String Figure Bibliography of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples

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Acknowledgements

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This bibliography on string figures is dedicated to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in recognition of their ‘ownership’ of play and movement traditions.
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Additions and corrections:
Additions, corrections, comments and inquiries are cordially invited. Please send them to: ken.edwards@usq.edu.au
Preface

Another amusement which seems European, yet which was common to the blacks in their primitive state, is that known to us as "cat's cradle." An aboriginal held the string on his hands, while another took it off, and so on till they worked it into all sorts of shapes and forms. To the natives these shapes could be made to represent a turtle, a kangaroo, or indeed, almost any animal or thing. They were very clever at it. The amusement was called "Warru Warru," and with the white man's appearance, his fences got the same name, because of the resemblance of posts and rails to the shape of the string when held in one way across the hands (Petrie, 1904: 11)

String figure games can be identified as being almost universally part of play cultures. The playing of string games, either alone or with others (or with groups of players), was a commonly recorded activity within Australia. It has been suggested that:

Australia was the first continent where string figures were recorded, and Aboriginal people have a long tradition as string-makers. At one point in history, over two thirds of all the string figures recorded by anthropologists were know to Aborigines, and there are figures unique to Aboriginal culture ... The figures range from very simple to complex, and there are a number of tricks and traps for children to try on their friends (McKinty, 1997: 13)

The string figures were a means of direct transmission of cultural information from one generation to another. In the play cultures that existed in Australia this could be from older children or adults.

String figure designs often depicted man-made objects such as dilly bags and baskets, or they represented animals and people (sometimes in movement), or abstract patterns and natural phenomena such as the forces of nature. As people made the string figures the designs might change quickly from one thing to another as part of telling a story. Usually string figure games were played by the girls and women, sometimes at special times and for special purposes, such as during the first pregnancy and may also be associated with singing. In many areas men also played string games.

Similar string games were found at different locations and were often associated with different traditions or cultural significance between individuals and groups. String figure making provided the opportunity to exchange ideas/knowledge or communicate. Many of the string figures observed were performed for self-enjoyment or the entertainment of others often as a shared experience.

Sadly, there is almost no remaining evidence of string figures within ongoing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, even in isolated areas where some degree of traditional lifestyle may still exist.

This publication is designed to outline information relevant to a String Figure Bibliography of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. The information has been based on an extensive review of information on play cultures in Australia games that has been researched over many years.

Ken Edwards
**Introduction**

Australia is one of the oldest land masses in the world, the sixth largest country in total area and the biggest island on the planet. Only a small proportion (just 6 per cent) is fertile country and it is one of the driest land areas. The Australian landmass stretches 4000 kilometres from east to west and 3700 kilometres from north to south.

The Commonwealth of Australia covers the continent of Australia (Figure 1.) with an area of around 7,659,861 square kilometres and a coastline of 36,700 kilometres in length (or more than 120,000 kilometres if estuaries and all the islands are included). It includes sundry smaller islands (around 1800 in total) such as Fraser Island; the large island of Tasmania (68,332 square kilometres); and, the over 100 relatively small and mostly uninhabited islands or cays (of which only about 40 are regularly marked on maps) of the Torres Strait Islands area.

![Figure 1: Continent of Australia.](image1.png)

The Torres Strait Islands region (Figure 2.) covers about 48,000 square kilometres within a 150 kilometre wide area between Cape York in North Queensland and Papua New Guinea. The Commonwealth of Australia also has control over some areas of land that are well offshore including Norfolk Island, Lord Howe Island and Christmas Island as well as designated territory in Antarctica.

![Figure 2: Torres Strait Islands Region.](image2.png)
The Aboriginal peoples of Australia are considered to represent one of the oldest continuous cultures in the world with estimates for mainland Aboriginal Australians and Tasmanians ranging between 40-60 thousand years or more before present (BP) time. At the time of European colonisation in 1788 it is generally believed that there were around 250 distinct language groups (making up culturally and linguistically diverse societies) in mainland Australia with around 700 dialects. The cultures were based on oral traditions and were male elder dominated. Aboriginal cultures had strong hunter-gatherer traditions (but not exclusively) and always had great respect and care for the natural environment.

