Following indigenous protocols of recognizing the lands' original inhabitants, I would like to begin by acknowledging the Tongva peoples, whose lands in the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands I have lived on not only during the development of this article, but through-out my life and education. I pay my respects to Honuukvetam (Ancestors), 'Ahiihirom (Elders), and 'eyoohiinkem (our relatives/relations) past, present, and emerging.

In the spring of 2017, I boarded a plane to attend my grandfather's funeral and visit my maternal family on Oahu for the first time in ten years. The trip was bittersweet, a mourning occasion that nevertheless offered an opportunity to reconnect with family – an opportunity I had grown to yearn for as I reflected on both mortality and my ignorance of our cultural heritage and history. For although I grew up knowing that I was Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) on my mother's side, I was born in Los Angeles and had not learned much beyond the most basic of facts. Like David A. Chang (2016), I am he malihini maoli, "a Native stranger" born far from the shores of Hawai'i and raised with limited contact with Kanaka Maoli communities (xvi–xvii).

Returning to Los Angeles with a small collection of books that my grandmother allowed me to take from her personal library, I began to work toward addressing my own ignorance, starting with a copy of *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* by Queen Lili'uokalani. This autobiographical narrative includes Queen Lili'uokalani's testimony regarding the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i by primarily United States citizens and an appeal for justice. As I read this account, I reflected on historic and contemporary attempts to silence Kanaka Maoli voices, Kanaka Maoli resistance in the face of historic and ongoing injustices, and the general apathy and ignorance most Americans demonstrate regarding the destructive effects of settler colonialism. Continuing my studies through conversations with family, the writing of Kanaka Maoli scholars, and explorations of Hawaiian history, I began to more fully understand myself and my family history. For the first time, I saw my own identity not as a misshapen puzzle piece that could not quite fit, but as part of a bigger picture encompassing multiple generations and hundreds of years of history.

In the fall of 2017, I began my graduate work in Library and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles.

There, I began to more thoroughly explore and understand settler colonialism in a broader sense, the particularities of its impact on other indigenous peoples, and the implications of imperialist legacies for how indigenous individuals and communities interact with and access archival collections relating to themselves and their histories. During this time period, I also discovered the Dole Family Papers collection that is held by the Huntington Library, Art Collection, and Botanical Gardens, which I felt compelled to investigate considering my ongoing studies of both Hawaiian history and archival theory.

Numerous members of the Dole family and their activities contributed to the physical and cultural destruction that accompanied the process of U.S. settler colonialism in the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Perhaps the most widely recognized is James Dole, famously known for Dole brand pineapple. However, it was Sanford B. Dole, James' cousin, who played the most politically significant role in the destruction of Hawai'i's sovereignty—first as president of the Republic of Hawai'i from 1894 to 1900 and then as the first governor of the Territory of Hawai'i from 1900 to 1903. Having begun my studies of Hawaiian history with the 1893 overthrow, I was most intent on continuing to examine this time period and learn more about Sanford B. Dole's role in it. Since the finding aid for the Dole Family Papers indicated a high volume of material relating to Sanford B. Dole, along with Queen Lili'uokalani and the 1893 overthrow, my research and discussion focuses on these figures and the ways they are represented within the archival sources. [1]

In the pages that follow, I discuss my research with the Dole Family Papers at the Huntington Library and argue that the Papers' positioning within an elite institution that strictly regulates access to collections vitiates their capacity to evidence injustice and speak to historic and ongoing issues of colonization that Kānaka Maoli face. Drawing on the works of archival professionals and Kanaka Maoli scholars alike, I make recommendations for how the Papers could be utilized to contribute to a digital archive of linked resources that would support decolonizing aims and better serve Kanaka Maoli communities. Such a digital archive would evidence United

[1] In an archival context, the term "finding aid" refers to a tool the purposes of which include facilitating access to a collection and contextualizing the materials contained within (Pearce-Moses, 2005).

States imperialism and its effects on Kānaka Maoli, demonstrate indigenous resistance and survival, and disrupt hegemonic narratives of Hawaiian history that support settler futurity in Hawai'i.

Decolonizing Archives

Archives and other collecting institutions have and often continue to play a significant role in imperialist processes, contributing to the classification and study of Indigenous peoples, the forced separation of heritage materials from source communities, and the perception of Indigenous peoples as dying out or extinct (O'Neal, 2015, pp. 4–7). These historical processes have carried on into the present, contributing to the invisibility of numerous Indigenous issues and further denying Indigenous claims to self-determination, cultural survival, and social justice. In the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012):

> It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our own environments.

In order to redress historic and ongoing processes of settler colonialism, imperialism, and injustice, scholars and activists alike have advocated for a process of decolonization in order to restore Indigenous sovereignty, self-determination, and modes of being and living in the world. Within archival contexts, decolonization is enacted through a range of methods including repatriation of materials, digitization projects, and increased collaboration between collecting institutions and indigenous communities. In this section, I conduct a review of some of this literature aimed at decolonizing archives to contextualize my later discussion of the Dole Family Papers and to inform my recommendations for utilizing the collection to create a digital

archive that could better serve the needs of Kanaka Maoli communities.

