Two hundred years ago Capt. Cook's men heard numerous accounts of a small sandy island near Kaula. The island is gone today. What happened to it is a mystery

n the afternoon of March 16, 1779, the two ships of Capt. Cook's third voyage, Resolution and Discovery, were about 18 miles southwest of Niihau. Capt. Cook was dead now, having been killed a month earlier on the Big Island. But the expedition, under the command of new captain Charles Clerke, had continued, and now, before leaving the Hawaiian Islands for good, had one final exploration to make.

They were looking for the one Hawaiian island they had heard about but not yet seen. Its name was Mokupapapa and, as best the Englishmen could judge from accounts they had gotten from natives, it was located somewhere in the area of Kaula, the mile-long, uninhabited crescent-shaped rock 22 miles southwest of Niihau. Described as a small, low, sandy island, Mokupapapa was supposed to be visited by Hawaiians, who took turtle there.

In the late afternoon of March 16, in the open ocean, the *Discovery* encountered some Hawaiians in a canoe. The natives were on their way to Kaula, and then to Mokupapapa. In his journal, James Burney, *Discovery*'s first lieutenant, recorded the meeting this way:

One canoe belonging to some Kauai chief staid with us till Sunset, and then went towards the Island Kaula which was 4 miles distant to the SE. their business, they told us, was to catch red birds, and that next day they intended going to Mokupapapa for Turtle.*

Apparently the English sailors

The Lost



^{*}To avoid unnecessary confusion, the current spelling is used for names of Hawaiian islands. In other regards, quotes are as they appear in John C. Beaglehole's *Journals of Capt. James* Cook.

Hawaiian Island

By Victor Lipman in collaboration with George Balazs



In Search of Mokupapapa

It's the morning of Sept. 2, 1983, two hours before daybreak, as we set out from Kekaha, Kauai, to look for a lost island.

Six of us are on board the 32-foot charter fishing boat Lady Ann: Don Moses, captain; Dave Lambdin, crew; John Sinton, University of Hawaii professor of geology and geophysics; George Balazs, National Marine Fisheries Service research biologist; Brad Tarr, diver/photographer; and myself

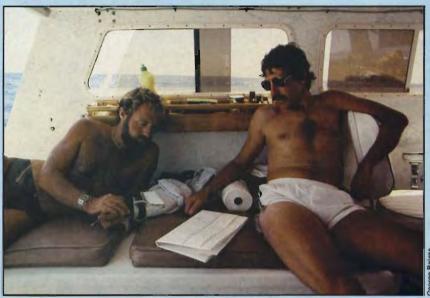
Five months earlier, over lunch at King's Bakery, it was George Balazs who first told me about Mokupapapa, a mysterious island somewhere near Kaula that Capt. Cook and his men had heard about but never found. Initially, Balazs's research of turtles had drawn him to the subject. Here was a small, sandy island the old Hawaiians had supposedly visited for turtles. But the island was gone today. Where was it? What had happened to it?

Now, after several months of researching the matter, we think we might have some answers. And the result is this modest, HONOLULUsponsored expedition.

We know what we're looking for, but are not sure what will be there if we find it. About three or four miles northwest of Kaula, according to nautical charts, is an area where the water is curiously shallow. It's listed on maps as five fathoms, or 30 feet, when all around the sea floor falls to much greater depths-more than 200 feet. Might this one shallow spot have been emergent in Capt. Cook's time? Could it have been Mokupapapa? This is what we hope to investigate. 6:45 a.m. The sun is just above the horizon in a pinkish sky as we pass the south point of Niihau-a stark, desolate landscape of cliffs, beaches, grasslands. No people are visible. It's a beautiful morning, the sea is calm. 9:00 a.m. Off Kaula in bright sunshine. We take a bearing and head northwest 290°; the five-fathom area should be three or four miles from here. Moses is studying loran coordinates to position us precisely; Sinton is watching the depth recorder. Brown boobies pass

For my part, I am growing slightly nervous. Balazs and I have spoken with a few people (fishermen and scientists) who had been out to this shallow spot before, and although "... It looks like a pinnacle with a level top; the edges drop off steeply, clifflike..."