Torres Strait Islander people are generally believed to have originally travelled down from coastal and Fly River regions of Papua New Guinea. There has been regular contact between Papuan people and Aboriginal people for at least the last few thousand years. Some authorities have provided evidence of sustained settlement in the Torres Strait area for possibly 2,000-4,000 years BP time.

The total population of the Australian continent at the time of European colonisation has variously been estimated at numbering between 250,000 and 750,000 – with some general agreement of a fairly static total of 300,000 to 400,000 people. The largest populations were in coastal and riverine Australia, particularly along the east coast and throughout the Murray-Darling basin. Estimates for the population of Torres Strait Islanders at the same time were of approximately 4000-5000 people. About 5000-7000 people were believed to have lived in Tasmania.

The present population of Australia is just under 23 million. Almost 545,000 people have identified themselves as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin – this is just 2.3% of the total Australian population. Of the people who identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander 90% are Aboriginal, 6% are Torres Strait Islander and 4% identify as having both an Aboriginal and a Torres Strait Islander background.

**Terminology**

The term *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* is used to denote Indigenous Australians. It should be acknowledged though that there are regional terms that are used to recognise the continued existence of Indigenous peoples in Australia.

Although ‘Aboriginal’ was the preferred general term recommended by the now defunct Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) many Aboriginal people believe that the term carries a great deal of ‘cultural baggage’. Many Aboriginal people prefer to use their own local terms. For example, *Koori* (most of New South Wales and Victoria), *Murri* (most of south and central Queensland), *Bama* (north Queensland), *Nyoongah* (around Perth), *Mulba* (in the Pilbara region) and *Nunga* (southern South Australia) are some of the preferred terms around Australia.

*Torres Strait Islander people* is commonly used to refer to the culturally distinct people of the Torres Strait Islands but many of these people identify with a particular island, village and/or family name.
String Figures Overview

An important distinction must be made between cat’s cradles and string figures. The former are essentially simple designs; begun with distinctive opening manipulations, and executed by two players who take a figure from each other’s hands alternately and develop it into the next one in a series. They are best known in Europe and Asia, and rarely where string figures proper are practised.

String figures, on the other hand, are produced chiefly by the manipulations of the string by co-ordinated movements of the fingers of both hands, assisted by the teeth, neck, elbows, knees and toes when necessary. Some figures are made by two persons, others by three or four. Most of the figures are single, static designs displayed as finished examples of skill, or for a ritual, magical or social purpose. A minority belongs to a series of from two to five or more distinct designs, which may become more complex as the series progresses between two operators. The designs may be changed by repetition or variation of string manipulations. The basic opening movements employed, the greater variety of string manipulations and extensions of the figure at various stages of its development, and the function of string figures in primitive societies, all serve to distinguish them as a more serious and more difficult pastime than cat’s cradles.


Some relevant points and/or concepts:

- string figure games are played by manipulating string (in a loop)
- playing of string games, either singly or with groups of players, was a commonly recorded activity in traditional play cultures
- can involve successive hand, finger, teeth, arm, feet and single or multiple-person manipulations
- may be associated with cultural events or social events (e.g., played in one area by young women pregnant with their first child) and might include connection with special songs or religious activities
- dexterity (adroitness with the hands and sometime also the feet) was a feature
- often undertaken as a ‘fill-in-time’ activity
- can be age, gender, season etc. specific [usually string games were played by girls and women though in some areas men and boys also played them]
- similar or the same string figure designs were often associated with different levels of meaning, traditions or cultural significance in different geographical areas
- activities were often associated with the opportunity to exchange ideas/knowledge or communicate and have fun with others [related to communal meetings and inter-group exchanges]
- the number and types of string figures performed varied between cultural groups
- string figure designs often represented animals and people, or abstract ideas such as the forces of nature

Some examples:

- cat’s cradle/string games/string tricks for amusement and cultural aspects may have ritual, magical and mystical qualities and/or social purposes involving one, two or more people (e.g., making shapes to represent totem animals; part of storytelling associated with religious beliefs)
- playing with string made of bark fibre, sinew etc. to create designs for fun or decoration
- string figures were performed to display skill at performing stunts or tricks or to depict plants, wildlife etc.
- string figures may be associated with other activities (e.g., singing songs and making string figures)
- inventing or developing new string games may be undertaken [as people played the string games designs might change quickly from one design to another]
Various Accounts of String Figures

String games have been investigated and described by various people over time and there are a number of string figures in the collections of the various museums around Australia and overseas. The accounts presented below are a selection from the available information on string figures.