While the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) enacted in 1990 provides a legal framework for addressing issues of repatriation for cultural artifacts, there has not been a similar legal framework for addressing the same issues in archival contexts. The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials, first drafted in 2007, work to fill this gap by identifying best practices for culturally responsive care of Native American archival materials and for developing mutually respectful, sustainable relationships between archival institutions and Native American communities. The following major issues inform the protocols:

- The recognition of the sovereign governments and associated rights of Native American communities.
- Issues in the collection, ownership, preservation, handling, access, and use of American Indian archival resources.
- The importance of building relationships, balancing different approaches to knowledge management, and mutual respect.
- The need to expand the nature of the information professions to include Native American perspectives and knowledge. (First Archivists Circle, 2007)

The Protocols themselves elaborate on the various conceptual tools and strategies necessary for providing more culturally responsive care for Native American archival materials, including the need to strive for balance in content and perspective, issues of accessibility and use, and the need for context. Archivists must strive for diversity in collections by including resources created by rather than solely about Native Americans, by providing Native American communities with increased access and control over their information resources, and by contextualizing resources using appropriate language and additional information (First Archivist Circle, 2007). Although professional communities have been slow to accept the Protocols, the Society for American Archivists' long overdue endorsement in August 2018 indicates a growing awareness of the need for professional best practices for more culturally responsive care of Native American archival materials (Society of American Archivists, 2018).

While the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials present a broad set of best practices for decolonizing archives, many works by other archival professionals and theorists demonstrate how decolonizing principles and methods may be implemented in more specific projects and contexts. One major recurring theme is the potential of digital technologies and digitization projects to provide enhanced access to archival sources for indigenous communities.

McKemmish, Faulkhead, and Russell (2011) discuss their work with the Trust and Technology project and the utilization of reconciled research, which they define as a methodology emphasizing the importance of research as a collaborative, co-creative journey producing knowledge accessible to a broader audience rather than a narrower, academic one (p. 220). One high-priority need they discovered was that of having opportunities to disrupt hegemonic historical narratives expressed within archives. Indigenous research participants wanted to challenge the contents of "official" archives and "set the record straight" by incorporating their own narratives into archival systems (pp. 223–224). One outcome of this research was the proposition of system specifications for a Koorie Annotation System, which would link web-based digital records generated by Indigenous individuals, families, and communities to separate systems housing records available for annotation. This proposed use of web-based technology will allow for the creation of a shared space in which archival institutions and Koorie communities and individuals may work collaboratively to create a more equitable digital archive (pp. 232–233). Thus, McKemmish et al. demonstrate how decolonizing methodologies and digital technologies may be utilized to enact the decolonization of archival materials.

Ellen Cushman (2013) also discusses the use of decolonizing methods and digital technologies, but within the context of the *Cherokee Stories and Songs* DVD. While Cushman (2013) acknowledges that the possibilities presented by digital archives have captured the imagination of scholars for good reason, she also cautions that care must be taken in order to create decolonized digital archives rather than digital archives that reproduce the colonial power structures that have been and are present in most physical archives (pp. 115–117). Through analysis of a digital story presented on the *Cherokee Stories and*

Songs DVD, Cushman identifies both the advantages and drawbacks of digital archives and the requirements necessary for producing decolonized digital archives. These requirements include challenging Western understandings of time as a necessary support for tradition, maintaining artifacts in their contexts of use and meaning, and the centering of indigenous languages (pp. 120–121). These methods serve to challenge and negate imperialist thought and its influence on archival practices, both past and present. Cushman concludes:

> Digital archives can strive to escape the imperialist legacies on which they are built through being created and maintained by the very people they hope to represent. If this is done, the archive might become a place-based learning center where knowledge unfolds through stories told in and on the people's terms. (p. 132)

As with McKemmish et al. (2011), Cushman demonstrates the possibility of producing decolonized digital archives. Digital technologies present new opportunities for generating and re-presenting information, while allowing it to be disseminated to broader audiences. Moreover, the literature on decolonizing methodologies demonstrates that decolonization is not simply about the *how* of carrying out the process, but the *who* of decision making. Through community involvement, digital archives may present unique opportunities for Indigenous communities to reframe archival and historical narratives in and on their own terms.

Thus, although the colonial nature of many archival collections represents both historic and ongoing injustices, a significant and growing body of work on the possibilities for decolonizing archives create new opportunities and possibilities to envision and realize a more equitable way of approaching archival work. Documents such as the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials contribute to these efforts through setting new best practices that emphasize collaboration and respectful relationships between collecting institutions and source communities. Case studies, such as those presented by Cushman and by McKemmish et al., demonstrate methods for applying new best practices to working realities, as well as additional considerations for the creation of digital archives and

systems. These works will contextualize my later discussion of the Dole Family Papers and inform my recommendations for utilizing the collection to create a digital archive that could better serve the needs of Kanaka Maoli communities.

