of Government monies, but the position is being investigated and you will be acquainted with the result in due course.

[Handwritten signature]
 COLONEL.
 DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.

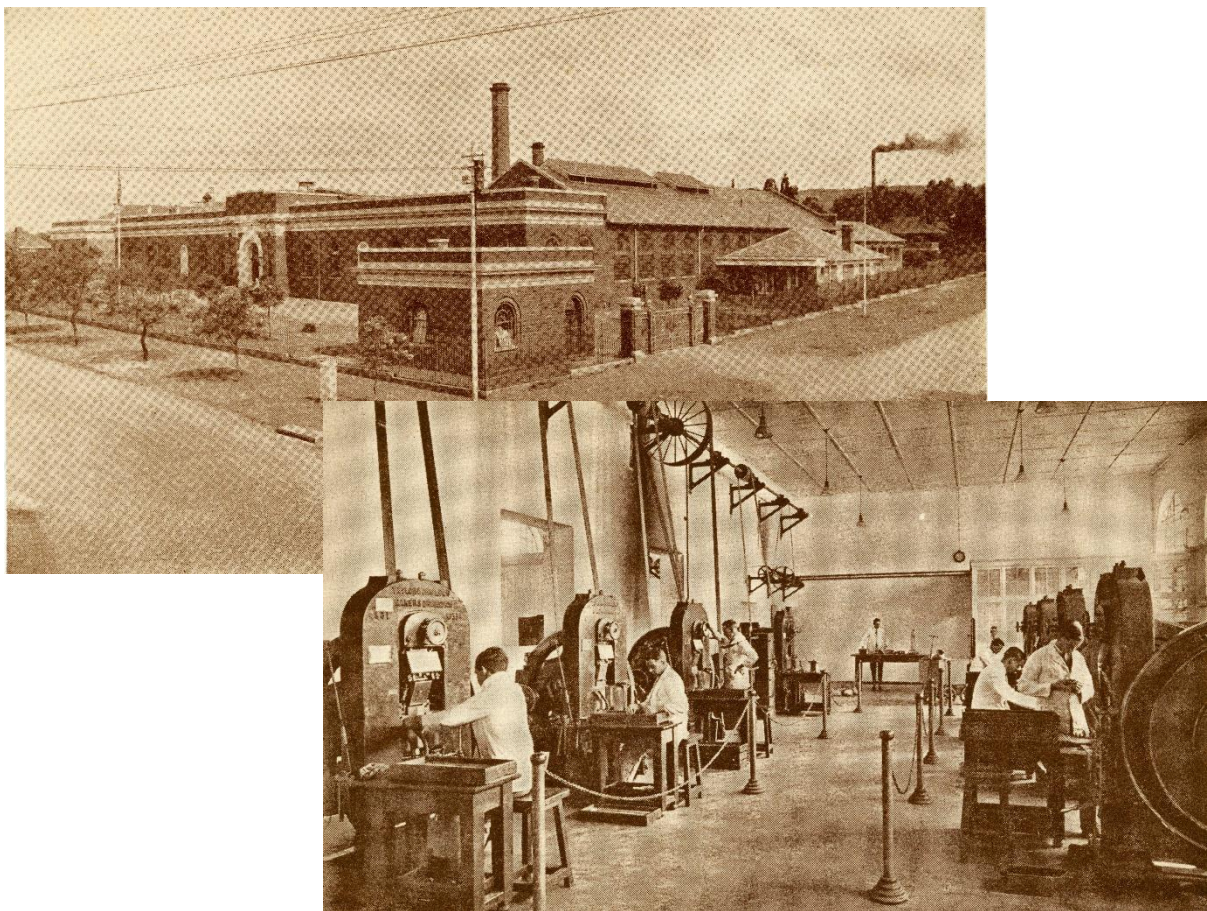
[Handwritten notes:]
 In own 9/11/44
 J. J. 30.11.44
 m of 9/11



The Mint became involved as it was requested to study the forgeries. A £1 and a 10/- counterfeit token was sent to the Mint. A sample of “RhinoBoard” was also sent to the Mint for analysis as there was concern that this may be used to manufacture the counterfeit tokens. The Chief Assayer of the Mint found, however, that this was not possible. He listed the contents of the 10/- forgery as:

- 27% combustible organic matter
- 35.5% silica
- 18.8% Calcium oxide
- 13.8% Alumina
- 4.9% Iron Oxide
- Trace: Magnesia

A detailed report was compiled by Mr. JP Roux and it is illustrated below. He noted that an examination of the beading was the easiest method to determine if a token was genuine or counterfeit.



The Royal Mint in Pretoria and the coin presses on which the internment camp tokens were struck. The Mint was requested to study the forgeries in 1944.



Telegr. Adres | "Internments."
 Teleg. Address | "Internments."
 Alle Briewe moet gerig word aan die DIREKTEUR.
 All Communications to be addressed to the DIRECTOR.



By beantwoording gee op
 In reply please quote

Telefoon | 2-8194/7/6.
 Telephone |

No. 24

SECRET
 SECRET

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

KANTOOR VAN DIE DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNEMENTSKAMPE,
 OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS,

331 PRETORIUSSTRAAT/STREET,
 PRETORIA.



REGISTERED.

The Director,
 South African Mint,
 P.O. Box 464,
PRETORIA.

- 6-11-1944

Sir,

FIBRE TOKEN MONEY; INTERNMENT CAMPS.

- (1) Your reference number is 9/47/1.
- (2) I enclose two token coins - one @ £1-0-0 and one @ 10/- which would appear to be counterfeit - from a considerable number of similar coins which certain internees in one of my camps tendered for credit to their respective private funds accounts. Two genuine coins of similar denominations are also enclosed for purposes of comparison.
- (3) As the original coins were manufactured by you, I shall be glad if you will be good enough to cause the counterfeit tokens to be specially examined and to furnish me with your report to enable me to investigate the matter further and to take the necessary precautionary measures to obviate possible loss of Government funds through further forgeries of this nature.
- (4) Will you please, in your report, indicate -
 - (i) The probable method of manufacture, i.e. whether clamps or vices could have been used to give the necessary pressure;
 - (ii) In what possible ways the impressions could have been taken;
 - (iii) The materials from which the coins have been made; and;
 - (iv) A comparison, generally, between the counterfeit coins and the genuine ones.