7. String Figures and Tricks.
String figures, womé (W.), kamut (E.), allied to our cat’s-cradle, are universally played by the children and sometimes by adults, but it seems to be dying out. Usually one person plays it alone, in some cases using the toes as well as the fingers, and often bringing the mouth into requisition. The patterns are very varied, and many are extremely complicated in manipulation although the final result may be simple. They are all intended to be realistic; in some cases the object represented is obvious, in others the imagination must be called into play, but other natives invariably recognise them and different islanders make the same figures. There are a large number of undescribed figures in addition to those described below, among which may be mentioned; one child; two children; a woman micturating; coition; a dog; crow korkor (W.); the pearku fish; a small fish, zermoi (W.), which accompanies sharks; a crayfish, kaiar (W.); the pearku fish; a small fish, zermoi (W.), which accompanies sharks; a crayfish, kaiar (W.); the larva of the ant-lion, gobai (W.); a mouth gud (W.); liana or other climber, ngal ngal (W.). The names of the various islands are given where we obtained the figures, but doubtless they occur everywhere in the Straits.

# string games and tricks; * Torres Strait Islands; (Code To).

Macdonald Downs, Aug-Sept 1930.
... her tracks passing too close to the men’s day camp. About 100 yards seems to be the average distance apart of the men and women’s day camps. At night the day camps split up; each family repairs to a separate encampment always on the hill tops among the stones. The camps are low stone circles or breakwinds and each is situated about 50 yards from its nearest neighbour. A brush breakwind usually is added to protect the occupants from south-east winds.

The native girls have very few string games and the only definite one we were able to discover was one called the yam.

# string figures; games; * south east South Australia; (Code C); (Code L).

Children of all lands have games peculiar to their country, but a few games are played by all, civilised and uncivilised. Cat’s-cradle, hide and seek, and marbles are to be found everywhere, in all parts of the world.

Aboriginal children in Central Australia have many varieties of cat's-cradle, so called by English children, but some arrangements of their own, such as the hut, or shelter of boughs, emu's feet, kangaroo's feet, turkey's feet, and other objects that can be suggested by the use of string. Then there is guessing as to what is the object represented.

The games are taught to them by their mothers and elder sisters. But clever boys and girls will produce something new in the string game, and their companions will gather round until they have mastered it. Each combination of the strings has its special name, and they find great fun while the game lasts.

# string figures; games; * south west Australia; (Code W).
So the wirlkul began to dance, to hinder the Snake's progress. She moved gracefully, shuffling her feet, swaying her body from side to side, and holding in her hands feathered string from which she made cats-cradles as she danced.


# string games; * Roper River; North Australia; (Code N).

**An excursion to Western Port Victoria.**

This morning we observed that they practised some little amusements among themselves, and some were playing with a puzzle made of string - "cudgi, cudgick" – made from the fibre of a tree (*Sida pulchella*) common on the banks of the Yarra. This puzzle was played between two individuals, and required two pairs of hands, in the same manner as the juvenile game of "cats cradle," common to our own country.

Bunce, Daniel. *Australasiatic Reminiscences of Twenty-Three Years' Wanderings in Tasmania and the Australias: including travels with Dr. Leichhardt in north or tropical Australia*. J.T. Hendy, Melbourne, Vic., 1857: 75.

# string figure - [cudgi]; * Victoria; (Code S).

**Meeroo-meeroo. string games.** were played all over the State. Cat's cradle, in which the devices were far more intricate than in the European game; imitations of animals' and birds' feet and many other most ingenious designs were reproduced with fur, fibre or spinifex string.