Erasures of Kanaka Maoli Identity

In 1893, a primarily American group of insurgents, with support from United States Minister John L. Stevens and U.S. troops, overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai'i and its constitutional monarch, Queen Lili'uokalani. Sanford B. Dole became the first and only president of the Republic of Hawai'i, until the United States of America illegally annexed Hawai'i as a territory in 1898 (Sai, 2008). Sanford B. Dole remained in a position of power as the governor of the territory of Hawai'i until 1903. On August 12, 1959, Hawai'i became the fiftieth state in the United States of America. It was not until a hundred years after the American-led coup d'état that the United States government passed a joint resolution, popularly known as the Apology Resolution (1993), formally acknowledging the role of American agents and citizens in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i on January 17, 1893.

Tragically, but unsurprisingly, this formal recognition has not been accompanied with a robust program of action for redressing these historic injustices. To the contrary, the United States government and many of its citizens have continued efforts to erode the rights of Kānaka Maoli to self-determination and recognition as a distinct group of people whose sovereignty was forcibly taken from them – a group of people to whom justice is due. In this section, I conduct a review of some of the literature which discusses various forms of the erasure and marginalization of Kanaka Maoli history, identities, and communities. This review contributes additional context to my discussion of the Dole Family Papers and informs my recommendations for utilizing the collection to create a digital archive utilizing decolonizing methods.

For example, the tourist industry has major political implications for Kānaka Maoli and for any attempts at meaningful discussion of Hawaiian history. Lisa Kahaleole Hall (2005) points to the cultural distortions imposed on Hawaiian culture by global marketing and to the kitsch culture caused by overexposure in the tourist market. The conception of Hawai'i as a touristic

paradise, a place to escape to for the aloha culture, sun and sand, and tacky souvenirs, leaves little room for recognition of the historic and continuing injustices committed against the land and its people. As Hall so powerfully asserts, “A culture without dignity cannot be conceived of as having sovereign rights, and the repeated marketing of kitsch Hawaiian-ness leads to non-Hawaiians’ misunderstanding and degradation of Hawaiian culture and history” (p. 409). This misunderstanding and degradation preclude deeper discussion of the history of settler colonialism in Hawai’i, its lasting impact into the present, and how these issues may be redressed.

Like touristic consumers, members of the educated elite may also contribute to prevailing narratives that prevent Kānaka Maoli from being recognized as a unique Indigenous people seeking to assert their sovereignty rights. Cynthia Franklin and Laura Lyons (2004) critique postcolonial scholars for their roles in reinforcing both the view of Native Hawaiians as yet another multicultural American identity and the false dichotomy of authentic and Indigenous versus inauthentic and hybrid. One example of this occurrence can be understood through looking to the inadequacies of post-national formulations for analyzing Indigenous contexts. The blanket vilification of nationalism and understanding of Indigenous nationalist movements as inherently atavistic mean that, “claims on the part of Native Hawaiians to land or identity are read as attempts to return to an irretrievable past, rather than as contemporary responses to historical injustices and continuing dispossession” (pp. 52–53). Similarly, postcolonial views on the tendency toward hybrid Kanaka Maoli identities tend not to accommodate authenticity, the uniqueness of Indigeneity, and the ability to hold multiple identities at once. Many of the postcolonial scholars Franklin and Lyons critique fall into one of two categories: those who engage in creating false binaries between the Indigenous and the hybrid and those who conflate the two with one another. These intellectual frameworks are as two edges of the same sword that cuts Kānaka Maoli off from being recognized as an often multiethnic, yet still unique indigenous people who maintain sovereignty rights and who do indeed inhabit and adapt to the modern world.

Another barrier to the recognition of Kānaka Maoli and their sovereignty rights arises from the erasure of off-island

Kanaka Maoli identities. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (2007) writes on the Kanaka Maoli diaspora, the multi-faceted causes of Kanaka Maoli deracination, and the implications these socially destructive processes have for them as a people. Kauanui argues that this process is related to three linked factors: (a) the invisibility of off-island Hawaiians to each other, to Hawaiians in Hawai'i, and to non-Hawaiians; (b) the appropriation of Hawaiian identity by non-Hawaiians, especially those who were born in or lived in Hawai'i; and (c) the notion that Hawai'i is so ethnically mixed, Kānaka Maoli have become just one more ethnic minority among many (p. 139). The first factor requires a little unpacking in order to understand its scope. While many Kānaka Maoli do live in Hawai'i, at least a third are geographically dispersed outside of their ancestral homeland, due to a variety of factors that include economic hardship, lack of employment opportunities in Hawai'i, civil rights abuses, and the United States government's refusal to recognize Hawaiian sovereignty. Despite the historic and continuing presence of Kānaka Maoli in the continental United States, these diaspora communities tend to be under- and unrecognized. This is due in large part to the second factor that Kauanui discusses, the appropriation of Hawaiian identity and the equating of residence in the state with Indigenous identity. Kauanui observes, "Those who misrepresent themselves as Hawaiians perpetrate a form of fraud, while Hawaiians who do not learn hula or speak Hawaiian, for example, are rendered unreal. Apparently for those that demand a performance, simply *being* Hawaiian is insufficient" (p. 154).