Don Moses and John Sinton (right) review nautical charts on board Lady Ann. Through the boat's window can be seen Kaula.



seorge Balazs

their descriptions of it differed somewhat, on one point they agreed: The area was "filthy with sharks." This isn't surprising; any place with such dramatic changes in depth is apt to be rich in all kinds of marine life. Also, in 1974 a diver for an Italian film company making a documentary on oceans had died at this location in an unexplained accident; and another diver was seriously injured.

9:40 a.m. We have, it seems, found the spot but lost it. For a moment, the graph lines on the depth recorder rose abruptly, but quickly fell again. The shallow region is probably very small. We're crisscrossing the area slowly. 10:10 a.m. Found it! Ironically, with all our sophisticated navigation equipment, it was Balazs and Tarr, sitting on the flying bridge, who with their naked eyes finally saw the shallow

Figuring the area would be full of sharks, we didn't bring scuba gear. But now, leaning over the side of the boat with a mask on, Moses says it

spot-a lighter shade of green amid

deeper blue. We anchor on it.

looks pretty clear. He and Tarr enter the water with a mask and snorkel and fins. Moses carries a power-head (a shark spear containing compressed gas) and Tarr carries a camera. After a few minutes Balazs and Sinton go in, and I do too.

After months of wondering about Mokupapapa, it is fascinating for me to look down at what *might* have been it. The water is clear, with plenty of small fish. The bottom, about 30 feet down, is hard and white—cemented limestone—with some live coral growing on it. It looks like a pinnacle with a level top; the edges drop off steeply, clifflike.

Unlike the others, I am an inexperienced diver. After about three minutes of staring down curiously more or less in one direction, it occurs to me it might be a good idea to look in other directions as well. As I turn around I see, to my surprise, behind and below me but looking up, a medium-sized gray reef shark. I decide it's time to get out of the water.

11:20 a.m. Everyone is back on the

boat now, none the worse for wear. We talk over what we've seen. The shallow area is small, no question of that: a flat-topped, steep-sided pinnacle, roughly pear-shaped. The consensus is it's about 40 or 50 yards long, and 30 or 40 yards across. The reported five-fathom depth seems accurate. No turtles have been sighted, but Tarr makes a list of the fish he saw: 11 species in all, including ulua, uku and trumpet fish. He also saw a few gray reef and white-tipped sharks. But they just stayed on the bottom and didn't bother him.

11:50 a.m. We leave the pinnacle and start the 50-mile trip back to Kekaha. Late afternoon. Nearing Niihau again, we troll and catch a small aku. Eating an egg salad sandwich, I talk with John Sinton, the geophysicist. Soft-spoken and likable, Sinton is really the most important man on the trip. He more than anyone is qualified to draw some conclusions about the area we've observed.

So what does he think? Could the pinnacle have been Mokupapapa? He is apologetic-but at the moment it's hard for him to make a "yes" or "no" statement. If he had never heard any of the accounts of Mokupapapa, he says, it would be difficult for him to imagine this pinnacle as an island just 200 years ago. For one thing, it's very small-it's almost hard to visualize it holding sand. And its depth is a problem-if the charts had been inaccurate and the pinnacle had risen closer to the water's surface, it would be a more likely candidate. Sinton also had been looking for scarps, cut lines in the pinnacle's surface that might be evidence of faulting-activity that could have dramatically lowered it-but he didn't see any.

Still, knowing that there might have been an island in the area, Sinton can't totally dismiss the pinnacle either. He wants to discuss his impressions with other specialists in the subsidence rates of islands.

Despite the apparent lack of conclusive evidence, I feel it's been a good trip. Everyone is safe, and we basically did get a first-hand look at what we set out to.

6:00 p.m. Ahead now is Kauai, looming huge and green beneath black-gray clouds. The water has turned choppy. And for the first time today, it begins to rain.—V.L.

(who, after all, had had so much practice finding islands throughout the vast reaches of the Pacific) were confident they could find Mokupapapa on their own, without being guided there by a small canoe. But they were wrong. They never found the island. For two days they sailed in a generally southwesterly direction, keeping a sharp watch out for what Capt. Clerke called "this good Sandy Isle." Finally, around 70 miles from Kaula, they gave up the search.