Cat's cradle, guessing and many other games familiar to European children were played by the young aborigines, all over the State ...36/100

String puzzles are another species of amusement with them. In these a European would be surprised to see the ingenuity they display and the varied and singular figures which they produce.

Perfect representations of emu’s feet, kangaroos and other animals have been made from a piece of string by Jubyche, the Guildford native, and many intricacies in what is known as "cat’s cradle" amongst English children. 36/114


# string games; * Western Australia; (Code W).

In regard to these cat's cradles collected from Naju Karadyeri natives, certain informants stated that they were not originally a part of Karadyeri culture, but were learnt from white men and Malays on luggers along the coast. In no case, however, could I find any informant who had not learnt the cat's cradles from another aborigine. The only means of determining whether these figures really belong to the Karadyeri or not, is by collecting figures from neighbouring tribes and from the Naju and Naurdu sub-tribes.

Piddington, Ralph. *Karadyeri Report. Personal archives of Professor A.P. Elkin 1904-1975. Series 1, box 240, item 104. Elkin Collection, University of Sydney Archives, Sydney, N.S.W., 197-

# string figures; * Australia.

**Slide 46. Learning String Games.**

Aboriginal children learn many skills through games. Here Francis Bunbujee and her grandson play a string game that Francis learnt as a child. String games such as cat's cradle were played on Mornington in traditional times.


# string games; * Mornington Island; Queensland; (Code G).
Traditional String Figures from Saibai Island, Torres Strait.
Performed by Francis Abai born 1932 and Kala Waia, born 1926, from Saibai.

Once a very popular pastime on the Torres Strait Islands string figures (Western Island “wame”; Eastern Islands “kamu t”) have become exceedingly rare. During my field work on the islands I still could record on tapes a few little songs and ditties which formerly accompanied the string-figures but the actual performance of “wame” I could only witness on the islands of Saibai and Dauan the latter being to a considerable extent “colonised” from the Saibai shortly before the turn of the century. The string figures on both islands therefore are the same.

Doing mainly musical recording I had stayed on Saibai for some time until I asked people to sing some “wame” songs for my musical collection. Only then a few youngsters started also performing them to show me what the figures looked like. The song of which I had recorded.

On Murray Island, in the eastern group, where traditions generally still are so well remembered, I could obtain a number of “kamut wed” or string figure songs but even elderly people could not show the figures anymore. On the rest of the Torres Strait Islands the knowledge of this game is practically lost.


# string games; stories; singing games; * Torres Strait Islands; (Code To).

A series of motion pictures was taken illustrating phases of ceremonial and domestic life. This method of record was particularly valuable in studying native string games, called cat's cradles. A remarkable series of games was recorded and over 50 different string figures were preserved.

Davies, E.H. 'Recent Expedition from the University of Adelaide to Central Australia'. The Telegraph (Brisbane), 20 November 1929: 14.

# Central Australia; (Code C).

Full of fun and laughter, the kids quickly fell into the spirit of the thing. We photographed them paddling their tiny dugout canoes through rough water, playing their complicated string games, building odd figures in the sand or staging their childish ceremonies, spearing fish or bathing in the creek.


# string games; * Arnhem Land; Groote Eylandt; Gulf of Carpentaria; Yirrkala; Oenpelli; Umbakumba; <Pitjantjatjara>; (Code N); (Code G).

"Kundiwa arose from the ground, and the children danced around him, in glee, because they loved his stories, and he was always so willing to tell them. Apart from this, he was the finest maker of toys in the tribe, and he had taught them many of the string games, which they loved to play."