Letter submitted to the Mint together with the counterfeit £1 and 10/- tokens.

REGISTERED.

9/47/1.
JPR/GB.

SECRET.

18th November, 1944.

The Director of Internment Camps,
331 Pretorius Street,
PRETORIA.

FIERE TOKEN MONEY - INTERNMENT CAMPS.

With reference to your minute No.24 of the 6th instant, relative to the above matter, the counterfeit token coins have been examined and analysed in the Assay and Laboratory Section of the S.A. Mint, and the following report is appended for your information:-

Composition.

The 10/- counterfeit is made of weighted fibre, the mineral constituent being calcium aluminium silicate in the proportion of 70% to 30% of fibre. The surface colouring is ferric oxide, containing some celluloid varnish or similar varnish insoluble in water. Such reddish varnishes can, I believe, be obtained in the form of nail polish. Both the ~~1/-~~ and 10/- counterfeit pieces are slightly heavier than the genuine pieces.

Methods of manufacture.

Most probably impressions of both faces of the genuine piece have been taken in either plaster or wax. A small piece of the damp fibre was then squeezed between the moulds, let dry, extracted, trimmed with a small file or similar useful tool, milling inserted and finally colouring applied.

Hand vices, small bench vices, clamps and similar equipment, found in an engineers or joiners shop, could be made use of in counterfeiting.

General observations.

I understand that skilled workers used to manipulating fibre and paper pulp were associated with the Pomilio process on the Witwatersrand. Many of the workers were of foreign origin, and such workers would be conversant with weighting paper pulp. The evidence strongly supports the contention that the counterfeiters are persons possessing a working knowledge of paper manufacture. Judging from the general appearance of the counterfeit pieces, it is probable that they have been made under difficult conditions. Furthermore, had they been made outside and brought into the camp, the facility with which a variety of equipment could have been obtained, would have resulted in a better finished counterfeit piece.

In/.....



- 2 -

In regard to a general comparison, the surfaces of the counterfeits are very irregular, the letters are rather indistinct and the beading is entirely dissimilar to that of the genuine piece.

An examination of the beading gives the quickest and easiest clue that the piece in question, is either genuine or counterfeit.

The 10/- and £1 genuine pieces, and also the £1 counterfeit piece, are enclosed herewith. Most of the 10/- counterfeit piece was used in the laboratory in connection with analysing its composition, colouring, etc.

DIRECTOR.

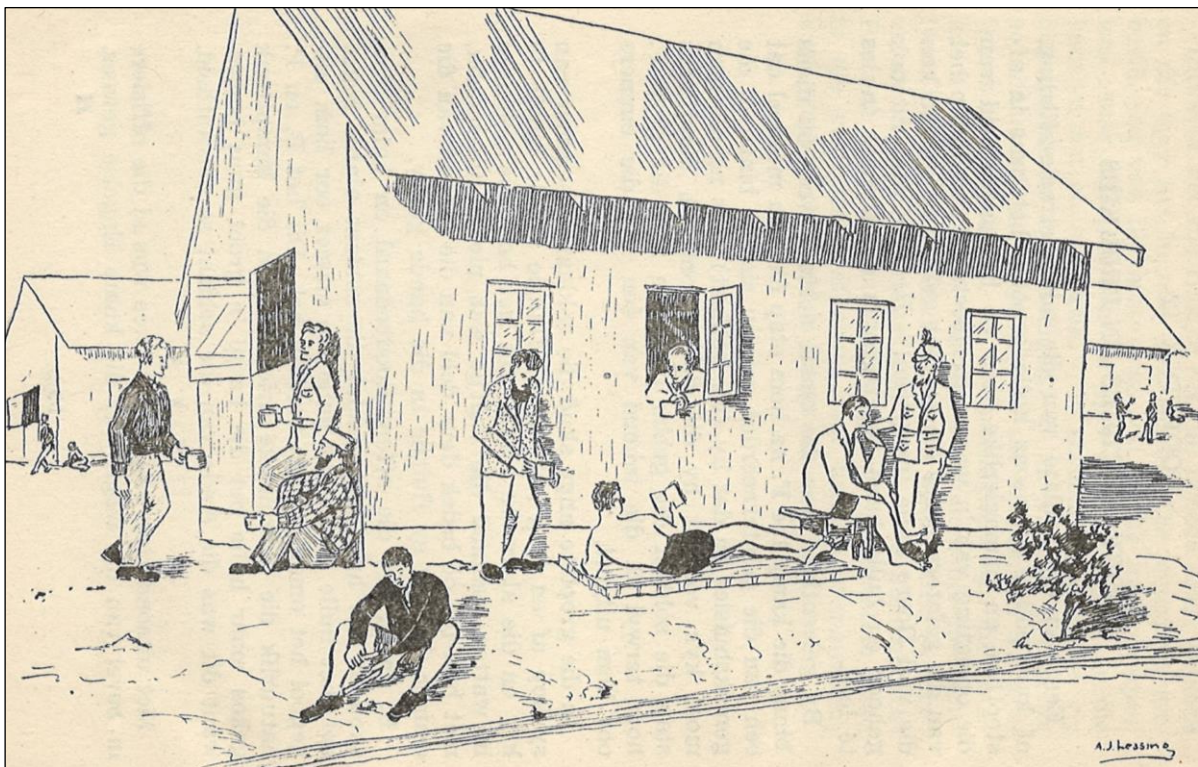
Only one surviving counterfeit £1 token is known to the author and this is in the collection of Allyn Jacobs. It is not known if more of these survived in other collections. It is also not known if any of 10/- counterfeit tokens survived. It was already rare when these counterfeits were discovered in 1944 and its existence in modern times was not even known until this material was recently discovered in the archives.



Comparison of the counterfeit token on the left (courtesy Allyn Jacobs) and a genuine token on the right. Note the distinct difference in the beading.



Theron (1982) also described the £1 forgery, but his account differs from that described above. The story was apparently told to him by a well-known person who was interned at Koffiefontein. Two internees in the camp made a machine with which they turned out forged £1 tokens from a suitcase that had the same red colour fibre as the genuine £1 pieces. They were apparently of such an excellent quality that it was impossible to distinguish from the genuine pieces. The forgeries were discovered when one of the internees attempted to take the machine out of the camp when he was released. Apparently, the only difference between the counterfeits and the genuine £1 tokens were that the forgeries broke more easily. This narrative by Theron is different to the description in the official documents found in the National Archives and it is not clear if a second type of forgery was made. The forgery illustrated above can also be clearly distinguished from the genuine token by examining the beading (as described by the Mint in their letter), so this is probably not one of the “suitcase” forgeries. It is also not clear how accurate the story was that was told by the ex-internee.