I can personally attest to this phenomenon based on my experience as a young Kanaka Maoli woman growing up in Los Angeles. Discussing this facet of my identity with other people was always an unsettling experience, since the first assumption most made was that identifying as Hawaiian must mean I was from the state of Hawai'i. This led to the growing awareness on my part that because I was not born in the state of Hawai'i, I must not be a "real" Hawaiian, and that non-indigenous residents of the state of Hawai'i could more readily claim Hawaiian identity than I could. This erasure of off-island Kanaka Maoli individuals and communities makes us seem less numerous, more like a vanishing or dying population, and it inhibits deeper conversations around the lasting effects of settler colonialism.

Thus, although Kānaka Maoli have survived and resisted much, we still face numerous barriers to being recognized as a unique indigenous people who retain sovereignty rights despite the historic injustices committed against us. Tourists' desire to consume Hawaiian culture and luxuriate in a tropical paradise leaves little room for recognizing the continued legacy of settler colonialism, while the belittling and erasure of Kanaka Maoli identities, and history denies the need to do so before a conversation can even be attempted. Digital archives represent one method for intervening in and confronting these erasures, allowing for more meaningful discussion of our history, the assertion of our sovereignty, and the strengthening of identity by both on- and off-island Kānaka Maoli alike.

The Dole Family Papers

The Dole Family Papers is an archival collection held by the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens. The collection contains archival materials created primarily by and about the Dole family of Hawai'i and includes a range of formats such as transcripts of daily diary entries, family correspondence, documents, photograph albums, and scrapbooks. The collection spans a broad time period, from 1831 to 1944, and relates to many subjects including missionary work, various Dole family members' activities, and the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i (Black, 2011). While working with the Dole Family Papers, I chose to focus on materials relating to the 1893 overthrow due to the importance of this historical event for asserting the sovereignty rights of Kanaka Maoli communities.

In this section, I discuss my research with the Dole Family Papers and argue that their positioning within an elite institution that strictly regulates access to collections vitiates their capacity to evidence injustice and speak to the historic and ongoing issues of colonization that Kānaka Maoli face. Further, the collection's finding aid creates an open secret of materials relating to the 1893 overthrow by referring to them but being unspecific as to their location within the collection. As for the contents of the collection themselves, I argue that although materials relating to Sanford B. Dole, Queen Lili'uokalani, and the 1893 overthrow represent an undoubtedly colonial view of these subjects and events, they are capable of evidencing historical

processes of colonization, social and physical violence, and political repression. If linked to other resources relating to the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, these archival materials could form the basis for a digital archive that evidences United States imperialism and its effects on Kānaka Maoli, demonstrates indigenous resistance and survival, and disrupts hegemonic narratives of Hawaiian history that support settler futurity in Hawai'i. Such a digital archive could serve as an educational resource for Kānaka Maoli, on- and off-island alike, and as a way of asserting the importance of our history with broader audiences.

Before conducting my research and envisioning how the Dole Family Papers could be re-configured to better serve Kanaka Maoli communities, I needed to obtain reading privileges to access the collection. In terms of physical access, the Huntington Library is very restrictive regarding who may or may not obtain reading privileges. Those who may apply for reading privileges include faculty, research librarians, curators, PhD candidates, and independent scholars—but not master's degree or undergraduate students, community members, or visiting members of the general public (Huntington.org, "Application for Reading Privileges"). According to the Huntington's official policies, I should not have been able to obtain reading privileges and conduct in-person research with the Dole Family Papers to begin with. I was extremely fortunate that the reference librarian I contacted was willing to make an exception for a Library and Information Studies graduate student – although this exception was still sharply limited and allowed me just one day to conduct my research. Despite taking very few breaks and working through lunch, I left the Huntington with the uneasy awareness that there was a great deal I had not been able to cover during my short time there. Nevertheless, the fact I was able to obtain temporary reading privileges is unusual, and colleagues I have discussed this project with have been surprised I was able to conduct my research at all. The official policies and surprise of my colleagues speak to the Huntington's exclusive approach toward physical access of archival collections within its holdings. This approach is unjust in that it privileges members of the educated elite over members of source communities. It excludes and discourages members of source communities from seeking access to archival materials that may be relevant to

themselves, their identities, and their histories. These policies should be reconsidered and revised to provide and support greater access by a broader range of archival users.

Another access issue I encountered while conducting research with the Dole Family Papers arose when I began working with the finding aid. In relation to archival research, a finding aid provides information about the collection, the collection's scope and content, and the organization and arrangement of materials within the collection. At first glance the finding aid for the Dole Family Papers appeared reasonably detailed and as if it would be useful in helping me to access the material I was most interested in. However, I soon discovered that while the finding aid referred to materials within the collection relating to Sanford B. Dole, Queen Lili'uokalani, and the 1893 overthrow, it was also very vague as to where these materials could be found. Thus, while the finding aid refers to these subjects and figures in history, it creates an open secret of their presence within the Dole Family Papers by omitting their location within the collection.