# stories; string games; * Australia.
A very important game in Australia is cat's cradle. It was recorded in Victoria more than fifty years ago; we may therefore assume that it is indigenous and not imported by white men. In the Torres Straits Islands it is equally well known, and many of the figures were certainly of native origin. Where cat's cradle was invented, and whether it was invented in more than one place, is unknown, but it is found at many places where there is no reason to suspect the white man of having introduced it. In some districts of North Queensland, where it is universally known, it is a man's game; but more often it is the especial sport of the women and children. Some of the figures are extremely complicated, requiring three pairs of hands in the process of manufacture, and going through eight or nine stages before they are complete; in other cases the mouth, hands, and knees of the player are enlisted. One simple but ingenious figure represents a man climbing a tree; a loop passes round the knee, the top end of the figure being held by the fingers of both hands close together, so that the long strings from the knee to the fingers are parallel. After passing the fingers the strings cross one another, pass outside the outer strings, re-enter, and pass outside the outer strings again, the last loop being of such a length that there is no slack between the fingers. By raising the hands gradually the lower loop, which represents the man, is made to slide up the outer strings, giving a moveable figure, suggestive of a man climbing a tree. More complicated, and requiring two hands, are the figures of the turtle and tortoise, showing the scales on their back. Anyone who wishes to study the game as played in Australia will find all the figures reproduced in Dr. Roth's Bulletin No.4; but unfortunately we are left in the dark as to the stages by which the final result is reached.

# Australia.

As well as aids for the preservation of some of their legends, aborigines use string games to illustrate their discussions about, for example, hunting, or merely for entertainment. Some aborigines know hundreds of string games.

# string games; * Australia; Papua New Guinea.
Prof. Daniel Davidson and Frederick McCarthy

Some consideration was given to providing a detailed annotated bibliography but due to the enormity of this task it was decided to opt only for a listing of various sources of information.

Despite the bibliography not attempting to outline each entry in detail it is worthwhile to provide some mention of two published works on string figures in Australia. The most comprehensive work undertaken on the string figures in Australia is the work of Prof. Daniel Davidson. In 1941 Davidson made a complete record of designs and techniques in Western Australia and the Northern Territory and published a survey of those known in Australia. The full reference to this work is:

Davidson, Daniel Sutherland. 'Aboriginal Australian String Figures'. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 84, no. 6, 1941 (Aug.): 763-904.

In work undertaken in 1948 Frederick McCarthy estimated that Aboriginal Australians demonstrated approximately one third of all string figures known in the world. His work was published as:


A National Library of Australia catalogue record of the work of McCarthy has outlined:

An excellent record and analysis of an assemblage of string figures, collected, mounted and preserved by the author, during an expedition to Arnhem Land in 1948. Most of the figures were made by a young woman, Narau, some invented by her, many replicated from diagrams from other sources (Davidson, 1941), and performed repeatedly in order to remove question of random chance. Some of the figures are very complicated, requiring up to fifty manipulations to accomplish. The collection is held at the Australian Museum in Sydney. A selection of the figures is on display, as part of the permanent Aboriginal exhibition. The article features chapters on string used and manipulations employed in making the figures, characteristics of the figures and their naming, comparisons with figures from other regions, socio-magical regulations and the mythological origin of string figures in Australia. Contains geographical references, references to other sources, bibliography and index. Features instructions and line drawings of completed figures. Important not only for string figure enthusiasts, but also in the general ethnographic discourse.
Bibliography Overview

The bibliography presented is designed to provide a comprehensive outline of sources of available information related to string figures of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. It is recognised that there may be errors and omissions and it should be seen as a work in progress despite an attempt to be as accurate as possible.

The entries in the bibliography provide both primary and secondary sources and the information ranges from passing or brief references to much more detailed descriptions.

Sections of the Bibliography

The information reviewed included a large amount of written material, information gained from interviews, films, photos and information about toy and plaything artefacts. The information collected has been organised under various sections:

- **WRITTEN MATERIALS**
- **ARTEFACTS**
- **ARTWORK**
- **FILMS**
- **PHOTOGRAPHS**
- **SOUND**

  - **WRITTEN MATERIALS**
    This section includes books, book sections, manuscripts, reports, booklets, journal articles and other scholarly work such as theses, newspaper and magazine articles. The different types of work have not been sub-divided into different areas.

  - **ARTEFACTS**
    Most of the entries in this section are concerned with artefacts which have been identified as toys and playthings related to string figures.

  - **ARTWORK**
    Examples of original artwork and relevant artistic depictions were identified and entered either under written materials or as a separate entry (as in the case of individual pieces of artwork within manuscript collections).