Life in the Koffiefontein camp as illustrated in the book by Nel (1948). There was clearly enough free time for an entrepreneurial internee to devise methods to make token forgeries!

CHAPTER 6

HISTORIC RECORDS OF THE USE OF THE TOKENS

Two records are available to the author describing the use of the tokens in the camps. The first book was published by Nel (1948). This manuscript is valuable Africana to owners of these particular tokens. It describes the reminiscences of the author while being incarcerated at the Koffiefontein camp. Nel was arrested late in August 1942 and transported to Koffiefontein. The tokens were already in use at that time and he describes it clearly:

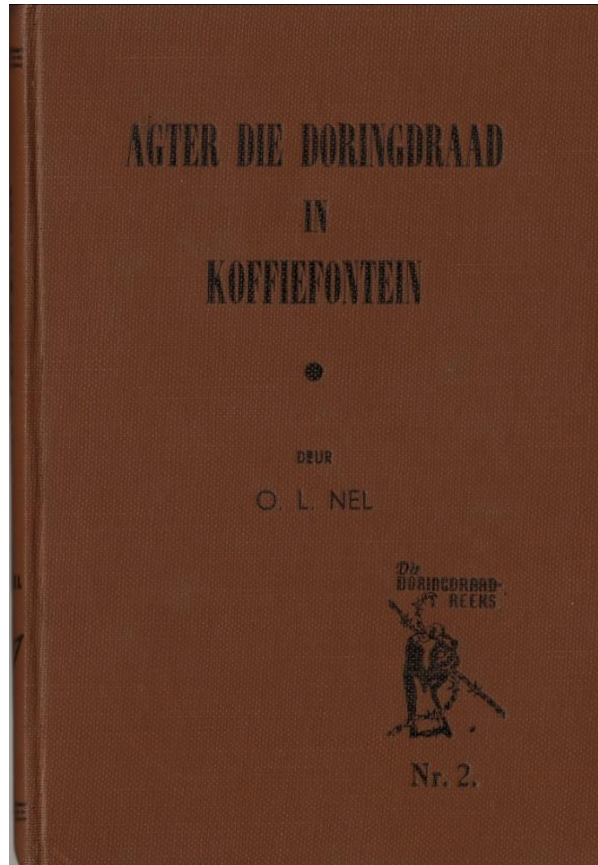
“Kontantgeld word nie in die kamp toegelaat nie en word deur kampgeld vervang wat van n harde soort karton vervaardig is. Daar is rooi ponde en tiensjielingstukke. Die ‘silwergeld’ is vaalkleurig en bestaan uit ‘n vierkantige tweesjielingstuk, ‘n ronde shilling, ‘n ovaal sikspens, ‘n diamantvormige trippens en ‘n ronde pennie.”

He also refers to the fact that the monthly allowance of the detainees was 30/- (equivalent to £1.10/- as described by Theron, 1982). It is not clear how this was paid, however. Were they given a mixture of tokens with different denominations to ensure that enough small change was available? This was most likely the case. According to Nel, the reasons why normal Union money was not allowed in the camps were twofold :

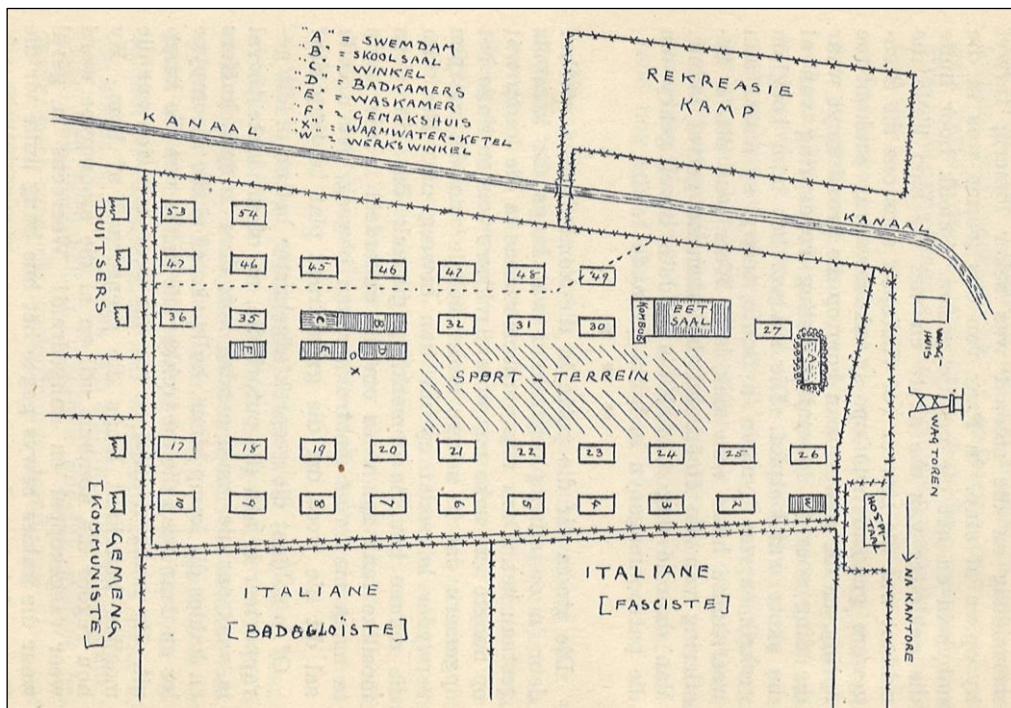
- The internees would not have the means to bribe the guards.
- If any of the internees escape, it would be more difficult to survive outside the camp without real money.



The lower denomination tokens were minted using a “grey fibre”. These tokens became beige in colour after being in use for some time. These two tokens were photographed using the same lighting conditions. The one on the left was never used.



The book by Nel (1948) describing his experiences at the Koffiefontein camp and the tokens used in the camp.



The layout of the Koffiefontein camp as given by Nel (1948).



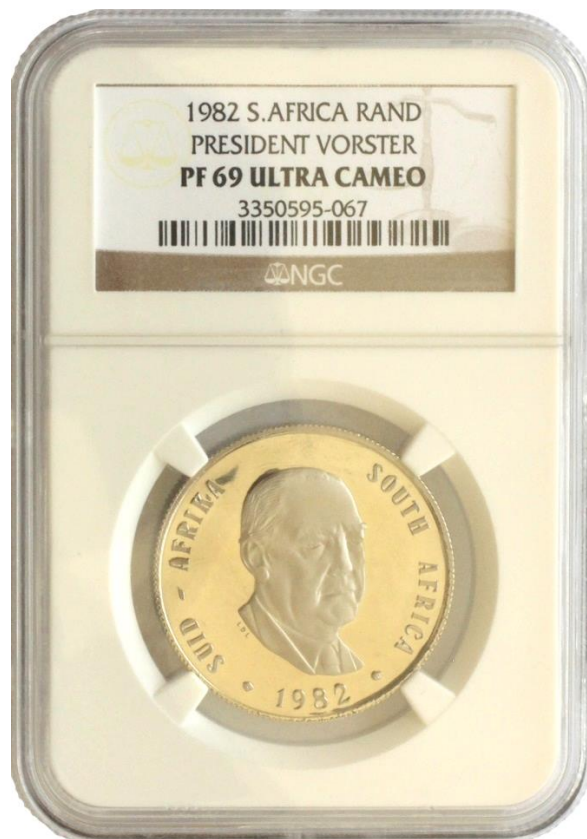
COA of the “Bond vir Oud-Geïnterneerdes (BOPG)” designed at Koffiefontein (after La Grange and Blignaut, 2021).



Name list of some of the internees at Koffiefontein camp in 1944 (after La Grange and Blignaut, 2021).



The second account of the use of the tokens is in a book on John Vorster (D'Oliveira, 1979). He became Prime Minister in later years after the assassination of HF Verwoerd. Vorster was one of the famous personalities incarcerated at Koffiefontein and he also became the camp leader in June 1943. D'Oliveira (1979) describes Vorster's stay in the camp. The internees received an allowance of 1/- per day and this was paid in "camp money". These were clearly the internment camp tokens and it is described in the book as: "*wat betaal is in 'kampgeld' van saamgeperste papier*". The chef and his assistants received extra allowances and this came from a camp fund. This was in turn received from a monthly contribution by the internees and the profit made from the canteen in the camp. The camp management gave authorities token money to purchase a list of groceries. The authorities then swapped this token money for real money before the purchases were made on behalf of the internees. Interestingly, Vorster described an incident in which he arranged for £55 of real money be smuggled into the camp to assist two fellow inmates who planned to escape. They succeeded with the escape and this illustrated the futility of issuing token money with the objective of making it more difficult for prisoners to escape.



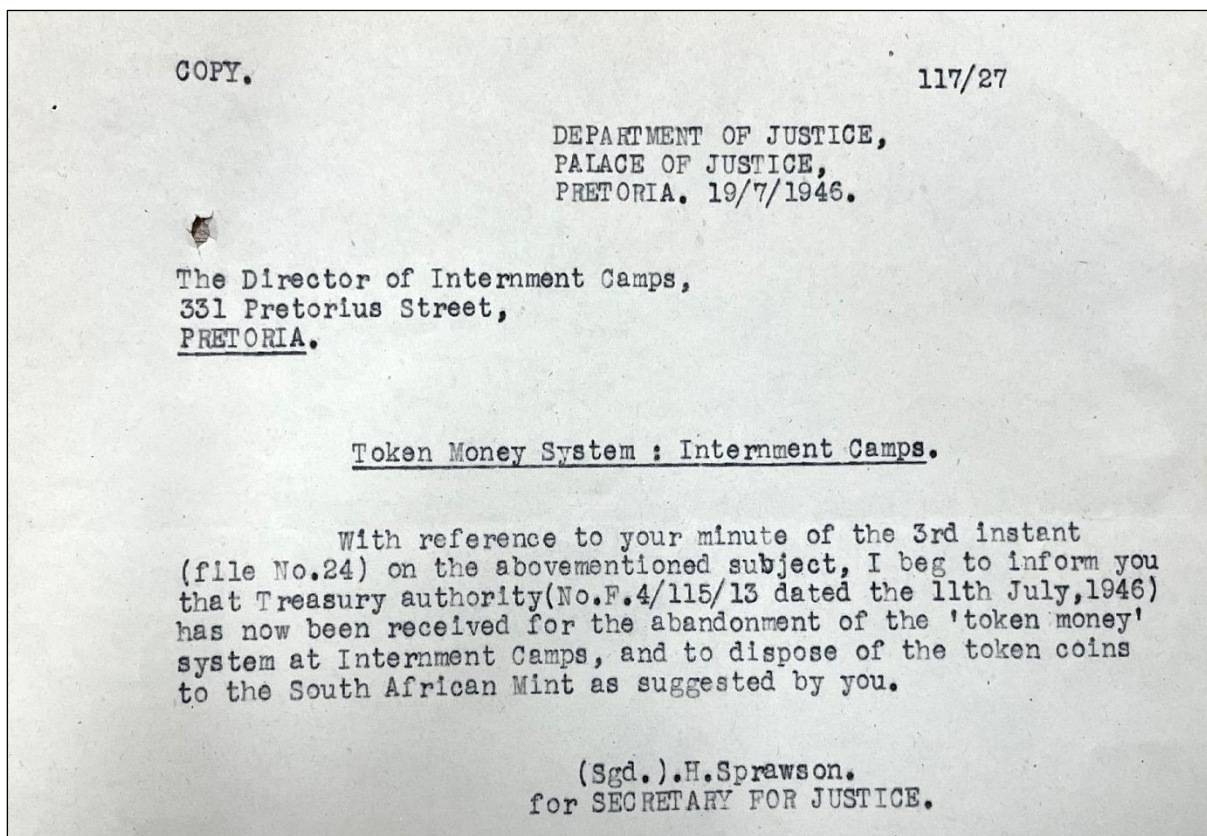
John Vorster was one of the internees at Koffiefontein who used the internment camp tokens. Ironically, his own effigy appeared on the real circulation coinage many years later.



CHAPTER 7

DESTRUCTION OF THE TOKENS AND UNREDEEMED TOKEN NUMBERS

The tokens were still in use as late as 19 July 1946. The Director of the Internment Camps wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury seeking permission to abandon the token money system and to return the tokens to the Mint. He argued that all the internees had already been released, except for 500 merchant seamen who possessed very little cash. In his opinion, the security of the Baviaanspoort camp, the only remaining camp at that stage, would not be endangered by the re-introduction of ordinary currency. This request was approved by Treasury and confirmed by a letter from the Department of Justice. Based on this approval, the remaining tokens were returned to the Mint on 6 January 1947.



Letter approving the abandonment of the token money system at the internment camps.




Teleg. Adres | "Internments."
 Teleg. Address | "Internments."
 Alle Briewe moet gerig word aan die DIREKTEUR.
 All Communications to be addressed to the DIRECTOR.

By beantwoording gee op
 In reply please quote

No. 24

Telephone | 2-8194/5/6.
 Telephone


UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

KANTOOR VAN DIE DIREKTEUR VAN INTERNERINGSKAMPE,
 OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS,
 331 PRETORIUSSTRAAT/STREET,
 PRETORIA.

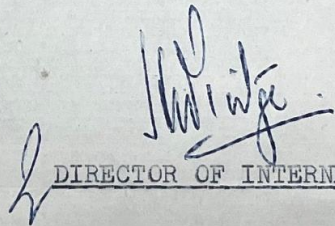
The Director,
 South African Mint,
PRETORIA.

6-1-1947

TOKEN MONEY - INTERNMENT CAMPS.

With reference to your minute No.9/47/1 of 11th September, 1946, and in conformity with Treasury Authority No. F.4/115/13 dated 11th July, 1946, I beg to inform you that I am today forwarding to you twelve (12) packages containing the token coins as reflected in the attached audited final statement of my Token Money Account.

Kindly be good enough to acknowledge the receipt of the coins.


DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.

Letter confirming that twelve packages of token coins were forwarded to the Mint.

Of particular interest to collectors is the final statement of the token money account from the Director of the Internment Camps on 5 December 1946. The value of tokens originally received from the Mint for each denomination is given, the damaged tokens destroyed, as well as the tokens returned to the Mint. From these totals, the numbers of “unredeemed coins” were calculated and this is therefore the maximum theoretical value of the tokens that could have survived. The statement gives the value of the unredeemed tokens and this was converted by the author into number of tokens. These numbers are provided in the table below. For the large denominations, only 56 £1 tokens and 154 10/- tokens survived. This is higher than the estimates given in the token catalogues and Hern (2009) mentions that for the one pound “Perhaps five or six known”. Obviously, some of these “surviving” tokens may have been destroyed or lost, and collectors have found it exceedingly difficult to source the £1 and 10/- pieces. The 1d, 3d and 6d are relatively easier to find, and this is also reflected by the higher number of unredeemed tokens in the table.

Ref. No. 24.

DIRECTOR OF INTERMENT CAMPS.

TOKEN MONEY ACCOUNT : FINAL STATEMENT
as at 5th December, 1946.

	DENOMINATIONS.							TOTALS.
	POUNDS.	TEN SHILLINGS.	FLORINS.	SHILLINGS.	SIXPENCE.	THREE PENCE.	PENCE.	
Received from S.A. Mint Less Damaged Coins Destroyed.	5,061 - - /	10,342-10-0 /	2,013-18-0 /	1,006-3-0 /	515-17-6 /	252-16-3 /	99 -19-5 /	19,292-4-2 /
	4 - - /	5- - /	16 -0 /	5-0 /	6-6 /	1-17-9 /	12-8 /	12-17-11 /
Stock for return to S.A. Mint.	£5,057 - - /	10,337-10-0 /	2,013-2-0 /	1,005-18-0 /	515-11-0 /	250-18-6 /	99 -6-9 /	£19,279-6-3 /
Unredeemed Coins	5,001 - - /	10,260-10-0 /	1,977-18-0 /	982-14-0 /	490-17-6 /	217-9-3 /	89 -0-5 /	19,019-9-2 /
	£ 56 - - /	77- - /	35-4- - /	23-4- - /	24-13-6 /	33-9-3 /	10 -6-4 /	£ 259-17-1 /

Treasury Authority No. F 4/115/13 dated 11th July, 1946, addressed to Secretary for Justice, authorises the return to the South African Mint of the balance of Stock.

£259.17.1 paid to Vote (C.7) vide Departmental Transfer No. 32915 dated 5th December, 1946.



PRETORIA.
5th December, 1946.
25/12/46.

[Signature]
DIRECTOR OF INTERMENT CAMPS.



	Denominations						
	1£	10/-	2/-	1/-	6d	3d	1d
Received from the Mint	5 061	20 685	20 139	20 123	20 635	20 225	23 993
Damaged coins destroyed	4	10	8	5	13	151	152
Sub-total	5 057	20 675	20 131	20 118	20 622	20 074	23 841
Stock for return to Mint	5 001	20 521	19 779	19 654	19 635	17 397	21 365
Unredeemed coins	56	154	352	464	987	2 677	2 476

A summary of the maximum number of tokens that could have possibly survived.

Also important from the table above is that the number of tokens originally received by the internment camp officials were slightly higher than the total numbers ordered (see Chapter 3). The only exception was the 1d token as the delivery was 7 tokens short. Furthermore, it is also not clear if all the tokens originally minted in 1941 were dispatched by the Mint and how many sets were retained by Mint officials.

On 8 January 1947 the Director of the Mint, JP Roux, asked for approval to destroy the tokens “by burning in one of the Mint’s boiler furnaces.” This was approved by the Treasury as indicated in the letter below. A hand-written note was added stating that: “Audit official should however be present when destruction takes places.” This letter is considered evidence that all the tokens, as listed in the final audit statement, were indeed destroyed.

News leaked out of the tokens to be destroyed and a number of collectors wrote to the Mint requesting that sets of the tokens be sold to them. Probably the most famous of these token collectors were Mr. JL Knobel. He, and the other collectors, unfortunately received a negative response from the Mint and no sets were sold. No doubt, this contributed to the rarity of complete sets available to coin collectors and South Africa numismatics is poorer as a result. The other collectors who wrote to the Mint were SJ Greenberg, K Alexander, SA Routly, JJ Trott, CW Edelstein, JC Rodwell, J Stern and JE Miles.



S.A.M. 264.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. SOUTH AFRICAN MINT.
UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA. SUID-AFRIKAANSE MUNT.

Telephone Foon 2,5611.
P.O. BOX POSBUS 464, PRETORIA.
Telegraphic Address "Mint," Pretoria.
Telegrafiesadres "Mint," Pretoria.

In reply please quote By beantwoording vermeld asb. No. 9/47/1. JPR/GB.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR, KANTOOR VAN DIE DIREKTEUR, PRETORIA.

10-1-1947
4/115/13
No. No. 13

8th January, 1947.

The Secretary to the Treasury,
Union Buildings,
PRETORIA.

TOKEN MONEY - INTERNMENT CAMPS.

With reference to the above matter, I beg to enclose copy of a minute No.24 of the 6th instant from the Director of Internment Camps, and also a copy of the audited final statement of their Token Money Account.

The token money is at present stored in the Mint's main stronghold, and unless it is Treasury's policy to retain these fibre pieces for future use, I strongly recommend that all be destroyed by burning in one of the Mint's boiler furnaces.

I should like to add that a number of coin collectors have written to the Mint requesting that sets be sold to them, but for obvious reasons, I have replied in each instance that fibre pieces are not for sale.

J. Roux
DIRECTOR.

I approve an amount of R2000 should be paid to the Mint for the destruction of the tokens. An amount of R2000 should however be present etc. JPR/14

Yes please KAN. 15/1

an Audit official should however be present when destruction takes place.

Copy to Audit Office 7

APPROVED BY TREASURY
GOEDGEKEUR DEUR TESOURIE
No. F. 4/115/13
16-1-1947
FOR SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY
VIR SEKRETARIS VAN DIE TESOURIE

Letter recommending the destruction of the tokens in one of the Mint's boiler furnaces. This was approved by the Treasury.



Homestead Hotel.

Fish Hoek,

10 January 1947.

Mr. J.P. Roux,
Director Pretoria Mint.
Pretoria.

Dear Mr. Roux,

I do not know whether you will remember me, but I met you at the Mint through Mr Becklake two or three times. I don't know whether that gives me the right to write to you personally and not officially. However by now you will know I want something.

Recently I saw in the Press that the P.O.W. Tokens had been returned to you for destruction and I wanted to know whether it would be possible to purchase a set. I am prepared to pay face value or more if required. In support of my request, ^{I may state} that my collection of South African Tokens is considered to be the best in existence by members of the S.A. Numismatic Society - although it only consists of some 215 items. My records of known S.A. Tokens now being 326.

Have tried repeatedly to get a set of the Internment Camp Tokens:- "Alleen Geldig in Unie Interneringskampe", but so far have only got the lid in grey fibre. I presume that this is the set now referred to. Your brother of the Mutual and brother-in-law Mr. Muller have seen my collection.

Hoping that you will be able to assist me.

Yours faithfully,

J.L. Knobel
J.L. Knobel.

9/47/L.M.
JPR/GB.

23rd January, 1947.

Mr. J.L. Knobel,
Homestead Hotel,
FISH HOEK, Cape.

Dear Sir,

TOKEN MONEY - INTERNMENT CAMPS.

With reference to your letter of the 10th instant, relative to the above matter, I regret to inform you that the token fibre pieces cannot be sold for coin collection or other purposes.

Yours faithfully,

J.P. Roux
DIRECTOR.

Mr. Knobel's request to buy some of the tokens before they were destroyed. This request was declined by the Mint.



CHAPTER 8

COLLECTORS AND AUTHORS DESCRIBING THE TOKENS

Knobel (1947, 1955) lists the Union Internment Camp tokens from the £1 to the 1d and mentioned they are fibre coins. Knobel (1955a) only wrote “*Andelusia (?)*”, so it was not clear to him at that stage where these tokens were used. He extended this description in Knobel (1956) and noted: “*The Union Internment Camp Tokens were used at Andelusia, Baviaanspoort, Koffiefontein, and Pietermaritzburg.*” No reference for this statement is given in the article and he was obviously wrong about Pietermaritzburg.

Lurie (1964) exhibited tokens at the Second South African Numismatic Convention and only mentioned that the tokens were used at Andalusia from 1939-1945. This date is wrong as the tokens were used from July 1941 to July 1946.

Maynard (1966) compiled a catalogue of the tokens in the collection of the Africana Museum. The collection only included a 10/-, 2/-, 1/-, 6d, 3d. The Africana museum requested a set from the Mint in 1943, but this request was declined. Surprisingly the £1 token was still missing from their collection in 1966. It was also mentioned in this publication that the Mint had two complete sets, the Knobel collection had a 3d and the Bickel collection had a 1d. Maynard (1966) describes that the tokens were struck at the Mint during 1941 and returned to the Mint in 1946 for destruction. This was reported in the Cape Times of 27 December 1946. From discussions with internees, it transpired that it was strictly forbidden to taken tokens out of the camps. This is put forward as the reason why these tokens are scarce. The tokens must have been incredibly difficult to source if Knobel only possessed a 3d in his famous collection in 1966.



C O P Y.

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG,
AFRICANA MUSEUM,
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

2nd October, 1943.


J.T. Becklake, Esq.,
Deputy Master,
South African Mint,
P.O. Box 464,
PRETORIA.

Dear Sir,

I would be most grateful if you could kindly advise me whether it is possible to acquire a set of prisoner-of-war money tokens for this Museum, and to whom I should apply in the matter if not to you.

Yours faithfully,
(sgd) R.F. Kennedy,
ACTING DIRECTOR.

LS/AW. 24.



R.F. Kennedy Esq.,
Acting Director,
Africana Museum,
JOHANNESBURG.

-9 OCT 1943

Sir,

Token Money : Internment Camps.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant addressed to the Deputy Master, S. African Mint, which has been referred to me. I regret that at this stage I do not deem it to be desirable from any point of view to authorise the issue of a set of coins to your museum, even if I had the power to do so, or any spare coins for the purpose.

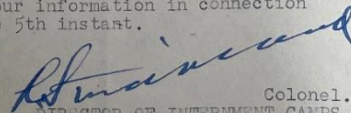
I would suggest that the question be again raised after hostilities have concluded, when the coins will be valueless, and thus possibly to spare.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Colonel.
DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.
-9 OCT 1943

The Director of S.A. Mint,
P.O. Box 464,
PRETORIA.

For your information in connection
with your 9/47/1 ITB/IL of the 5th instant.


Colonel.
DIRECTOR OF INTERNMENT CAMPS.

Director

MS

Request from the Africana Museum to acquire a set of the tokens in 1943. This was declined by the Director of the Internment Camps.



Theron (1978) gives a detailed description of the seven tokens in the set and mentioned that the only £1 token he ever saw was the one in the collection of MD Badenhorst. His list of camps where it was used is similar to Knobel's (1956) list and is given as Andalusia, Koffiefontein, Pietermaritzburg and Baviaanspoort.

Engelbrecht (1985) included a good photograph of the token set in the ABSA museum collection in his book. He described it as follows: "*Prisoner-of-war money. The top two rows represent internee money used by the Union government during World War II in prisoner-of-war camps, where the cash of the internees was exchanged for these tokens. This was a practical measure to prevent possible escapees from having cash at their disposal outside the camp. When the men were released, the token money was redeemed; it could not be taken out of the camp. This particular set was smuggled out in the hollowed-out leg of a chair!*" The comment regarding "prisoner-of-war camps" is incorrect, however, and it was only used in the internment camps.



The internment camp token set in the ABSA collection.

Hern (2004) and Hern (2009) list the internment camp tokens. The interesting addition in these two catalogues is the blank 2/-, but no description is given for this item. It is also not mentioned in any of the documentation found in the archives and was probably sourced from the leftover blanks at the Mint at some stage. It is noted in the 2009 catalogue that perhaps only five or six specimens of the £1 token are known.



Carrol et al. (2022) provide photographs, a table of dimensions and a description of the tokens. Of particular interest is the £1 forgery that was apparently made by two Italian detainees from a red suitcase. This seems to be similar to the account given by Theron (1982) and it is described in Chapter 5. It is also mentioned in this reference that the forgeries are difficult to distinguish from the genuine pieces. The locations where the tokens were used are again listed as Andalusia, Koffiefontein, Pietermaritzburg and Baviaanspoort. Similar to Nel (1948) and other writers, they mentioned that internees received a monthly allowance of one pound ten shillings to purchase items such as toiletries and cigarettes.





CHAPTER 9

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOKENS

The outstanding book on South African tokens by Carroll et al (2022) illustrates the huge variety of tokens available to coin collectors. An interesting question is whether the internment camp tokens should be afforded an elevated status based on the historical significance of these pieces. The additional information below is included in an attempt to highlight some of the important historical events. The collectors will nevertheless be the ultimate judge of the value of the internment camp tokens based on the prices fetched.

The decision by the Mint not to sell any token sets to collectors after the war in 1947 is described in Chapter 7. It is not clear why this decision was made as the risk of counterfeiting became irrelevant after the camps were closed. Were these tokens considered as an embarrassing symbol of the repressive internment policy and was it therefore necessary to destroy it? Different money systems were used in the internment and the POW camps. The POW camps had the so-called “pay books” for the Italian soldiers and it seems from reports that real money, especially shilling pieces, also circulated in the camps. The Italian POWs had the opportunity to work as cheap labour on the farms at the rate one shilling a day. In contrast, in the Internment camps, a token money system was introduced and actual money was confiscated if found in the possession of internees. There was no opportunity to work outside these camps for the internees. The Mail & Guardian (2005) commented: “*Outraged letters from sympathisers of the Ossewa Brandwag complained that these prisoners enjoyed better treatment than those interned for sabotage.*” So why were the Union citizens seemingly treated more harshly?

In the September 1939, Smuts’ party won the debate in Parliament to enter the war with only 13 votes. Generals Hertzog and Smuts had strongly opposing views in Parliament and this also reflected the division in the Afrikaner community. According to Hancock (1966), Smuts was aware of the possible internal opposition to the participation in the war and that there may even be the risk of a civil war. Aggravating the situation was the introduction of the “Africa Oath” or “Red Oath” whereby South Africans could volunteer to participate in WWII. This Red Oath caused a rift in the people and the wearing of the red tabs made it possible to visually distinguish



the two groups of people (La Grange, 2020). Men who refused to sign the Red Oath were put under immense pressure and risked losing their jobs.



South African defence force recruitment poster during WWII. Note the red epaulette flash worn by those who took the “Red Oath”.

Apart from the divisions in Parliament, Smuts’ greatest concern was the Ossewa-Brandwag. Under Emergency Regulation 15 of 14 September 1939 (part of Proclamation 201) as well as War Measure 47 of 10 December 1941, any individual suspected of underground activities or anti-war attitudes could be interned (La Grange, 2020). Nel (1948) argued that these regulations were mostly aimed at the Ossewa-Brandwag:

“Dit is opmerklik dat die vervolging van Afrikaners deur die Smuts-regering byna uitsluitlik teen offisiere en lede van die Ossewabrandwag gemik was. Daar was baie Afrikaners, wat nie lede van die O.B. is nie en wat, om die woorde van die Regering te gebruik” ‘anti-Brits’ en ‘sterk gekant teen die Regering en sy oorlogspoging’ is – en ook geen geheim daarvan gemaak het nie – en tog was hulle nie geïnterneer nie.”



La Grange (2020) described violent events between pro-war and anti-war individuals. One example was the battle between soldiers and OB members outside the Johannesburg City Hall on 31 January 1941. A pro-war group also attacked the headquarters of the prominent conservative Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Vaderland*. Smuts' war measures nevertheless ensured that internal security in South Africa was adequately maintained during this period and the war effort was mostly unhindered by the internal resistance. The emergency regulations made Smuts unpopular amongst the population and his United Party lost several by-elections from 1944 to 1947. This culminated in the defeat in the 1948 general election to the National Party of Dr. DF Malan. The 1948 elections shaped South Africa's future and had a lasting impact on the country. The emergency regulations and the internment of citizens possibly contributed to Smuts' defeat (as speculated by La Grange, 2020). For numismatists, the internment camp tokens should therefore be valuable surviving artifacts of these historic events.

Although no evidence is available, it is speculated that the bitterness caused amongst some Afrikaners owing to the internment policy contributed to the order to destroy the tokens. There might have been a risk that the tokens could be used to embarrass Smuts in his election campaign and it was decided to destroy it. No documentary evidence of this hypothesis is currently available, however, and further research is required.





CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY

Official documentation regarding the manufacturing of the Union internment camp tokens was recently found in the National Archives of South Africa. This provided evidence of the mintage numbers, the internment camps in which these tokens were used and the numbers destroyed by the Mint after the war in 1947. The tokens were used during the period from July 1941 to July 1946. The official order from the Director of the Internment Camps specified the following numbers of tokens to be manufactured.

No. of Tokens	Denomination	Face Value
5 000	£1	£5000.0.0.
20 000	10/-	£10 000.0.0.
20 000	2/-	£2 000.0.0.
20 000	1/-	£1 000.0.0.
20 000	6d	£500.0.0.
20 000	3d	£250.0.0.
24 000	1d	£100.0.0.
129 000		£18 850.0.0.

In 1943, an audit of the tokens used in the camps were requested by the Director of the Internment Camps. This list of number of tokens is of significant historical value as it mentions in which camps the tokens were in used. These were:

- Andalusia
- Koffiefontein
- Baviaanspoort
- Jagersfontein
- Ganspan

Forgeries of the £1 and 10/- tokens were made in the Koffiefontein camp. This is an exciting new discovery as the existence of the 10/- forgeries was unknown until this new information recently surfaced. A total of approximately 100 forgeries of both types were apparently made, but most were probably destroyed. A total of 84 of both types were submitted as evidence during a court case that followed. Only 9 of the 10/- forgeries were known at that stage, of which 8 were submitted as evidence in the court case, and the Mint admitted they destroyed

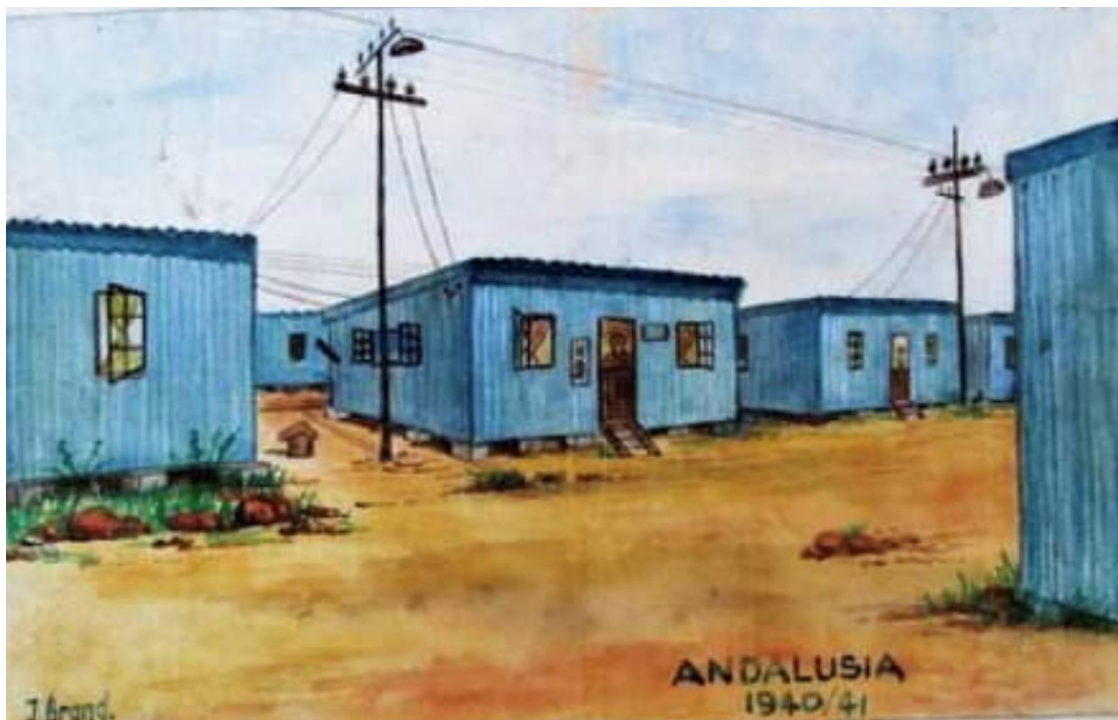


the one sent to them for analysis. It seems rather unlikely that any of these 10/- token forgeries will ever surface.

The audited numbers of the tokens returned to the Mint for destruction after the camps were closed, was found. The number of tokens originally received from the Mint was slightly higher than the numbers ordered. The unredeemed coins are given in the table below and this confirms the rarity of the £1 and 10/- tokens.

	Denominations						
	1£	10/-	2/-	1/-	6d	3d	1d
Received from the Mint	5 061	20 685	20 139	20 123	20 635	20 225	23 993
Damaged coins destroyed	4	10	8	5	13	151	152
Sub-total	5 057	20 675	20 131	20 118	20 622	20 074	23 841
Stock for return to Mint	5 001	20 521	19 779	19 654	19 635	17 397	21 365
Unredeemed coins	56	154	352	464	987	2 677	2 476

In summary, the internment camp tokens are an important and fascinating part of South African numismatic history, but it seems to be neglected by many collectors at this stage. Contributing to this ignorance is the extreme difficulty to source a complete set and the facts surrounding these tokens have been largely unknown for many decades. This book was compiled to fill this gap.





CHAPTER 11

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SERTIFIKAAT

Hiermee word gesertifiseer

Official documentation regarding the manufacturing of the Union internment camp tokens was recently found in the National Archives of South Africa. This provided evidence of the mintage numbers, the internment camps in which these tokens were used and the numbers destroyed by the Mint after the war. The forgeries of the £1 and 10/- tokens made in the Koffiefontein camp are also described. The existence of the 10/- forgery was previously unknown. A careful audit of the number of tokens returned to the Mint was conducted and this table is presented in the book. The information confirms the rarity of the £1 and 10/- tokens. The internment camp tokens are an important and fascinating part of South African numismatic history, but it seems to have been largely ignored by collectors. Contributing to this ignorance is the extreme difficulty to source a complete set of tokens and the facts surrounding their introduction and withdrawal has been largely unknown for many decades. This publication was compiled to address the need for a good reference book.

DATUM: 30 - 6 - 43.

REGISTRATEUR: *J. Ackermann*

KOFFIEFONTEINSE INTERNERINGSKAMP

GOEIE GEVOLG 50% - 65%