The *Biographical Note* and *Scope and Content* sections of the finding aid briefly discuss the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, as well as Sanford B. Dole's role in it and the events that followed. There is also brief mention that three photograph albums and five scrapbooks contain numerous newspaper articles about these and other significant historical figures and events (Black, 2011). However, the photograph albums and scrapbooks are not nearly as well described as the rest of the collection. The description of the diaries includes the author(s) and years, the description of the family correspondence includes descriptions of the sender and receiver and years, and even the box of genealogy information, photographs, and ephemera has detailed descriptions of its contents. In stark contrast, the photo albums and scrapbooks appear as an afterthought at the end of the finding aid, with very basic descriptions to help identify each item, but no indicators as to the contents beside broad date ranges.

One of the only indicators as to the contents of the photo albums and scrapbooks is the note in the *Scope and Content* section—which still offers no specific details about which items contain information about Queen Lili'uokalani, Sanford B. Dole,

and the 1893 overthrow. Beside the Scope and Content note, a cataloger's note informs readers:

> Sanford B. Dole is not indexed as a subject as he is a subject of the majority of the collection. He is the addressee of nine letters, which are listed in Indexing: Added Entries. He is the author of five letters. Other subjects that are not specifically indexed, due to the amount of material dealing with them include: Queen Lili'uokalani, the Hawaiian government, the overthrow of 1893, annexation by the U.S., etc. (Black, 2011, p. 2)

Beyond the fact that deciding not to specifically index subjects due to the amount of material relating to them is more than a little counter-intuitive, the different types of indexing described in the finding aid further confounds matters. A section titled *Indexing: Added Entries*, referred to in the section quoted above, specifically refers to letters of which Sanford B. Dole is the addressee, while another section titled *Indexing: Subjects* describes where materials relating to specific subjects of the collection may be located. For example, Daniel Dole, James D. Dole, and the Punahou School are all identified as subjects in the scrapbook identified as HM 76510, while the Punahou School is further identified as a subject in the scrapbook identified as HM 76508. In contrast, a third section titled Indexing Terms, which was used to index the collection's description, includes references to Sanford B. Dole, Queen Lili'uokalani, and the 1893 overthrow, but without any references to materials relating to them (Black, 2011).

Thus, although the finding aid discusses the presence of these major historical events and figures in the collection and acknowledges them as significant subjects, it continuously fails to locate materials related to them. Not only does this create a barrier to access, but it creates contradictions and inconsistencies within the logic of the finding aid itself. Deciding not to attempt any description of a subject's location within a collection because of the volume of material relating to it is counterintuitive, while half-finished efforts to describe the scope of certain material types and not others only creates more confusion than it resolves. Further, as I will discuss in more detail below, my research revealed that Sanford B. Dole, Queen Lili'uokalani, and the 1893 overthrow were primarily subjects of

the scrapbooks referred to as HM 76506, HM 76508, and HM 76509. Given that the *Indexing: Subjects* section identified Daniel Dole, James D. Dole and the Punahou School as subjects within individual scrapbooks, I see no reason why this should not also be the case for other subjects.

When I was finally able to begin work with the physical collection, I quickly discovered that the scrapbooks indeed contain a high volume of materials relating to the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Specifically, the scrapbooks identified as HM 76506, HM 76508, and HM 76509 contained numerous newspaper articles that discuss Sanford B. Dole, Queen Lili'uokalani, the 1893 overthrow, and events related to this time period. The articles were written in English and appeared to originate from either English-language Hawaiian newspapers or American newspapers such as the New York Daily Tribute, the Advertiser, and the Times Herald (Dole Family Papers). Taken as a body of work, the newspaper articles very clearly express support of U.S. imperialism, the American citizens who overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States, and Sanford B. Dole.

Performing research on the Dole Family Papers was a trying experience, not simply because of the high volume of material and time constraints, but because of the emotionally challenging material contained within the collection. As I sorted through newspaper articles whose authors overwhelmingly favored colonization and an end to Hawaiian sovereignty, I recalled the following statement made by Queen Lili'uokalani in *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*:

> It is not merely that, with few exceptions, the press has seemed to favor the extinction of Hawaiian sovereignty, but that it has often treated me with coarse allusions and flippancy, and almost uniformly has commented upon me adversely, or has declined to publish letters from myself and friends conveying correct information upon matters which other correspondents had, either willfully or through being deceived, misrepresented. (Lili'uokalani, 1990, p. 370)

It was as if I was watching the American press silence and otherwise fail to acknowledge Indigenous counter-narratives regarding the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and later, the issue of annexation to the United States of America, in real time.

I located only two articles in the collection that included statements from Queen Lili'uokalani and her supporters. One was an article from an unidentified newspaper from San Francisco, January 28 which included both a statement from Queen Lili'uokalani appealing to the United States government to reverse the actions of minister John L. Stevens and reinstate her authority and a statement from Minister John L. Stevens recognizing the provisional government in Hawai'i. The other article was from the Hawaiian Gazette, dated January 17, 1893 and included both a brief statement on individuals newly appointed to the Queen's cabinet and a statement on the possibility of a new constitution:

> The position taken by Her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new Constitution, was under the stress of Her native subjects. Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the Constitution itself. (Dole Family Papers, HM 76506).