For the English sailors, this was their last contact with Hawaii. They headed north toward Arctic waters and one final look for the Northwest Passage. And for Mokupapapa, the small, sandy Hawaiian island virtually unheard of today, this was the first and last time until 1983 anyone other than the old Hawaiians who kept no written records ever tried to find it.

okupapa is gone now, there is no question of that. The waters within hundreds of miles of Hawaii are simply too heavily traveled for any island—even a tiny one—to go long undetected. But there is considerable evidence the island once existed.

At least seven men in Capt. Cook's voyages to Hawaii independently made reference to Mokupapapa in their journals. They were told about the island by natives from Niihau, Kauai and Maui. The sailors' accounts were sometimes quite detailed. Capt. Clerke, for example, on March 16, 1779, the first day of their search for Mokupapapa, made this journal entry:

At 8 haul'd our Wind and spent the Night upon our Tacks, with an intention in the Morning to look for an Isle which these People give an account of and call Mokupapapa they describe it as a very low sandy Key to which they sometimes go to catch Turtle by which they say it is very much frequented, in their passage to it they lay a Night at Kaula and very easily paddle there in the course of the following day-by the best accounts I could get from the People at Niihau I conclude it to lay about swbw [southwest by west] from Kaula.

A day earlier, David Samwell, Discovery's surgeon, had written this:

Light Winds and fair Wr. AM at 7 Weighd & Saild for the Island Kaula, to the SW of Which the Natives say there is a Small Sandy Isld with Plenty of Turtle on it called Mokupapapa.

Still earlier in the same month, Resolution's first lieutenant, James King, in the course of a lengthy description summing up much that he had observed in six months in Hawaii, commented:

Molokini is too small to deserve the name of an Island, & that as well as Kaula are uninhabited. To the wsw of Kaula, they visit a low sandy Island for Sea birds and Turtle called Mokupapapa.

In fact, on Dec. 1, 1778, King had heard mention of Mokupapapa all the way over on Maui—a significant point since it means knowledge of the island was not limited to nearby Niihau and Kauai, but was widespread. While the *Resolution* was anchored off the east shore of Maui, about 10 or 12 natives came aboard. The meeting was a friendly one. King wrote:

We had now leisure to examine these people concerning the Number of Islands within their Knowledge. Hawaii for which we are now stearing & is the last Island to the East: to the Westward of which they mentioned Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe, Molokini, Oahu, Kauai, Niihau, Lehua, Kaula, Mokupapapa, of these they represent Hawaii as the largest.

Capt. Cook himself mentioned the island once, on Feb. 2, 1778, at the conclusion of the voyage's first of two visits to Hawaii. At this point in his explorations here, Cook was familiar with only the five islands at the northern part of the chain: Kauai, Niihau, Lehua, Kaula and Oahu. He noted:

Besides these five islands, we got some information of a low uninhabited island in the neighborhood of these, called Mokupapapa.

Cook of course would never get the chance to look for Mokupapapa, since on the return trip to Hawaii he would be killed at Kealakekua Bay. His successor, Capt. Clerke, would die at sea of consumption six months later. David Samwell would go on to a long career as ship's surgeon, and become a prominent poet in London literary circles. But unlike the men, whose fame would live after them, Mokupapapa would be forgotten, a curious footnote to history.

iterally, the name "Mokupapapa" means low or flat island-"moku" meaning island in Hawaiian, and "papapa" meaning low or flat. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert's Hawaiian Dictionary even includes the word combination "moku papapa" together, defining it as a "low reef island."

Actually, the explorers did not always record the island neatly as Mokupapapa, although this is clearly the most probable rendering. The Englishmen were conversing with natives who spoke an unfamiliar tongue, one in which dialects could vary even from island to island. Kauai, for example, was referred to in sailors' logs as "A-Tou I" or "Tou'I" or "Koue I," among others. Kahoolawe could be "Kahowrowee" or "Tahowrowee," and Niihau could be "Neeheehow" or "Oneehow." Thus Mokupapapa, a complex and difficult word to pronounce in the first place, was sometimes rendered "Komodoo papapa" or "Tummata papapa," and so on. Still, once a reader has become accustomed to the language of the explorers' journals, and observes the context in which a name is being used, it is easy to tell what island is being referred to. When James King, for instance, writes

> To the WSW of Teura [Kaula], they visit a low sandy island for Sea birds and Turtle called Modoo-papapa or Komodoo papapa

it is not hard to tell what island is being described.

John C. Beaglehole, the renowned historian and Cook biographer, was frankly puzzled by the Mokupapapa question. Here was an island that by all accounts should have been found but wasn't, and never has been. In a footnote in his Journals of Capt. James Cook: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, he comments:

> This 'low sandy Island' is quite baffling, though the name was picked up in both 1778 and 1779...[Ka]motu or moku papapa is literally the low, or flat and smooth island. Charlton, 15 March, renders the name Commevoopapappa, which at least is original; Burney, same date, Tomogoopapappa. There is a large isolated rock about four feet high, called Kuakamoku, standing near the middle of a

shoal about 2½ cables offshore of Niihau about a third of the way up its eastern coast, which has been suggested; but it fits none of the description, and though it might attract sea birds, would certainly not attract turtle. Dr. Emory suggests that, as Nihoa was known to the historic Hawaiians and frequently visited by them, Moku Papapa may have been an alternative name for this island. Although Nihoa is not low or flat, papa could have referred to the strata exposed in the great cliff walls. But then what becomes of our compass direction? Nihoa is certainly not WSW of Kaula, but a NW extension of the main Hawaiian chain...

o what are we to make of the situation? There are several possible explanations.

One is that the island never existed, and that the Hawaiians who told the Englishmen about it were deliberately deceiving them or playing a joke on them. Yet this really does not seem likely; the name was picked up at different times in different places by different people; and most of the other geographical information the explorers received from natives was reliable. In short, it is extremely hard to imagine the entire Mokupapapa story as some sort of elaborate practical joke.

Another possibility is that the whole episode was an exercise in miscommunication—that the Hawaiians did in good faith describe a "moku papapa," but were not referring to a small island near Kaula. As Lee Motteler, geographer for Bishop Museum, responded when asked if there was much of a tradition for the natives deliberately deceiving the Englishmen, "Well, there has been since, but usually at early or first contact it's more likely you have some kind of misunderstanding."

What then might the Hawaiians have been describing—if not a sandy island near Kaula? "If we could look at records," says Motteler, "and determine possibly the Hawaiians had said 'namoku papapa,' that would make it plural—the low islands. Maybe they were referring collectively to all the low islands beyond Necker."

Could the Hawaiians have been referring to one or several of the

Northwestern Hawaiian Islands like French Frigate Shoals—low, flat, sandy islands known to have plenty of turtle? There is a small amount of evidence that could conceivably be marshaled to support this theory. In their journals, two men do make reference to Mokupapapa as lying to the northwest of the other islands. In the upper left-hand corner of a map he drew of Kauai, Niihau, Lehua and Kaula, Thomas Edgar, Discovery's master per warrant, made a written note saying, "Tummata-papapa, an island that lays to the NW of these." And Charles Clerke, then Discovery's commander, at the conclusion of his first visit to Hawaii, wrote:

This group of Isles consists of 5, which we saw; the Natives tell us of another, away to the NW, which they call Tummata-papappa; this however we have only their word for.

A year later though, when Clerke had become captain and presumably learned more from the natives about the islands they had knowledge of, he would lead the search for Mokupapapa toward Kaula, not the north-

In addition, there are several other factors that, taken together, weigh strongly against the likelihood of placing Mokupapapa in the northwestern end of the archipelago. First, there is no physical evidence of any kind to indicate that the ancient Hawaiians ever traveled beyond Necker. Second, the natives' main reason for visiting Mokupapapa was to catch turtles, who would presumably lay eggs or haul up on the sand. and bask in the sun. Yet turtles were probably not scarce around the main Hawaiian islands at that time; the Na Pali Coast of Kauai, for example, has traditionally been a good turtle grounds. French Frigate Shoals, the nearest possible candidate for a "low, sandy island" to the northwest, is 400 miles from Kauai.* It seems unreasonable to believe that anyone—even master navigators—would regularly undertake so long and potentially dangerous a journey for a food source available close to home. Lastly, how are we to explain the natives the explorers encountered in a canoe on their way to Kaula? The natives indicated they were going to Kaula for red birds, and then on to Mokupapapa the next day. Kaula is 50 miles southwest of Kauai—cer-

^{*}French Frigate Shoals is actually an atoll consisting of 10 sandy islets and one small rock

tainly an odd route to take to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands!

All of which brings us back to the point we started from: a speculative belief that Mokupapapa did exist, that it was near Kaula, and that it is gone today.

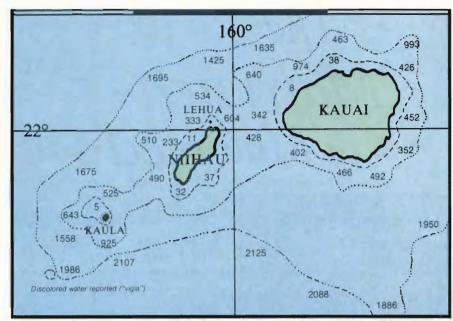
apt. Cook's men were here 204 years ago. Mokupapapa was known about then. Yet it is not mentioned in any subsequent historic accounts. So if the island did exist, what happened to it?

As strange as this may sound, 200 years is enough time for an island to "disappear," or, more accurately, sink below the surface of the ocean. It's not common, but it's not impossible either. As John Sinton, professor of geology and geophysics at University of Hawaii, explains, "If something was there 200 years ago, you can wear it away, no doubt about that, to where the thing might not be emergent anymore. Storms take some away; and once they go down, unless the sea level drops it's not likely they would come up, because in general everything is sinking."

The key factor is the contours of the island. It's totally absurd of course to think an island as large as Oahu today could sink below sea level in 200 years, but with a very low, small island that is barely above sea level to begin with—a description that fits Mokupapapa perfectly—the situation is quite different.

Violent storms, tsunamis or earth-quakes all could cause a tiny island to be worn away and covered over by ocean. A contributing factor could be the gradual cooling and contracting of the earth's plate; another factor is the day-to-day pounding by waves. If a feature is at sea level, says Michael Garcia, professor of geology and geophysics at University of Hawaii, "waves will unmercifully attack it." In recent times there have been documented cases in Iceland and Tonga of small islands becoming submerged.

In the vast sweep of geologic time, islands are created and islands lost. Five million years ago Oahu was below the ocean's surface; in another five million years it may be gone again. Scientists are currently monitoring the activity of Loihi, a submarine volcano off the southeast coast of the Big Island. In time,



A map showing the location of Kaula in relation to Kauai and Niihau. Numbers indicate ocean depths in fathoms. Note the extremely shallow area just northwest of Kaula.

perhaps thousands of years, it may become the next Hawaiian island. It is possible Mokupapapa was the last one.

ne way to try to discover where Mokupapapa might have been was to consult bathymetric charts—detailed maps showing depths and contours of the ocean floor. Islands do not spring magically from nowhere; if an area were now very deep (say thousands of feet below sea level), it would be virtually impossible for that area to have been raised high enough to be emergent just 200 years ago.

A possible clue to the island's location was contained in Capt. Clerke's log. He wrote that to get to Mokupapapa, natives would "lay a night at Kaula and very easily paddle there in the course of the following day." How far could Hawaiians then paddle in a day? This was a hard figure to pin down, but according to historians and Polynesian Voyaging Society members, a reasonable estimate would be between 25 and 40 miles a day. Assuming that the visit to Mokupapapa would probably be a round trip, with the natives returning to Kaula before heading back to Niihau or Kauai, it seemed probable that the island was within 20 miles of Kaula.

One feature immediately stood out on nautical charts. About 20 miles

southwest of Kaula—the direction of Mokupapapa, according to the sailors' journals—was a vigia, an area where something unexplained but potentially hazardous to navigation had been sighted in the water. It was represented by a dotted circle, with the words "Discolored Water Reported 1955."

Could this sighting somehow have been related to Mokupapapa? Unfortunately, the location of the vigia made this possibility highly unlikely. All around the discolored area, the water depth is between 1,900 and 2,200 fathoms*—far too deep for an island to have settled into the ocean in this spot in the last 200 years. This discoloration was more likely caused by some sort of unusual biological phenomenon, such as a mass of floating plankton.

But the bathymetric charts also revealed a second, more promising feature. About three or four miles northwest of Kaula was an extremely shallow area—five fathoms. This was odd: Amid depths of hundreds and even thousands of fathoms within several miles, the figure "5" jumps right out at you when scanning maps of the Kaula area. How shallow actually was the water there? How carefully had it been charted? How large was the shallow area, and what did it look like? True, it lay to the northwest of Kaula-not the southwest-but it seemed unusual enough

Continued on page 150

^{*}One fathom equals six feet.



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Lost island

Continued from page 87

to warrant further investigation. And so was born the HONOLULU-sponsored expedition in search of Mokupapapa.

e soon learned that a few local fishermen and scientists already knew about the five-fathom area. Although reports of its shape and size were vague, stories seemed to contain two similar elements: The shallow area did indeed "pop up" suddenly from greater depths all around it, and it was usually swarming with sharks.

So, one day in early September, we, along with geophysicist John Sinton and diver/photographer Brad Tarr, reserved *Lady Ann*, a Kauai charter fishing boat with sophisticated navigation and depth-sounding equipment, and traveled to the area.

The trip itself, and some of its conclusions, are described in detail starting on page 84. For now let us just say that we found the spot we were looking for, that it was basically a small and most interesting flattopped pinnacle, but that we could not conclusively say it was Mokupapapa.

Although it would be equally hard to prove this pinnacle was not the lost island, the main problem with believing the pinnacle had been Mokupapapa was its distance below the ocean's surface. Although previous mappings of the area had been inaccurate-greatly exaggerating the pinnacle's size—the five-fathom depth was essentially correct. And five fathoms, or 30 feet, is a long way for an island to have subsided, or sunk, in 200 years. According to John Sinton, the highest documented subsidence rate for islands is four millimeters a year, which over 200 years amounts to slightly less than three feet. Still, little is known about subsidence rates when islands are virtually at sea level to begin with.

s it possible there are other, uncharted, even shallower regions





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within "an easy day's paddle" of Kaula?

In geologic terms, Kaula Island is a tuff cone rising from the southeast edge of a broad base that is a large, submerged shield volcano. What this means is that there is about a 5by-8-mile area around Kaula where the water is not too deep—averaging 200 feet. Beyond this platform, depths drop off sharply.

Reviewing old marine charts recently, Sinton did notice that when the area was surveyed, sounding lines were spaced far enough apart for certain submarine features to still remain hidden. Although unlikely, it is not inconceivable other very shallow areas do exist on the shield volcano platform. One way to investigate this would be to fly over the area thoroughly on a calm, clear day, since any submerged features rising to near the water's surface should be easy to see from the air.

While perusing old maps, Sinton uncovered one other interesting fact: A U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey made in 1927 had given a name to the pinnacle we visited. No, it was not a Hawaiian name, not Mokupapapa. It was "Buoy Shoal." The name has never been used since.

he whole subject of names can become confusing. There is, for instance, a small, flat, basalt rock at the east end of Molokai named Mokupapapa. There is also a Mokupapa Point on the north shore of Maui, near Huelo. And in 1866, an emissary for King Kalakaua, James Harbottle Boyd, claimed Kure Atoll for the kingdom of Hawaii. His name for it? Moku Papapa.

None of these, however, are reasonable candidates for a low sandy island an easy day's paddle from Kaula. And so, for the present at least, the story of this lost Hawaiian island must remain a puzzle with a missing piece, an intriguing if somewhat frustrating real-life sea mystery. In retrospect, it just seems everything would have been a lot less complicated if, on that distant afternoon in March 1779 when the English explorers met the natives in that canoe bound for Kaula and then Mokupapapa, they had simply asked the Hawaiians to take them there.



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