  - **FILMS**
    There are a number of films wholly about string figures or films that contain parts dealing with string figures. This section outlines the films that have been identified as being associated with string figures.

  - **PHOTOGRAPHS**
    This section outlines slides and photographs which are related to string figures. Not all slides and photographs that were researched are recorded individually.

  - **SOUND**
    The sound recording of interviews and string figure songs relies to a large extent on the listings available in the AIATSIS (Canberra) catalogue along with a few other sources.
Scope of the Bibliography

The format style for the presentation of this bibliography is largely based on the AGPS system with the place of publication and the year of publication as the final pieces of information. This is the general requirement within History Departments at some Australian universities. There are a couple of minor modifications used in this particular bibliography which are intended to make for greater consistency and clarity.

- Standard reference entries:
The references are listed by author, title, publisher, place and year, page number(s) – if applicable. For example,


Roth, Walter E. 'Cat's Cradle' - *Report to the Commissioner of Police by Walter E. Roth*. 6 June 1898. Queensland Home Secretary's Department, Office of the Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Cooktown, Queensland, 1898.

Coding System

Additional information and designations for each reference through a coding system was used to make the entries clearer and potentially more useful. For example,


# Central Australia; <Walbiri>; (Code C).

The coding system adopted attempts to identify each entry in relation to geographic location, people or group and a cultural area. For example:

# Central Australia; <Walbiri>; (Code C).

A conscientious attempt has been made to ensure a high degree of consistency. Even so, it is recognised that there may be inaccuracies in the keyword or coded description for some of the entries. However, this is not seen as detracting from the overall purpose and usefulness of the coding system used in the bibliography.

- Geographic location

The intention of this coding aspect was to refer an entry to an identified area where the information was recorded. Often the spelling in the original source has been used but in several references the designated areas have names which make it difficult to identify based on current place names. An entry example:

* Richmond River; New South Wales;
People or Group
Based on information available an attempt has been made in some of the entries to identify a particular people or group. In most cases this can be difficult to do for various historical or recording reasons. An entry example for this area:

<Pitjantjatjara>

Cultural Areas
Although there were significant differences between the various societies found in Australia there was some degree of commonality in some cultural practices based on geographical or other factors.

When there was sufficient information available an attempt was made to indicate a cultural area. The designation of cultural areas was based on a system adopted by museums around Australia in the 1980s to assist with organising artefacts in their collections. Although there has been further revision of the work on cultural areas for the purposes of this bibliography the coding presented is quite useful.

The Australian continent is divided into the following cultural areas:

![Cultural Areas of Australia](Figure 3: Cultural Areas of Australia: Area A: Western Australia; Area C: Central Australia; Area D: Darling; Area E: East Coast; Area G: North-West Queensland; Area K: Kimberley; Area N: Northern Australia; Area S: Southern Australia; Area TAS: Tasmania; Area To: Torres Strait; Area W: West Australia; Area Y: Cape York. As an example of cultural areas the entry of (Code C) refers to information identified as relevant to parts of Central Australia. (Code C). It is conceded that in many cases the designation of a cultural area is sometimes arbitrary due to inaccurate information available. Usually in cases of doubt there will often be an entry of a general area (such as northern Australia), a state (such as New South Wales) or even Australia might be used where there is little else to indicate a general location.
Bibliography References

Examples of references within the different sections of the bibliography:

- **WRITTEN MATERIALS**
  Lawrie, Margaret. Abi, Francis and Wala, Kala: "Sign language of Saibai Island, Torres Strait". Abai and Wala, Kala: "String figures of Saibai Island, Torres Strait". Annotated by Margaret Lawrie <typescript: TR1791/77>. The Margaret Lawrie Collection of Torres Strait Island Resources. John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Brisbane, Qld., 1966.
  
  # Saibai Island; Torres Strait; (Code To).

  
  # Central Australia; <Aranda>; <Dieri>; (Code C).

- **ARTEFACTS**
  
  # Australia.

- **ARTWORK**
  Roth, Walter E. 11 plates of string figure diagrams, drawn by W.A. Roth in ink. <manuscript: Series 40, Box 1, Bundle 1>. Papers of Walter E. Roth 1898-1904. Australian Museum, Sydney, N.S.W., 1898.
  