Finally, I discovered one additional article that featured an Indigenous perspective on political events, but from well after the 1893 overthrow. This article was titled "Home Rulers show their Feeling Towards Dole," and a handwritten note identified it as having been printed in the Advertiser on March 12, 1902. This article was a reprint of another article from the Kuakoa Home Rula, a Hawaiian language newspaper, which expressed dissatisfaction with Sanford B. Dole both as president of the Republic of Hawai'i and as governor of the Territory of Hawai'i (Dole Family Papers, HM 76508).

Thus, while the Dole Family Papers contains a high volume of primary source material relating to Hawaiian history, particularly to Queen Lili'uokalani, Sanford B. Dole, and the 1893 overthrow, the body of sources undoubtedly favors US settler state interests while tending to suppress indigenous opposition and counter narratives. Nevertheless, if re-framed, these documents could serve to evidence a historic process of colonization, social and physical violence, and political repression. Linking archival resources from the Dole Family Papers to other archival resources, such as Hawaiian language newspapers, could help contextualize the events discussed

within, providing the basis for a digital archive that would represent a key moment in Hawaiian history and make it accessible to a broader audience. However, as it stands now, the framing of the Dole Family Papers within an exclusive scholarly institution accessible to only well-established scholars, and the utilization of a finding aid that openly hides certain materials and obscures the presence of subjects within the collection, constitutes a disservice to the communities who were and continue to be negatively impacted by historic events described within the collection.

Existing Digital Resources

At present, there exists a rich variety of digital databases and educational resources oriented toward Hawaiian history, culture, and language. These digital resources serve Kanaka Maoli communities through a variety of manners, whether it be by furthering language revitalization, providing access to digitized archival sources, or supporting education in our history and culture. However, while these digital resources accomplish a great deal, there is no one source specifically devoted to conveying the history of the 1893 overthrow and related processes of colonization in Hawai'i—this is the gap that could be filled by a digital archive that links sources from the Dole Family Papers with other sources related to this history. In the following section, I conduct a review of a selection of digital resources relating to Hawaiian history, language, and culture in order to inform my recommendations for the creation of a digital archive utilizing the Dole Family Papers and to identify what this digital archive could contribute to the existing body of digital resources. Specifically, I discuss the Bishop Museum's Hawai'i Alive website, the Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' Papakilo Database.

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum is the largest museum in Hawai'i and its mission is to "[Inspire] our community and visitors through the exploration and celebration of the extraordinary history, culture, and environment of Hawai'i and the Pacific" (bishopmuseum.org, 2019). To this end, the Bishop Museum's Hawai'i Alive website serves as an educational resource for teaching not just about Hawaiian history and culture, but for allowing Hawaiian history and culture to inform

the process of teaching. Visitors to this exhibit-like digital collection may explore materials via three different means: Topics in Hawaiian history, Hawai'i State Educational Standards, or three different Realms. The latter method for navigating and learning from the site is organized according to indigenous ways of knowing and includes the subsections "Wao Lani – Realm of Gods," "Wao Kanaka – Realm of Man," and "Kai Akea – Ocean Realm" with contextualizing information for each realm that discusses its significance and meaning in indigenous lifeways (hawaiialive.org, 2019). The other two sections, Topics and Standards, are organized according to Hawai'i state educational standards and not indigenous ways of knowing. However, additional resources provided on the website encourage school teachers to incorporate Indigenous approaches to education into their lesson planning, citing as justification the Ka Huaka'i 2005 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment showing significant gains by Native Hawaiian students when culture-based teaching practices were employed (hawaiialive.org, 2018). Thus, not only does Hawai'i Alive serve as an educational resource for teaching and learning about Hawaiian history, but it puts Hawaiian culture and ways of knowing into practice. Further, it does so through use of primary sources held in the Bishop Museum's collections, allowing an opportunity for increased access and engagement by Kanaka Maoli individuals and communities with sources related to their cultural heritage and history. However, Hawai'i Alive is primarily oriented toward K-12 students and teachers and the teaching of Hawai'i state educational standards and thus may be of less use to Hawaiians of varying age groups and education levels. Additionally, it draws specifically from the Bishop Museum's collections, and there may be useful sources for teaching and learning Hawaiian history elsewhere that could be beneficially linked to in a digital resource.

The Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library is a digital library containing Hawaiian language print materials. Its purpose is "to make these resources available for the use, teaching, and revitalization of the Hawaiian language and for a broader and deeper understanding of Hawai'i" (ulukau.org, 2019). To this end, Ulukau centers Hawaiian language within its design and makes accessible a broad variety of Hawaiian language printed materials that both support the development of Hawaiian language skills and that allow site visitors to engage with the

indigenous perspectives presented within. The central importance of the Hawaiian language for the site is immediately apparent when one navigates to the home page, where they are first greeted with the Hawaiian language version of the site, and then offered the opportunity to view the English text version of the site. From the home page, site visitors may access Hawaiian language texts by either entering key terms into a search bar or by opening a menu to view a variety of different sections, including dictionaries, books, newspapers, genealogy, Hawaiian place names, and the Hawaiian Bible (ulukau.org, 2019). Thus, the website offers a broad variety of resources that allow Hawaiian language learners to not only develop their skills, but to engage with materials that may foster a deeper understanding of Hawaiian history and culture.

With regards to the newspaper subsection, the Hawaiian Nūpepa Collection of Hawaiian-language newspapers offers opportunities to engage with Hawaiian history and contemporary indigenous perspectives on historical events. The Nūpepa Collection contains numerous newspaper issues originally published across a broad temporal range, from 1834 to 1948, and digitized as image files available for viewing or download, with the occasional inclusion of text files (nupepa.org, 2019). While this digitized collection offers an excellent opportunity to learn from Hawaiian-language sources documenting Hawaiian history and indigenous perspectives on our history, language barriers nevertheless present a troubling barrier. Though the website itself is available in English translation, the newspapers are not, which makes access of the materials themselves difficult for those who do not speak Hawaiian, but nevertheless wish to learn more about our history from indigenous perspectives.

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is a semi-autonomous department of the state of Hawai'i that focuses on "strategic priorities for improving the conditions of Native Hawaiians in the areas of 'āina, culture, economic self-sufficiency, education, governance, and health" (oha.org, 2018). The Papakilo Database is one means by which OHA fulfills this mandate to improve Native Hawaiian conditions by enabling the preservation and perpetuation of our culture and history. In terms of execution, the Papakilo Database is very similar to the Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library in that it serves as a nexus for providing access to a variety of digital collections and resources. However,

the Papakilo Database is not explicitly oriented toward language revitalization, instead focusing specifically on providing access to digital records and sources within the databases it contains and links to. Databases available for searching through Papakilo include but are not limited to genealogy indexes, historic sites, maps, multi-media records, Hawaiian place names, and Hawaiian newspapers, with reference to even further future additions (papakilodatabase.com, 2019). Like the Ulukau's Nūpepa Collection, the Papakilo Database's collection of Hawaiian newspapers offers an interesting opportunity not only to reconnect with sources relating to Hawaiian history, but to study our history from indigenous perspectives through Hawaiian-language materials. The Papakilo Database provides access to a sizeable collection of historic Hawaiian Newspapers through collaborations with other organizations including the Bishop Museum and Ulukau, allowing for the provision of access to 11,934 issues comprising 58,612 pages and 379,918 articles from multiple repositories in one location ("About This Collection," papakilodatabase.com, 2018). This collaboration allows for an even further level of access and engagement with historic sources and indigenous perspectives on historic events. However, while the publications in this collection are not exclusively Hawaiian-language, the majority are, and the issue of language barriers arises again between an Indigenous population that primarily speaks English and a collection of materials written in our ancestral language.

The Hawai'i Alive website, Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library, and Papakilo Database all fulfill their stated purposes very well and serve Kanaka Maoli communities by creating opportunities to (re)connect with our history, culture, and language regardless of where we reside. Hawai'i Alive provides an educational resource for teaching and learning about Hawaiian history that also encourages informing educational practices with Kanaka Maoli worldviews. Both Ulukau and Papakilo allow for increased access of a wide variety of sources, while Ulukau additionally supports Hawaiian language revitalization. However, in the case of Ulukau's and Papakilo's newspaper collections, language barriers make engaging and reconnecting with sources written in Hawaiian difficult for Kānaka Maoli who speak only English or who are just beginning their studies of the Hawaiian language. While Hawai'i Alive provides

strong context and framing for sources, drawing only from Bishop Museum collections creates a smaller collection of digitized sources, and the site's primary orientation toward K-12 students and teachers in the state of Hawai'i may limit its use for other individuals and communities at different age and educational levels. Finally, while all these digital resources discuss or relate in some way to historical issues of sovereignty and colonization, none of them are oriented specifically toward educating site visitors about the 1893 overthrow and related historical and ongoing processes. This is the gap that a digital archive utilizing the Dole Family Papers and linking to additional historical sources could fill, while also drawing from the digital resources discussed above as noteworthy examples.

Recommendations

A digital archive utilizing the Dole Family Papers, as well as additional archival sources, would serve as an educational resource for learning about the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, as well as related historical and ongoing processes of colonization. Materials from the Dole Family Papers could serve to evidence historic injustices, while a broader collection of materials speaking to colonization and Kanaka Maoli resistance would create opportunities to speak back to colonial narratives and assert the importance of indigenous perspectives. However, as Ellen Cushman (2013) cautioned, care would have to be taken to create a decolonized digital archive rather than a digital archive that reproduces the colonial power structures already present in the physical archive. With all that has been discussed thus far in mind, I make the following recommendations for the creation of a decolonized digital archive utilizing the Dole Family Papers that would have the potential to better serve Kanaka Maoli communities:

Create a digital archive of linked sources relating to the 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, histories of settler colonialism in Hawai'i, and Kanaka Maoli responses and resistance to these events.

A digital archive would help make accessible archival sources relating to Hawaiian history to on- and off-island Kānaka

Maoli alike, fostering (re)connections between ourselves and our histories. Creating a digital archive would also Having opportunities to learn about a once-independent Hawaiian nation that was subsequently overthrown and illegally occupied, empowers us to see ourselves as a sovereign people whose right to self-determination can and should be realized again. Further opportunities to learn about this history from Kanaka Maoli perspectives unsettles settler narratives that justify colonization and occupation, and places contemporary struggles to assert sovereignty within the context of an ongoing struggle for justice.

Digitize materials from the Dole Family Papers to increase accessibility and allow for the creation of links between these and other archival materials that speak to histories of settler colonialism in Hawai'i.

Digitizing materials from the Dole Family Papers and utilizing them in a digital archive would create an opportunity to evidence historical injustices committed against Kānaka Maoli. However, it is important to contextualize materials in order to avoid simply reproducing the narratives contained within them. Doing so would fulfill the guideline from the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials to solicit and provide context for collections from the perspective of culturally affiliated communities (First Archivists Circle, 2007). Providing context creates the opportunity to utilize sources presenting colonial perspectives to evidence historical injustices rather than simply reproducing narratives the sources present.

Digitize additional archival materials and link to already digitized archival materials, especially sources that present Kanaka Maoli perspectives.

Taking care to include archival sources that present Kanaka Maoli perspectives would help to ensure that the digital archive would accomplish decolonizing aims rather than simply reproduce colonial narratives. Striving for balance in archival content and perspectives would fulfill the guideline from the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials to develop more comprehensive and inclusive holdings (First Archivists Circle, 2007). Emphasizing Kanaka Maoli perspectives would further

empower us to learn about and understand history from our own points of view, rather than learning to see ourselves through colonial perspectives.

Emphasize the use of Hawaiian language materials, while providing English translations when possible as a secondary option for accessing texts.

Emphasizing Hawaiian language archival materials would serve to further emphasize Kānaka Maoli perspectives on historical events and processes, and energetically underscore the point that Kānaka Maoli hold distinct identities not to be subsumed or subordinated to the United States and its own nation building project. However, providing English language translations as options that archival users could select would help make sources accessible to Kānaka Maoli who do not speak Hawaiian, or who are still developing their language skills. Presenting such sources first in Hawaiian, and then in English, would still serve to assert the importance of Hawaiian language materials, while easing access for non-Hawaiian speaking Kānaka Maoli and offering an opportunity to test language skills for those who are learning. Indigenous community members should be invited to contribute to translation projects to allow for further (re)connection with Hawaiian language materials.

Collaborate with Kanaka Maoli community members, leaders, and scholars to identify additional priorities and concerns for the creation of a digital archive.

Collaborating with Kanaka Maoli community members, leaders, and scholars would allow for greater community input and control over the creation of a digital archive. It would allow for the identification of additional priorities and concerns and ensure that Kanaka Maoli interests are represented through-out the development process. Collaboration would ensure that Indigenous priorities for decolonizing archival materials are met and that the colonial nature of archival materials is not simply transferred into a digital space.

By implementing these recommendations, steps could be taken toward the decolonization of Hawaiian archival materials, and the creation of a digital archive that would serve the needs

of Kanaka Maoli communities by resisting the erasure of our identity as a sovereign people and speaking to the historic and ongoing injustices committed against Kānaka Maoli. This digital collection of historic materials would have significant implications in the present, empowering Kānaka Maoli to assert our identity as a distinct group of Indigenous people with the right to self-determination. Further, the undertaking of this project to decolonize archival materials would serve to support broader assertions as to the importance of decolonizing archives, underscoring the applicability of decolonizing methods across contexts while demonstrating the importance of attending to the specificities of distinct indigenous identities and community needs. Continuing to advocate for and utilize methods for decolonizing archives will serve to destabilize the colonial power structures present in archival collections, allowing for new possibilities and visions of the future based on indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the past.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to discuss research conducted with the Dole Family Papers at the Huntington Library and argue that the Papers' positioning within an elite institution with a restrictive approach to access vitiates their capacity to evidence injustice and speak to historic and ongoing issues of colonization that Kānaka Maoli face. Drawing on the works of archival professionals and Kanaka Maoli scholars alike, I have made recommendations for how the Papers could be utilized to contribute to a digital archive of linked resources that would support decolonizing aims and better serve the needs of Kanaka Maoli communities. If fully realized, such a digital archive could evidence United States imperialism and its effects on Kānaka Maoli, demonstrate Indigenous resistance and survival, and disrupt hegemonic narratives of Hawaiian history that support settler futurity in Hawai'i. Moreover, the creation of such an archive could have important implications in the present, empowering Kānaka Maoli to assert our identity as a distinct group of indigenous people with the right to self-determination and demonstrating the vital importance of decolonizing archives for (re)connecting with indigenous histories and identities. Through conducting research for and writing this article, I have

come to more fully understand my own identity as Kanaka Maoli for the first time. Our histories are not simply static words printed on dead plant matter, but methods for both denying and empowering our identities, contested narratives and ever developing processes, the contexts that inform our present and shape our futures. Asserting the importance of our history, and our perspectives within that history, is to assert the importance of ourselves in the present and to play an active role in shaping our future.

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