  # North Queensland; (Code Y).

- **FILMS**
  Sandall, Roger and Laade, Wolfgang (advisor). Wame: Traditional String Figures from Saibai Island, Torres Strait <film:LF0010 (film), LV3457.02 (video copy)>. Production, AIAS Film Unit, AIATSIS, Canberra, A.C.T., 1964.
  
  # Saibai Island; Torres Strait; (Code To).

- **PHOTOGRAPHS**
  
  # New South Wales; Australia.

- **SOUND**
  
  # Torres Straits; (Code To).
General Comments on the Bibliography

Terminology
It is recognised that many of the written materials in the bibliography include the use of words that are now considered inappropriate. It should also be noted that some of these 'offensive' words appear in the title of entries in the bibliography.

Without highlighting these words and terms it should be remembered that as a matter of respect and courtesy they should be avoided or only used in a qualified way. In some cases they should only be used if they appear in quotations or are used by an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person.

Reliability of Information
It has already been acknowledged that in many entries in the bibliography the points of view or depictions are not reliable or accurate. A good deal of the information reflects the attitudes of a historical period or the experience or background of individuals in a particular context. Any person using references should be aware of selectively using information from them to support a particular point of view.

Cultural sensitivity
A significant proportion of the information presented within the entries refers to people who have died and therefore some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people may find it distressing. Additionally, some of the entries included in the bibliography outline practices and personal information which could be disturbing or could cause anger to some readers. Care should be taken when using all cultural information to acknowledge and respect the traditional owners of that knowledge.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander 'voice'
A concerted efforts was made to seek an 'Indigenous voice' to the information presented by using traditional stories, personal interviews, visits to sites and places and an extensive review of information. In recent years books by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island authors have appeared and these were reviewed for information.
WRITTEN MATERIALS

'[Abstract of Presidential Address at the late Hobart Science Congress] North Queensland Aboriginals: Games, Sports and Amusements. By Dr. Roth, Protector of Aboriginals Queensland'. The Observer (Adelaide), 1 March 1902: 36.
# North Queensland; Torres Strait Islands; (Code Y); (Code To); (Code E).

'Black Children's Games'. The Register (Adelaide), 22 May 1902.
# Queensland; (Code E); (Code Y).

'Ethnology: Black Children's Games'. The Observer (Adelaide), 31 May 1902: 3B.
# Queensland; (Code E).

'Native totems and symbols'. The Advertiser (Adelaide), 24 August 1929: 17.
# Adelaide; (Code L).

# Torres Strait Islands; (Code To).

# Atherton; North Queensland; (Code Y).

# Northern Australia.

"Jay Penne". 'Games and Pastimes of the Aborigines'. The West Australian (Perth), 26 July 1913: 12.
# Australia.

# Torres Strait Islands; (Code To).

# Lake Eyre; Eastern Australia; Western Queensland; (Code L); (Code E).

# Australia.

# Australia; Papua New Guinea.

# Yirrkala; Northern Territory; (Code N).

# Torres Strait Islands; (Code To).

# Hunter Region; New South Wales; (Code E).

[Inner City Education Centre]. Primary Perspectives: Aboriginal Studies: ideas for the classroom. Inner City Education Centre, Stanmore, N.S.W., 1987.
# New South Wales; (Code D); (Code E).

[International String Figure Association]. 'Henry Rishbeth & Family, Southampton, England'. ISFA News: The Official Newsletter of the International String Figure Association, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996 (Oct.).
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Conclusion

The bibliography outlined has sought to highlight the string figures of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples from before the arrival of Europeans to the present time. It is hoped that the presentation of this information may fill many of the gaps in the knowledge about sources of information that those interested in string figures in Australia may have and also provide the opportunity for further investigation.

Although designed to be comprehensive the bibliography does not seek to provide any comment on the accuracy of the information included within each of the entries.
String Figure Bibliography of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples