



Michael's Museum

FEATURING ANTIQUE MINIATURE PORTRAITS
OF THE TORMEY-HOLDER COLLECTION

FEATURED ARTIST: EBENEZER MACK (1755-1826)

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Active in the post-Revolutionary War years of 1780-1808,¹ Ebenezer Mack appears to have been an artist of little distinction. That is to say, he is believed to have been self-taught, he is not known to have exhibited his works, he was not especially lauded by his peers, and he is not known to have painted portraits of particularly important statesmen. Rather, he made his living painting the likes of local officials, wealthy shopkeepers, housewives, farmers and ordinary American townsfolk; and, not surprisingly, his painting style reflected the more practical and measured tastes of those patrons.

While he may have been of little distinction during his lifetime, today, two centuries after his death, Ebenezer Mack is considered an important early American miniaturist; and surviving works by him are highly coveted by discriminating collectors of early American art. His miniature portraits are known to exist in collections of the Smithsonian,² The Metropolitan Museum of Art,³ the New-York Historical Society,⁴ the Columbus Museum,⁵ and several important private collections. Despite this, however, Mack has remained undocumented in the annals of American art history. He is barely mentioned in reference books; and his legacy is frequently dismissed with phrases like, "not much is known about..." and "very little is known about Ebenezer Mack."

To date, the most extensive biographical information published about Mack is a 95-word paragraph by Carrie Rebora Barratt and Lori Zabar, in their 2010 tome, *American Portrait Miniatures in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. According to Barratt



Figure 1:

Early American Lady (Likely a Resident of Philadelphia) with Fashionable Feathers and Jewels in Her Hair

by Ebenezer Mack

circa 1785

watercolor on ivory

1 1/4 x 1 11/16 inches (sight)

Tormey-Holder Collection

With somewhat of a folk-art appearance, this miniature portrait is a rare example of Ebenezer Mack's early work.

and Zabar, Mack advertised in Philadelphia in 1785 and 1788 [he actually advertised in Philadelphia regularly from 1785 through 1789], he had unclaimed mail on deposit at the Philadelphia post office in 1790, and he was recorded thereafter in New York City from 1791 to 1808. Barratt and Zabar also note that, in 1809 and 1810, a Dr. Ebenezer Mack was recorded as living at the same New York City address that had previously been recorded as the home of miniature painter Ebenezer Mack.⁶

It is regrettable, of course, that not more has been published about Ebenezer Mack. Oddly enough, however, it would appear that even the artist himself made little effort to preserve a record of his work and legacy. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct that record out of the myriad of conflicting information that exists in disparate and obscure sources. It is outlined in a manner that is intended to walk the reader through an evolution of thought and ultimate conclusion as various facts and clues are encountered.

SEEKING THE RIGHT EBENEZER MACK

During the period when Ebenezer Mack was active as an artist, there were as many as four separate Ebenezer Macks living in the American Northeast – one being a farmer, another being a clergyman, one being a doctor, and another being a newspaper publisher and New York state senator. Might one of these have also been Ebenezer Mack the miniature portrait painter?

Seeking answers to this question has required creative sleuthing and examination of some unconventional sources. The first record of Ebenezer Mack as an artist is not found, after all, in a census record or in an eighteenth-century city directory. Rather, mention of Mack is first discovered in the biography of an unrelated artist, John Smibert (1688-1751).

To wit, historian Richard Saunders informs readers of his *John Smibert, Colonial America's First Portrait Painter*, that, in 1780, Ebenezer Mack and Joseph Dunckerley (also a miniature portrait painter) lived together in Boston and shared the studio of the late Smibert.⁷ (Following his death, Smibert's studio, including his vast library, personal art collection and copies of works by European masters, had been kept intact by his heirs who, over the course of many years, rented the space out. Not surprisingly, aspiring artists relished the opportunity to inhabit the studio, which was said to be full of artistic inspiration in many forms.)

Other than Mack having occupied Smibert's studio with Dunckerley in Boston in 1780, however, no records of the period document an Ebenezer Mack living in or around Boston. No record can be found, likewise, of an Ebenezer Mack having been born in the Boston vicinity during the three decades leading up to 1780. Where, then, did Ebenezer Mack originate, and what brought him to Boston?

Seeking further clues about the origins of Ebenezer Mack and his connection to Boston leads to yet another unconventional source: the research findings of Peter Wilson Coldham, a British genealogist and historian who assembled the records of nearly 10,000 people who, either by their own free will or compulsion, left Great Britain during the period of 1751-1776, en route to the British colonies. In a 1991 article titled *Genealogical Gleanings in England: Some Early Revolutionary War Prisoners*, Coldham reports that an Ebenezer Mack, a British prisoner of war, was sent from Great Britain to Boston in January 1776, aboard a

navy frigate by the name of H.M.S. *Solebay*.⁸ According to Coldham, this Mack, an American, had originally been captured by the British near the Canadian city of Montreal, along with Col. Ethan Allen and several other Revolutionary War militants.

Fact checking Coldham's sources, one finds that they do indeed document an Ebenezer Mack leaving Great Britain as a prisoner aboard the *Solebay* with the intended destination of Boston. Curiously, however, further research also reveals that the *Solebay* never arrived to Boston. Rather, the ship is recorded as having arrived to North America at Cape Fear, North Carolina, where Mack and his fellow prisoners were transferred to another ship and taken north to Halifax for further imprisonment.⁹

Of course, a critical eye will note that Coldham's findings make no reference to prisoner of war Ebenezer Mack also being an artist. This combined with the fact that Mack was not transported to Boston in 1776 after all, as originally intended by his British captors, leads one to wonder if Coldham's work connecting this particular Ebenezer Mack to Boston is perhaps a false lead.

The continued search for the artist Ebenezer Mack leads nonetheless to yet a third unconventional source: *The History of the Treman, Tremaine, Truman Family in America*, by Ebenezer Mack Treman and Murray E. Poole. Published in 1901, this two-volume, 2,129-page work outlines direct ancestors of Ebenezer Mack Treman and numerous related family lines, including several branches of Mack families and 28 individual Ebenezer Macks (a name that seems to have been popular throughout several generations of these related family groups).

On the surface, with information about more than two dozen individual Ebenezer Macks, Treman and Poole's work appears to offer promise. Disappointingly, however, of the 28 Ebenezer Macks outlined by Treman and Poole, not one is mentioned

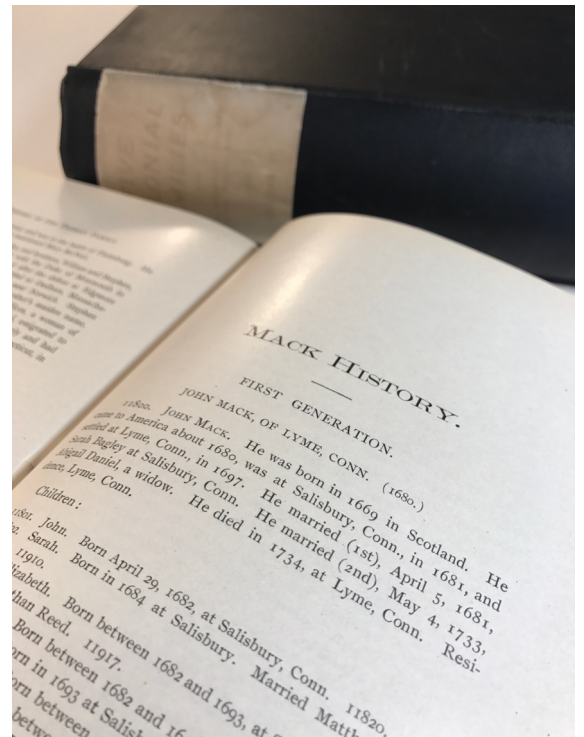


Figure 2:

"*The History of the Treman, Tremaine, Truman Family in North America*", open to page 343.

To aid in the study of our research subject, an original edition copy of this two volume, 2,129-page work was acquired for the collection.

[Treman, Ebenezer Mack and Poole, Murray E. (1901). "*The History of the Treman, Tremaine, Truman Family in North America*", Press of the Ithaca Democrat, Ithaca, New York.]

as having been an artist or, more specifically, a miniature portrait painter. Treman and Poole's work does nonetheless prove to be a valuable resource, albeit in an unexpected way. To wit, between pages 368 and 369 of their volume 1, appears a photographic plate on which the miniature portrait of a Judge Stephen Mack is displayed (a copy of which appears herein in fig. 3).

The appearance of this miniature portrait in Treman and Poole's work is significant, as any well-studied collector or curator of early American art will instantly recognize it as being a later work (circa 1795-1800) of our research subject, miniature painter Ebenezer Mack. This is encouraging, as it seems to suggest after all that the artist might be among, or at least related to, the many Ebenezer Macks outlined by Treman and Poole.

Perhaps even more significant, this miniature portrait of Judge Stephen Mack also bears a signature: "E. Mack", appearing above the judge's right shoulder, visible on the viewer's left. This author is unaware of any extant miniature by Mack bearing the artist's signature, making this discovery in Treman and Poole's book both rare and important. Equally remarkable, however, is that such an important image would be published in a Mack family genealogy with no mention whatsoever of the Mack artist who painted it!

Interestingly, upon reviewing Treman and Poole's biographical notes about the Judge Stephen Mack depicted in the miniature portrait, one learns that, according to Treman and Poole, the judge had a brother named Dr. Ebenezer Mack. Treman and Poole further outline details of this Dr. Mack, noting in particular that he served in the Revolutionary War during his youth, that he was taken prisoner with Col. Ethan Allen near Montreal, and that, after the war, he lived for many years in New York City, where he ultimately died (no date of death mentioned).



Figure 3:

**Judge Stephen Mack (1765-1814),
Cousin of the Artist**

by Ebenezer Mack

circa 1795-1800

This copy of an original miniature portrait by Ebenezer Mack appeared in "The History of the Treman, Tremaine, Truman Family in America", by Ebenezer Mack Treman and Murray E. Poole, published in 1901.

Clearly one of Ebenezer Mack's later works, this miniature is much more refined and finely painted than Mack's early works (the portrait appearing in fig. 1 of which is a good example).

The current whereabouts of this portrait of Judge Stephen Mack are unknown. It is assumed that it has been passed down through the Mack and Treman families, but it has not appeared publicly since 1901, when it was featured in Treman and Poole's two volume work.

It is particularly significant that this miniature portrait bears a signature of the artist, inscribed as "E. Mack", appearing above the subject's right shoulder, visible on the viewer's left. Mack rarely signed his works; and no miniature bearing his signature is known to exist in important museum and private collections – making this miniature a rare and important find.

Considering that the previously noted research of Peter Wilson Coldham appeared to have been a false lead, one is surprised, of course, to encounter Treman and Poole's mention of Ebenezer Mack being taken prisoner with Ethan Allen. Their mention of Dr. Ebenezer Mack living for many years in New York City is also intriguing, as it brings to mind a key research finding of Barratt and Zabar: that a Dr. Ebenezer Mack appeared in New York City directories for the years 1809 and 1810, living at the same Manhattan address that had previously been recorded as the home of miniature painter Ebenezer Mack.

Are these similar facts merely coincidental, or is there a connection between the Dr. Ebenezer Mack mentioned by Treman and Poole and the Dr. Mack mentioned by Barratt and Zabar?

Fact checking Barratt and Zabar, one discovers that New York city directories do indeed confirm that, in 1809 and 1810, a Dr. Ebenezer Mack resided at the same address that had previously been recorded as the home of miniature painter Ebenezer Mack.¹⁰ Fact checking Treman and Poole, however, one discovers a critical flaw in their work. To wit, despite what Treman and Poole outline, Judge Stephen Mack had no brother by the name of Ebenezer. Digging further into genealogical records of the judge's extended family, however, one learns that, rather than a brother, the judge did have a cousin named Ebenezer: Ebenezer Mack, son of Daniel Mack, Sr. (brother of the judge's father) and Elisabeth Cary.¹¹

Revisiting Treman and Poole's work in search of any mention they might make of the family of Daniel Mack and Elisabeth Cary, one discovers that, interestingly, Treman and Poole were aware of Judge Stephen Mack having a cousin by the name of Ebenezer Mack. This Ebenezer is not identified by Treman and Poole as being a doctor, however; nor is he identified as being a miniature painter. He is, however, noted to have served in the Revolutionary War. More specifically, he is identified by Treman and Poole as a "soldier under Col. Ethan Allen and with him (about 18 [sic.] in all) captured near Montreal, Canada, September 25, 1775, and afterwards confined at Halifax."¹² (yet another reference to an Ebenezer Mack being imprisoned with Ethan Allen).

Considering, in particular, the fact that Treman and Poole describe two separate Ebenezer Macks as having been taken prisoner with Ethan Allen, one suspects that Treman and Poole conflated the identities of the cousin and supposed brother of Judge Stephen Mack. If so, might this mix-up stem from cousins Stephen and Ebenezer Mack having had a relationship close enough that some considered them to have actually been brothers? Taking this conjecture one step further, given the possibility of such a close relationship, is it not likely that the judge's portrait was painted by this cousin Ebenezer? Might, therefore, this Ebenezer Mack, son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary, be the early American miniature portrait painter that has so long remained elusive to historians?

If this is the case, however, what is to be made of Dr. Ebenezer Mack? Treman and Poole specifically identify the erroneous brother of Judge Stephen Mack as having been a doctor, not a painter; and they make no mention of the profession of cousin Ebenezer, son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary.

Treman and Poole do note, however, that Dr. Mack lived and died in New York City. They do not provide a date of this supposed death, but further research finds that a Dr. Ebenezer Mack is indeed recorded as having died in New York City, on July 26, 1826.¹³ This death is further reported in three concurrent newspaper obituaries, two of which note that Mack died at the specific age of 70 years and ten months.^{14, 15}

This mention of 70 years and ten months is a significant fact, as it happens to correspond exactly to the date of birth of Ebenezer Mack, son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary, who was born on September 23, 1755.¹⁶

Offering further corroboration of Dr. Mack's identity, one of his newspaper obituaries also makes reference to his having a brother named Daniel. This, too, is a significant fact, as Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary did indeed have a second son named Daniel (1760-1833).

With this important information, one is now able to definitively conclude that Treman and Poole did indeed conflate the identities of the cousin and supposed brother of Judge Stephen Mack. The two Ebenezer Macks they reference were, in fact, a single individual, Ebenezer Mack, son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary; and this Ebenezer Mack was indeed a doctor.

Having resolved these facts, however, what is to be made of the connection between this Dr. Ebenezer Mack and the miniature portrait painter Ebenezer Mack – especially considering that, in 1809 and 1810, Dr. Ebenezer Mack was recorded as living at the same New York City address that had previously been recorded as the home of miniature painter Ebenezer Mack?

Investigating this connection further requires an in-depth review of New York city directories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in search of any mention of an Ebenezer Mack as either an artist or a doctor. Many New York city directories of this period remain unavailable in digital form, however, and must be examined in person at a Manhattan branch of the New York Public Library. Seeking assistance with accessing these original sources, this author turned to Meryl Schumacker, a professional genealogist and researcher of high regard in Manhattan.¹⁷ Ms. Schumacker's assistance was invaluable to this research effort, and her findings have proven most enlightening.

DIED,
Yesterday morning, at 5 o'clock, Dr. Ebenezer Mack, aged 70 years and ten months, his friends, and those of his brother Daniel Mack are respectfully invited to attend his funeral this afternoon, at 4 o'clock, from 67 Roosevelt street.

Figure 4:

One of three newspaper obituaries that reported the death of Dr. Ebenezer Mack in 1826.

This particular obituary also makes mention of Dr. Mack's brother, Daniel Mack, a fact that aids greatly in confirming the identity of Dr. Mack as being the son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary of Connecticut (as Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary also had a son named Daniel).

Reference is also made to the address of 67 Roosevelt Street (albeit misspelled in the obituary), the last documented residence of Dr. Ebenezer Mack.

["New-York Daily Advertiser", New York, New York, July 28, 1826 edition, page 3.]^{14, 15}

Prior research by this author finds Ebenezer Mack to have appeared in New York city directories as a limner in 1791¹⁸ and as a miniature painter in 1796.¹⁹ He also appeared as a miniature painter in New York City newspaper advertisements in both 1793 and 1794.

Additional research contributed by Ms. Schumacker reveals that, between 1797 and 1808,²⁰ Ebenezer Mack appeared in six additional New York city directories as a miniature painter, and that, between 1809 and 1826,²¹ Dr. Ebenezer Mack appeared nine times, alternatively listed as a doctor and a physician.

It is noteworthy, of course, that between 1791 and 1826, there are no years in which both the painter and the doctor appear concurrently – no years in which more than one Ebenezer Mack can be found living in New York City.

Consistent with the findings of Barratt and Zabar, Ms. Schumacker also confirms that there are five years in which the miniature painter and the doctor are recorded as having lived on the same street, Water Street. To wit, in 1806, Ebenezer Mack is recorded as a miniature painter living at 273 Water Street.²² For the years 1807 and 1808, he is recorded as a miniature painter living at 271 Water Street.²³ Thereafter, for the years 1809 and 1810, Ebenezer Mack is recorded as a physician living at the same 271 Water Street.²⁴ (See Addendum 1 for a detailed summary of Ebenezer Mack's various Manhattan residences.)

Ms. Schumacker additionally observes that, over the 28-year period of 1799-1826, the various residences of the painter Mack and the doctor Mack remained within a small geographic area, in New York's fourth and seventh wards, in the same neighborhood along Manhattan's East River. (Prior to 1799, the painter Mack lived in the nearby second ward.) This fact, combined with the fact that there are no years in which the painter Mack and the doctor Mack appear concurrently as two individuals, offer strong, albeit indirect evidence that the painter and the doctor were the same man.

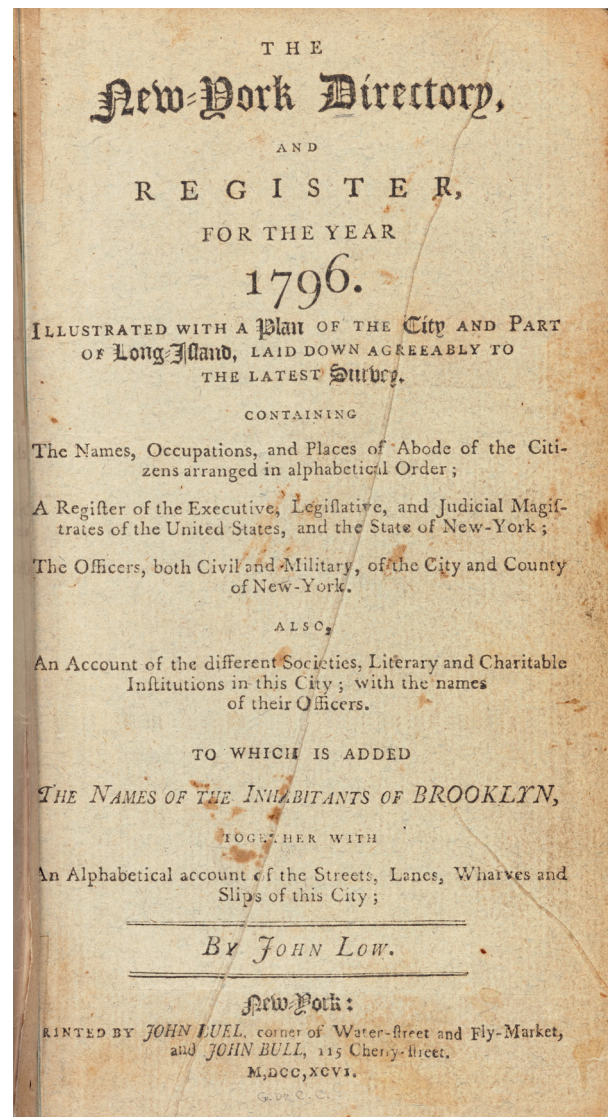


Figure 5:

Copy of the title page of a 1796 New York city directory, one of 35 such directories examined in the research effort outlined herein.

Highly foxed and worn, this directory shows ample evidence of its 221-year-old age.

["The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1796", published in New York by John Low, 1796.]

Alternatively, one might question whether the miniature painter had perhaps died in 1808 and been succeeded by his heir, Dr. Ebenezer Mack. Other than the death of Dr. Mack in 1826, however, there are no deaths of an Ebenezer Mack recorded in New York City in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Additionally, Dr. Ebenezer Mack wasn't a junior – he is well documented as having been the son of Daniel Mack, Sr. Thus, we know that the doctor could not have been a son of the painter. The possibility of his being a nephew has also been ruled out, as research into the extended family of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Dr. Ebenezer Mack reveals no uncles or other near relatives by the name of Ebenezer (other than a nephew of the doctor, who was 36 years his junior and never lived in New York City).

As noted previously, however, Dr. Ebenezer Mack is documented as having had a brother by the name of Daniel; and, as evidenced by Dr. Mack's obituary, this brother Daniel also lived in New York City. This fact has proven key to unlocking the identity of Ebenezer Mack, as further research reveals that the two brothers consistently lived near each other in Manhattan – in both the years in which Ebenezer was listed as a miniature painter and the years in which he was listed as a physician. This, combined with the other information outlined herein, offers the most compelling evidence to date that the miniature painter Ebenezer Mack and Dr. Ebenezer Mack were indeed the same individual. It would appear, therefore, that the disappearance of Mack as a painter and the subsequent appearance of Mack as a physician simply reflect the transition by one individual from one career to another.

After two centuries of historical ambiguity, Ebenezer Mack, the important early American miniaturist can now be identified with confidence. He was the son of Daniel Mack, Sr. and Elisabeth Cary of Connecticut, a Revolutionary War patriot who was at length confined as a prisoner of war and who, in the last two decades of his life, became a physician. Knowing his identity, it now becomes easier to assemble biographical details and paint a portrait of the Early American artist's life.

EBENEZER MACK'S ORIGINS

Born on September 23, 1755,²⁵ in Hebron, Connecticut, Ebenezer Mack was the first of six children born to Daniel Mack, Sr. (1727-1792) and Elisabeth Cary (1727-1772). Scottish by heritage, he was a great grandson of Scottish immigrant John Mack (1653-1721), who was born in Inverness, Scotland and arrived to Boston in 1669, before ultimately settling in Lyme, Connecticut, where he raised a large family.

The timing of Ebenezer's birth in 1755 was auspicious, given his later involvement in the Revolutionary War, as the first several years of his life were overshadowed by hardships stemming from the French and Indian War. The war, by its end in 1763, had taken a large toll on Connecticut, leaving the colony war weary, economically depressed and deep in debt. Ebenezer's own family struggled financially for many years thereafter.

Shortly after Ebenezer's birth, his parents moved from Hebron to nearby Norfolk, Connecticut.²⁶ There, his father divided his time between farming a small plot of land and weaving fabrics on an artisan's loom,²⁷ generating a meager income barely sufficient to meet his growing family's needs.

Ebenezer's mother, Elisabeth, died in 1772.²⁸ Ebenezer himself was 17 years old at the time; his youngest sibling, Jemima, was just 6. Ebenezer's father, Daniel, Sr., outlived his wife by two decades. He ultimately died in 1792,²⁹ at the age of 64, financially insolvent.³⁰

There is no record of Ebenezer's education in childhood. Nor is there a record of his activities in the years immediately following his mother's death in 1772. He is known to have remained in Norfolk, however, until the start of the Revolutionary War.

SERVICE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Just as Ebenezer Mack's childhood was overshadowed by the French and Indian War and its aftermath, his coming of age was greeted by a crumbling relationship between the American colonies and Great Britain. He was 18 years old when, in response to the "Boston Tea Party", thousands of British troops flooded into Boston and enforced martial law. He was 19 when, ten months later, colonists were gunned down by surging British troops at the Battles of Lexington and Concord.

As history records, of course, Britain's aggression at Lexington and Concord awoke a sleeping giant. Within hours of the first shots being fired, postal riders were racing to far corners of New England on horseback, yelling cries of, "to arms, to arms! the war has begun!"^{31, 32} In response, a spirit of patriotism and brotherhood swelled throughout the colonies and plans were quickly made for the defense of a common American homeland.

On April 23, 1775, a mere four days after the Battles of Concord and Lexington, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress voted to raise a volunteer defense force of over 13,000 men; and they called on neighboring colonies to do the same.³³ Four days later, the Connecticut Assembly obliged, voting on April 27, 1775 to raise as many as 6,000 troops to contribute to the effort.³⁴

The young – and one imagines impassioned – Ebenezer Mack was amongst the first Connecticuturs to heed the call for volunteers. In May 1775, the 19-year-old enlisted in the Connecticut militia for a term of seven months (a standard enlistment term for volunteer militiamen).³⁵ He was assigned to a company under the command of Capt. John Watson, in the 4th Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Benjamin Hinman.³⁶

Afforded no time to train, almost immediately after his enlistment, Mack was amongst 1,000 Connecticut soldiers sent marching north, his company being one of ten ordered to Lake Champlain in upper New York.³⁷ Their mission was to reinforce a small American garrison at Fort Ticonderoga, which had just days earlier been captured from the British by Col. Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys.³⁸

It was there, at Fort Ticonderoga, that Mack and Ethan Allen became acquainted. One imagines that Mack was likely enthralled by Allen's outspoken and flamboyant leadership style. His association with the brave-hearted Allen would ultimately prove disastrous, however.

By the summer of 1775, as separate colonial militias merged into a unified Continental Army under the command of General George Washington, Washington's strategists devised a plan to invade and seize control of the province of Quebec from the British. Logically, it was believed that controlling territories north of New England would deprive Great Britain of the ability to attack from the north.³⁹ This plan would prove difficult, however, as Britain maintained a strong military footprint in Quebec.

Being that Fort Ticonderoga was at the time the northern-most American stronghold, it was decided that troops already there should be utilized to make any such push further north into British Quebec. It was thus that Private Ebenezer Mack found himself amongst a large invasion force assembled in late August 1775.⁴⁰ Their goal was to first take the fortified city of Montreal and then to seize Quebec City.

By September 17, 1775, the mass of American troops from Ticonderoga arrived at Fort St. Johns, the main defensive point south of Montreal, and began what would become a six-week siege of the fort.⁴¹ The impatient Ethan Allen was not pleased, however, with the prospect of waiting weeks or longer to advance from Fort St. Johns into the city of Montreal. Perhaps emboldened by his prior success in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga from the British, Allen decided to break away from the primary invasion force and attempted to capture Montreal on his own with a small guerilla force of about 110 men, made up of both militiamen from Fort Ticonderoga and rebel-minded Canadians who joined them during their march northward from Ticonderoga to Montreal.⁴²

History records that Ebenezer Mack had the misfortune of being amongst this small band of men that accompanied Allen in his unsuccessful endeavor⁴³ – described years later by historian Theron Wilmot Crissey as a “brave though irregular and foolhardy attempt to take Montreal by surprise.”⁴⁴

Allen and his men set out in the dark of night on September 24, 1775.⁴⁵ They crossed the St. Laurence River and arrived at Longue-Pointe, from where they planned a quick entry into Montreal. To Allen’s dismay, however, news of his plan to take the city had reached Guy Carleton, then Governor General of British North America, who sent a sizeable force of redcoats to surprise Allen’s men. Upon realizing that their plan was thwarted, dozens of Allen’s marauders made a hasty retreat. The remainder quickly found themselves surrounded and without an escape route.

Not one to give up without a fight, Col. Allen charged his men to resist valiantly. In the early morning of September 25, 1775, they fought for two hours,⁴⁶ incurring heavy casualties before they were ultimately overcome by the larger and better equipped British force.⁴⁷ At the short battle’s conclusion, Allen and 33 of his surviving men were taken prisoner by the redcoats. Of these, 19 were American colonists and 14 were Canadians. Amongst the Americans were three young men who had enlisted just four months prior in Norfolk, Connecticut: Peter Noble, Levi Barnum and Ebenezer Mack.^{48, 49, 50, 51}

Just two days after celebrating his twentieth birthday, Mack had become a prisoner of war, and his immediate future looked grim.

LIFE AS A PRISONER OF WAR

The only published account of Mack’s capture and imprisonment reports that he was “taken prisoner with [Ethan] Allen, and remained in close confinement 19 months [sic. – research reveals that he was actually only confined for 14 months], was sick much of that time, lost all his baggage, was carried to Quebec, to England and Ireland, thence to Cape Fear, S.C. [sic. – Cape Fear is actually located in North Carolina], Halifax, and finally New York, whence he escaped, and came home in April, 1777.”⁵²

Additional details of Mack's imprisonment can also be gleaned from Ethan Allen's written account of the period, published in 1838. We learn from Allen, for example, that after their capture, his men were initially separated into small groups, shackled together in pairs and confined for six weeks on the St. Lawrence River, near Montreal, in the bowels of several loyalist schooners. Allen himself, as the officer of the group, was held in solitary confinement, shackled at both the wrists and ankles and weighted with heavy leg irons.⁵³

Of course, such conditions might have been avoided had Ethan Allen been more patient and not rushed in his attempt to capture the city of Montreal with too small an American contingent. History records, after all, that while Allen and his men were imprisoned on the St. Lawrence River, American troops did ultimately take Montreal, on November 13, 1775, forcing General Carleton and his British forces to retreat to Quebec City. This represented a much-needed early victory for Washington's Continental Army, but it came at a price that was to be exacted of Allen and his men.

Angered at the loss of Montreal, Carleton decided that an example should be made of his colonial American prisoners, believing that their ultimate executions would discourage others from similarly rebelling against British authority. On his orders, therefore, Allen and his men were loaded onto a British vessel named *Adamant* and transported to England to stand trial.^{54, 55}

The journey to England aboard the *Adamant* lasted a little over a month,⁵⁶ during which time Ebenezer Mack and his fellow prisoners were forced to endure deplorable and filthy conditions, later recounted by Ethan Allen as follows:

A small place in the vessel, enclosed with white-oak plank, was assigned for the prisoners, and for me among the rest. [As an officer, Allen had expected that he should be given better quarters than his privates, but he was confined in the same hold with his soldiers nonetheless.] I should imagine that it was not more than twenty feet one way, and twenty-two the other; into this place we were all, to the number of thirty-four [Allen, 19 American soldiers and 14 Canadian rebels], thrust and handcuffed, two prisoners more being added to our number, and were provided with two excrement tubs; in this circumference, we were obliged to eat and perform the offices of evacuation, during the voyage to England; and were insulted by every black-guard sailor and tory on board, in the cruelest manner.⁵⁷

We were denied fresh water, except a small allowance, which was very inadequate to our wants; and in consequence of the stench of the place, each of us was soon followed with a diarrhea and fever, which occasioned an intolerable thirst. When we asked for water, we were, most commonly, instead of obtaining it insulted and derided; and to add to all the horrors of the place, it was so dark that we could not see each other, and we were overspread with body lice.⁵⁸

After sailing east across the Atlantic, a few days before Christmas 1775, the *Adamant* landed at the port of Falmouth, in Cornwall, on the southwestern tip of England.⁵⁹ From there, Ebenezer Mack and his compatriots were then marched about a mile, to Pendennis Castle, where they were further imprisoned.

Ethan Allen later recollected that he and his men received far greater treatment at Pendennis Castle than they had received in Canada or on their transatlantic journey. Their accommodations were far from glamorous, however, being a single, large room shared by the 34 men, who remained locked in irons and slept on straw,⁶⁰ all the while fretting their impending executions.



Figure 6:

A modern-day view of Pendennis Castle. Though referred to as a castle by name, Pendennis Castle was actually an artillery fort, originally constructed during the reign of Henry VIII as a defense against foreign invasion via the strategic River Fal. As a military fortress, it also served as an ideal place to confine prisoners of war; and thus, it came to be that Ebenezer Mack, along with Ethan Allen and 32 other men, were imprisoned here in 1775.

Photo credit: English Heritage

Such anxiety on the part of Allen and his men was, of course, well founded, as populist opinion in Great Britain was eager to see Allen's band of rebels swinging from gallows. Cooler heads prevailed in British Parliament, however, where it was observed that American prisons held far more British soldiers than British prisons held Americans, and reasoned that it would be unwise, therefore, to start a precedent of executing prisoners of war. It was concluded, therefore, that, despite General Carleton's wishes to the contrary, Col. Allen and his men should be returned to North America, where they could be used as currency in eventual prisoner exchanges.

It thus came to be that, just as British researcher Peter Wilson Coldham outlined, on January 8, 1776,⁶¹ barely two weeks after their arrival to England aboard the *Adamant*, Ebenezer Mack and his fellow prisoners were sent aboard the frigate H.M.S. *Solebay*, to be sailed to Boston and placed in the charge of General William Howe, then commander-in-chief of British military forces in North America.⁶²

Per Ethan Allen's written account, the *Solebay* sailed first from Falmouth, England to Cork, Ireland, to both join with other naval and merchant ships and gather provisions for the transatlantic journey. In Ireland, Allen reports, the prisoners with him were divided into three groups, one third of which remained with him onboard the *Solebay*, and the others being sent aboard two other warships in the small fleet that would sail westward together.⁶³

Their speed likely hindered by smaller vessels in their entourage, the *Solebay*, et al, took nearly four months to cross the Atlantic. Then, upon entering North American Waters, they first arrived to Cape Fear, North Carolina, anchoring in that harbor on May 3, 1776.⁶⁴ There, being met by other ships of the Royal Navy, word was quickly received that Boston was no longer a viable destination, that city having been evacuated by the British six weeks earlier, after the British were unable to overcome an eleven-month siege by colonial militias. Thus, at Cape Fear, Allen and his men were reunited aboard a single ship, a Royal Navy frigate by the name of *Mercury*, and transported to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where General Howe and nearly 10,000 British troops had relocated from Boston.⁶⁵

Per Allen, the *Mercury* arrived to Halifax by about the middle of June, at which time all the prisoners were transferred to yet another prison sloop and detained for some weeks on Halifax Harbor.⁶⁶ Of course, by this time, having been imprisoned for nine months in sub-par conditions, Allen's men were faring quite poorly. Allen reports, in fact, that while held captive aboard the unnamed schooner on Halifax Harbor, his men were "cruelly pinched with hunger", being provided daily rations sufficient for no more than a third of their number.⁶⁷ Per Allen, his men divided these meager rations as equally as possible amongst themselves and all remained in a constant state of "violent hunger and faintness".⁶⁸ Making matters all the worse, as noted by Allen, about a dozen of the men were "dangerously ill of the scurvy."⁶⁹ Though none of those afflicted with scurvy were mentioned by name, one easily imagines Ebenezer Mack to have been among them, given that Theron Wilmot Chrissy reported Mack to have been sick most of the time he was in captivity.⁷⁰

Eventually, the British woke up to the fact that a dead or nearly dead prisoner would be of little value in a prisoner exchange. It was thus decided, by mid-August, to transfer Allen and his men from their prison sloop to land. There, the sickest amongst them were treated at a hospital and the remainder were impounded in the Halifax jail.⁷¹ To the extent one can say their situation was improved with better food and minor medical attention, however, Allen recounted that he and his men were grouped with other prisoners of the jail, most of whom had a contagious fever he described as "jail distemper", in a single common room where there were no furnishings other than excrement tubs.⁷²

Mack and his fellow prisoners were so interred at the Halifax jail for two months, after which, on about October 12, 1776, they were ordered aboard a British man-of-war to be sailed next to New York Harbor, which was by then firmly controlled by the British Royal Navy.⁷³ The plan was for each of them, as the right opportunity presented itself, to be exchanged for a British prisoner held captive by the Continental Army. Ebenezer Mack and his weary prison mates were surely elated at the prospect that they might soon regain their freedom. Mack was soon greeted, too, by a ray of hope in the form of financial assistance from his family back home.

That this assistance was even possible can be credited to one of Mack's prison mates, fellow Connecticuter Peter Noble, who had five months earlier escaped his British jailers in North Carolina. According to Ethan Allen, this escape occurred at Cape Fear, in May 1776, as the American prisoners were being transferred between ships. Sensing an opportune moment to escape, Noble slipped away from his guards, dove into the harbor and, by what Allen described as "extraordinary swimming",⁷⁴ made it safely to shore.^{75, 76} Once safely behind American lines, Noble slowly worked his way home to Norfolk, Connecticut, some 680 miles north of Cape Fear, where he shared with Daniel Mack, Sr. the details of his son's capture and imprisonment. Though bittersweet, this news must have come as a relief to Mr. Mack, as he had up until that point surely feared his son to be dead.

With newfound knowledge of his son's dire situation, and a sworn affidavit by Peter Noble proving such, Daniel Mack was allowed to collect the young Ebenezer's back pay, a portion of which he was somehow then able to get to New York City to aid in his escape.⁷⁷ To date, research has revealed no clues as to how Daniel Mack was able to find Ebenezer's exact location in New York or how he was able to secretly get cash into his hands; but it is said that, with this cash, Ebenezer Mack was able to negotiate an escape sometime in November 1776, after which he was finally able to return home to Norfolk, some 14 months after his original capture near Montreal.⁷⁸

Later that same month, all but three of Ebenezer Mack's brothers in arms also made it to freedom, escaping as a group in the middle of the night. The three remaining men were shortly thereafter exchanged for British prisoners held captive by the Continental Army. Ethan Allen himself did not fare as well. He remained captive another year and a half, until he was finally exchanged for a British colonel in May 1778.⁷⁹

EBENEZER MACK'S CAREER AS A PAINTER

It is believed that Mack was self-taught as an artist; and indeed, no record has been found of him having received formal training. One naturally wonders if he turned to art while held in captivity. There are, after all, several known cases of charitable individuals gifting writing materials and basic art supplies to prisoners of war during the Revolutionary War, as a means of helping them pass the time. Alternatively, one wonders if Mack didn't turn to art upon his return home to Norfolk, after he escaped his British captors in November 1776. He was a mere 21-years-old at the time, after all, and likely found drawing and painting to be a soothing distraction from the traumatic memories of his treatment in captivity. Such thoughts are merely conjecture, however.

After Mack's escape from the British in 1776, there is a gap of four years during which no record appears of his whereabouts or activities until 1780 when, as noted earlier, he was documented as living with Joseph Dunckerley in Boston, in the former studio of John Smibert. Other than sharing Smibert's studio with Dunckerley, however, no other records have been found to document Mack's life in Boston. The lack of any such records is logical, of course, given the context of Mack's Revolutionary War military service and imprisonment by the British. The war was, after all, still raging in 1780; and, in the eyes of the British, Ebenezer Mack was a fugitive. These facts surely made Boston an appealing destination to the young Mack,

as the city was by that time in the war the safest American stronghold in all of New England. Relative safety aside, however, Mack evidently kept a very low profile in Boston, being careful not to have his whereabouts appear in public records or in print media.

That Mack roomed with Joseph Dunckerley also fits this narrative, as Dunckerley too was considered a fugitive, having deserted the British Army in January 1776⁸⁰ and joined the American side four months later.⁸¹ Dunckerley, quite similarly, kept a very low profile during this period and did not advertise in print media until 1784, a year after the war ended. The two men, therefore, had more in common than just their art. They were, likewise, close in age, Dunckerley being just three years older than Mack.⁸²

Following his stay at Smibert's studio in 1780, Mack's exact whereabouts are not known until 1784, when he appeared 300 miles south in Philadelphia. This is evidenced by advertisements by Mack in Philadelphia newspapers from February 1785, in which he advertised his services as a miniature painter and specifically mentioned having already been in the city for a few months.⁸³ (See fig. 7.)

That Mack would choose to relocate to Philadelphia in 1784 is not surprising, given that the city was abuzz with activity (and affluent individuals) in the decade following the Revolutionary War. At the time, it was the largest city in the Americas; and in the English-speaking world, its port was second only to London in terms of trade and transport. The city was also the hub of burgeoning American democracy, having served as a de facto capital of the united colonies during America's pre-Constitution years.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that Mack advertised his studio as being located on Philadelphia's Market Street, opposite the Indian Queen. The Indian Queen was an inn and tavern that was popular with several of the nation's founding

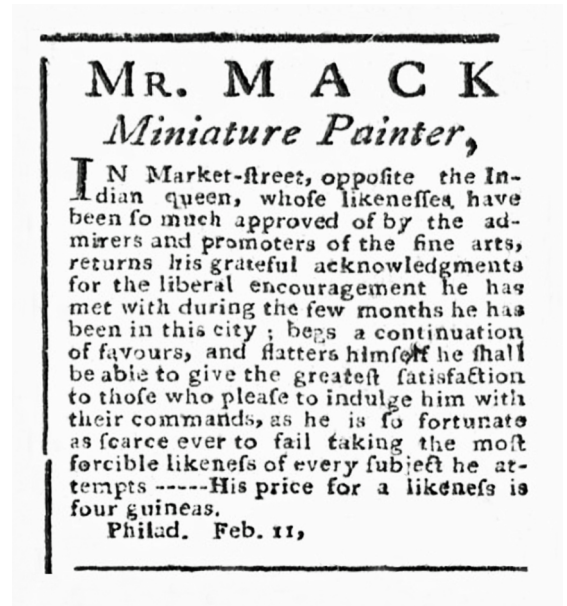


Figure 7:

Copy of the earliest known newspaper advertisement by Ebenezer Mack, which appeared in Philadelphia newspapers over a two-month period, beginning February 11, 1785. By this ad, in which Mack made note of "the few months he has been in this city", we know that the artist arrived to Philadelphia sometime in mid to late 1784.

["Philadelphia Evening Herald", Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1785 edition, Volume I, Issue 8, page 1.]

fathers; and it is said that many important negotiations shaping the eventual Constitution of the United States took place there. Surely, Mack himself must have occasionally visited the Indian Queen's Tavern; and perhaps he himself had an occasion to observe such deliberations.

The energy and enthusiasm Mack must have felt at such a location must have been palpable; but alas, it was not enough to ensure the artist's quick success. Within just two months of his advertisements first appearing in Philadelphia, subsequent ads by Mack indicate that his painting career may have experienced a rough start in the city. To wit, from March 1785, for a period of two months, he advertised a fifty percent discount on painted miniature portraits (2 guineas each, versus the price of 4 guineas he initially advertised two months earlier) and further offered a more than generous satisfaction guarantee.⁸⁴ (See fig. 8.)

Within two years of this apparent rough start, however, Mack appears to have enjoyed improved success in Philadelphia. By 1787, in addition to offering his services as a miniature portrait painter, he also advertised miniatures mounted in gold at a higher expense.⁸⁵ In his 1787 advertisements, he also described himself as being "so fortunate as scarce to ever fail taking the most striking resemblance of every subject he attempts,"⁸⁶ offering an interesting glimpse into what appears to be a not-so-humble personality on the part of the artist. (See fig. 9.)

Mack's advertisements of 1787 also reflect significantly inflated prices – as high as \$12 for unframed miniatures,⁸⁷ which was double the price he charged even in subsequent years. This was due, of course, to the Continental Convention of 1787, which brought an influx of wealthy visitors to Philadelphia and prompted vendors and artisans of all kinds to inflate prices to meet increased demand.

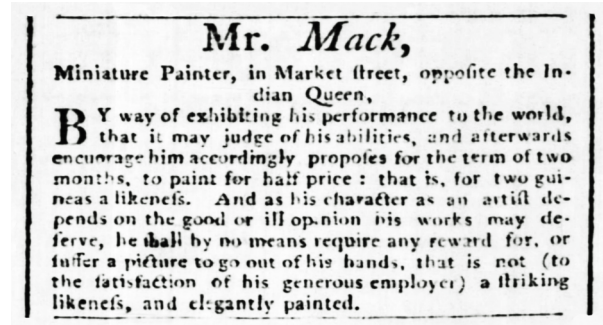


Figure 8:

Copy of March 1785 newspaper ad, in which Ebenezer Mack offered to paint portraits for half price for a period of 2 months – indicating that the artist's painting career may have experienced a rough start in the city.

["Philadelphia Packet", Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 21, 1785 edition, Issue No. 1910, page 4.]

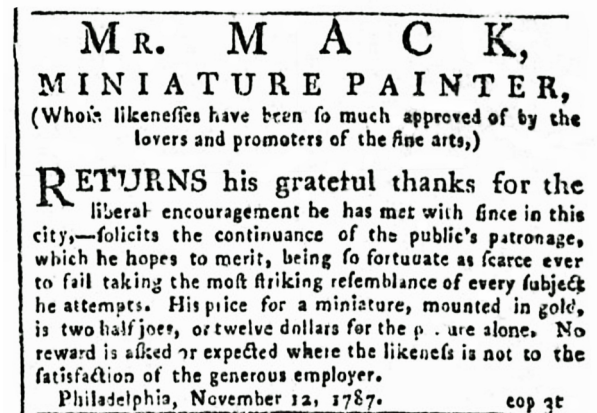


Figure 9:

Copy of November 1787 newspaper ad, in which Ebenezer Mack advertised his services at inflated prices (as high as \$12 for unframed miniatures) – indicating that the artist had met with improved success since 1785.

["Independent Gazetteer", Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1787 edition, Volume VII, Issue 602, page 1.]

Offering additional proof of Mack having met with financial success during this period, his ads of 1788 and 1789 list his address as “Arch Street third door below Third Street”,⁸⁸ an area known at the time for comfortable and well-appointed residences. His neighbors at the time included the likes of retired sea captain and Revolutionary War patriot William Heysham (324 Arch St.), attorney William Rawle (341 Arch St.), watchmaker Isaac Austin (379 Arch St.), merchant Frederick Gilbert (395 Arch St.), and most interestingly, Betsy Ross, of American flag fame, then known as Mrs. John Claypool (335 Arch St.).⁸⁹

Following his move to Arch Street, Mack remained in Philadelphia for no more than two years. After 1789, no further advertisements by the artist appeared in Philadelphia newspapers. Additionally, as noted previously by Carrie Rebora Barratt and Lori Zabar, a public notice in January 1790 made mention of unclaimed mail being addressed to Ebenezer Mack being temporarily held at the Philadelphia post office, suggesting that Mack had departed the city by December 1789.⁹⁰

Thereafter, evidence shows that Mack relocated to Manhattan. He appeared first in a 1791 New York City directory (implying that he had arrived to the city sometime in 1790), listed as a limner residing at 11 Mulberry Street. He did not begin advertising in New York City newspapers, however, until August 1793, at which point he offered thanks for “the very liberal encouragement he has received since in this city.”⁹¹

New Yorkers of the 1790s and early 1800s were indeed known for their generous support of the arts. Historian George Gates Raddin, Jr. described this well when he wrote of the period that “there was a widespread enthusiasm for the fine arts which set New York apart from many other American towns and cities.”⁹² This alone is not likely what brought Mack to New York City, however. Rather, it appears that he moved to New York to be closer to the family of his younger brother, Daniel Mack, Jr., who had married a New Yorker by the name of Elizabeth Tout and settled in the city in 1785.⁹³

Mr. MACK,
MINIATURE-PAINTER,
 Whose performances have been so numerous, and so much approved of by the lovers of the fine arts,
RETURNS his grateful acknowledgments for the very liberal encouragement he has always experienced, particularly in this city; humbly solicits the continuance of favours, which he hopes to merit, being so fortunate as scarce ever to fail taking the most striking likenesses of every subject he attempts.— In any instance where he should fall short of giving satisfaction to his generous employer, he asks no fee or reward; and, where he does succeed, the price is only six dollars.
 Philadelphia, Arch-street, 3d door below Third-street, where any commands are faithfully attended to.
 December 4th. eod.

Figure 10:

Copy of a newspaper ad by Mack that appeared in Philadelphia newspapers from December 1788 through April 1789 – the last of such advertisements by Mack in the city of Philadelphia.

["Federal Gazette", Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1788 edition, page 1.]

MR. MACK,
Miniature Painter,
WHOSE performances have been so much admired, by the lovers and promoters of the Fine Arts, returns his grateful thanks, for the very liberal encouragement he has received since in this city, and begs a continuance of favours, which he hopes to merit, being so fortunate as never to fail taking the most striking likenesses of every subject he attempts.
 New-York, Maiden Lane, No. 43.
 August 3. 1793

Figure 11:

Copy of the first newspaper ad by Mack in New York City. This ad appeared regularly in New York from August 1793 through at least November 1794.

["Weekly Museum", New York, New York, August 3, 1793 edition, Volume VI, Issue 273, page 3.]

By 1790, Daniel and Elizabeth had established themselves as grocers. In that year, they appeared at 12 Broadway.⁹⁴ In 1791, they were located at the corner of Maiden Lane and Green Street, the same year that Ebenezer was documented at the nearby address of 11 Mulberry Street.⁹⁵ The brothers Ebenezer and Daniel remained in close proximity thereafter.

It is interesting, of course, that once settled in New York City, after 1794, Mack no longer advertised his services as a miniature painter. Thereafter, over the course of many years, he did appear in New York City directories; but, for some reason, unlike his time in Philadelphia, he chose not to advertise in newspapers. This may indicate that word-of-mouth referrals were sufficient enough that he didn't need to advertise. Alternatively, it might also mean that Mack's activities as a painter slowed during the late 1790s and early 1800s. Considering how rarely surviving miniatures by Mack are encountered today, the latter is a likely possibility.

THE EMERGENCE OF EBENEZER MACK AS A DOCTOR

The last year in which Ebenezer Mack was identified as an artist was 1808. In that year, he was listed in the New York City directory as a miniature painter residing at 271 Water Street.⁹⁶ Immediately thereafter, he was listed in the 1809 directory as a physician living at the same address of 271 Water Street.⁹⁷ Between 1810 and 1826 (the year of his death), he appeared in eight additional city directories, listed alternatively as a doctor and a physician.⁹⁸

Of course, the difference between a painter and a physician being stark, it is natural for one to question whether Mack the painter and Mack the physician might have been two different people. As has already been outlined, however, evidence instead points to the disappearance of Mack as a painter and the subsequent appearance of Mack as a physician as simply reflecting the transition by a single individual from one career to another.

Numerous questions remain, however, as to why – and perhaps even how – someone would or could become a physician at the age of 54 (Mack was 54 in 1809, the first year he appeared in a city directory as a physician), after having worked for 29 years as a painter.

As a young man, before his military service during the Revolutionary War, might Ebenezer Mack have originally planned to become a doctor? If so, might the disruption of the war and the personal hardship he endured during imprisonment have made it difficult to follow through with his plan until later in life? Could it be instead that he became motivated to study medicine after the illness or death of a loved one that he wished he had been able to help? Alternatively, as an artist, might Mack have simply been an avid student of anatomy who ultimately became inspired to pursue other disciplines in human physiology?

We will likely never know the answers to these questions, as there is very little record of Mack's life as a doctor; and, unlike the period of Mack's imprisonment during the Revolutionary War, we don't have the benefit of a third party's account of these years of his life.

Mack was listed alternatively as a doctor and a physician in nine New York City directories between 1809 and 1826; he used the title of doctor when he authored two books; and he was referred to as a doctor in the newspaper announcement of his death. Other than these facts, however, research has uncovered no trace of what form of medicine Mack practiced or where he received his training. He did not advertise as a doctor (despite his having found success with newspaper ads as a painter); he did not leave a ledger or journal outlining his patient records; and he did not appear in any biographical encyclopedias of New York area physicians.

It should be noted, likewise, that in the early nineteenth century, one could receive a license to practice medicine without having an academic medical degree. Thus, without documentation of a degree, we have no way of even knowing the extent of Mack's medical credentials.



Figure 12:

An assortment of antique bottles of medicinal concoctions and cure-alls, dating back to 1817. Long before germs were understood to be the cause of illness and disease (as opposed to “bad air” or an oversupply of blood), such remedies were commonly prescribed by early nineteenth century doctors; and surely bottles like these would have been present in a cabinet or on a shelf belonging to Dr. Ebenezer Mack.

(Photo credit: Hansons Auctioneers and Raymonds Press, Etwall, Derby, United Kingdom)

Credentials aside, however, it is fair to observe that, in Mack's day and age, it was not at all unusual for doctors to dabble in art or for artists to venture into medicine. Perhaps the most notable example of this is Dr. Alexander Anderson (1775-1870), a noted New York City surgeon of his time who also achieved considerable success as an engraver and was known to have occasionally painted portraits in miniature.⁹⁹ Dr. Anderson and his brother John were, likewise, known to have attended every notable gallery showing in New York and were respected members of “genteel” society.¹⁰⁰

Such was the reality of their time, of course, when gentlemen were expected to be well-dressed, well-read, well-spoken, and capable of holding their own with a drawing pad or an easel. Ebenezer Mack was certainly one such well-rounded gentleman; and it should, therefore, come as no surprise that, in addition to being a painter and a doctor, he also became a published author.

EBENEZER MACK, THE AUTHOR

In the last years of his life, Ebenezer Mack is known to have authored at least two books: *Anatomy in Rhyme*, a lost work of which no surviving copies are known to exist, and *The Cat-Fight; a Mock Heroic Poem*, published in 1824 (two years before Mack's death), a rare few copies of which have survived to the present day. Interestingly, just as Ebenezer Mack's miniature portraits are coveted by collectors today, his *The Cat-Fight*, is also of great interest to collectors of rare early American books.¹⁰¹

While neither of Mack's books offer insight into the life of their author, they do reveal Ebenezer Mack to have been a complex, eccentric and perhaps even troubled individual. A review of his *Anatomy in Rhyme*, in fact, observed that it ought to have earned Mack "lodgings in a lunatic asylum."¹⁰² Mack himself describes his *The Cat-Fight* as a "narrow rivulet of text, and wide extended meadow of notes."¹⁰³ It is decidedly a metaphorical description of early nineteenth century American politics, but it might more easily be described as a hodgepodge of irrelevancies peppered with numerous references to characters from classical literature. There are indeed some charming aspects to *The Cat-Fight*, especially Mack's descriptions of the various characteristics and personalities of cats; but, when navigating the many twists and turns of his text, one is left wondering whether Mack encoded a secret message of some kind within the pages of the book, or whether he was instead simply unbalanced, as suggested by the unflattering review of his *Anatomy in Rhyme*.

Questions of whether Mack was a genius or a lunatic aside, one would think that the life of a painter turned doctor turned author would be better recorded somewhere in historical reference books. Much as Mack's identity as a painter had been marginalized, however, his writings have also been incorrectly attributed. Virtually every reference to his books claim them to have been written by Ebenezer Mack (1791-1849) of Ithaca, New York. This alternative Ebenezer was, coincidentally, a nephew of Dr. Mack, and he was indeed a published author, having published a book fifteen years after the doctor's death. This nephew Ebenezer was not a doctor, however; nor did he ever live in New York City. The title page of *The Cat-Fight* clearly notes the book to have been written by Dr. Ebenezer Mack and further states that copies of the book were available for purchase at the doctor's Manhattan home of 350 Water Street¹⁰⁴ – offering solid evidence as to the identity of the book's author. (See Addendum 2 for additional information.)

One imagines, too, that a published author who had spent 29 years of his life as a miniature painter might

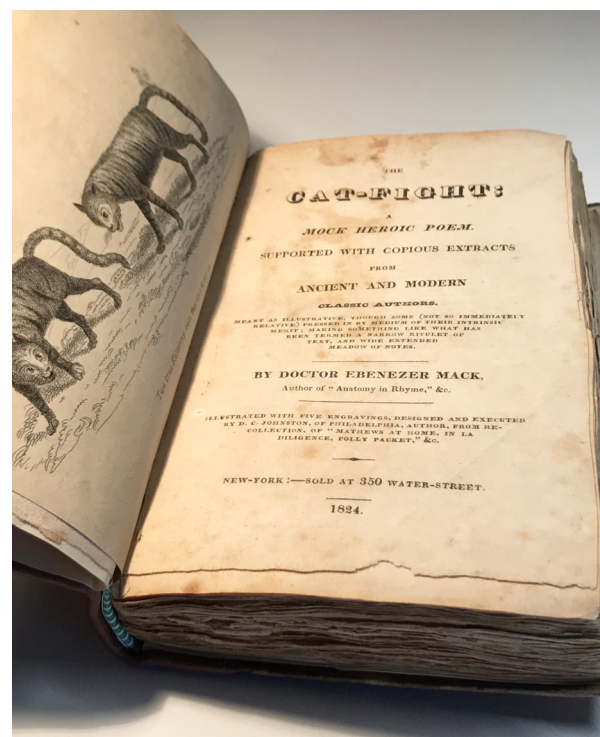


Figure 13:

Rare, Single Edition Copy of Dr. Ebenezer Mack's Book, "Cat-Fight; a Mock Heroic Poem", Published in 1824

As rare as surviving miniature portraits by Ebenezer Mack, this original, single edition copy of Mack's 1824 book was purchased for the Tormey-Holder Collection to accompany the miniature painted by him that is featured in fig. 1.

Of particular interest, this 276-page work by Mack includes five engraved prints by David Claypoole Johnston, a renowned American graphic humorist of the nineteenth century. (Mack's book was, in fact, only the second book ever illustrated by Johnston.) One wonders, of course, why Mack himself did not create any of the illustrations used in his own book.

have chosen to write something about art, whether an instructional work or perhaps just a simple mention of his time and experience painting miniature portraits. Such was not the case with Ebenezer Mack, however. For whatever reason, it would seem that he made a sharp departure from the life of an artist and, thereafter, chose to never look back.

EBENEZER MACK'S FINAL YEARS

Concurrent with Mack's unusual writings which, whether accurately or not, seem to reflect an unbalanced or troubled personality, evidence exists that indicates Ebenezer Mack experienced financial instability in his later years. In the last five years of his life, he lived at five different addresses. More telling, Mack's younger brother, Daniel Mack, Jr., in his own last will and testament (written in 1818), made provisions for his brother's care, stating, "in case my brother Ebenezer Mack should become unable to maintain and provide for himself, then my said wife [whom Daniel named as his executrix] shall afford him a comfortable support out of the rents and profits of the said estate."¹⁰⁵

As fate had it, Daniel Mack, Jr. did not predecease his brother. (He, in fact, outlived him by seven years.¹⁰⁶)

Two years after having published *The Cat-Fight*, Dr. Ebenezer Mack died on July 26, 1826.¹⁰⁷ The cause of his death was recorded simply as "old age".¹⁰⁸ He was buried in the churchyard cemetery of Rutgers Street Presbyterian Church, located in the neighborhood where he lived.¹⁰⁹

And thus, the life of Ebenezer Mack came to a quiet end.

ADDENDUM 1: SUMMARY OF EBENEZER MACK'S NEW YORK CITY RESIDENCES

Although Ebenezer Mack is believed to have arrived to New York City in late 1790, his residence in the city was not recorded until 1791, when he first appeared in a New York City directory. Following is a summary of his various known residences from 1791 until his death in 1826. Also noted is the profession listed for Mack in each of those years – by which one can discern Mack's sharp break in 1809 from the profession of miniature painter to that of a physician.

Year	Residence	Profession Listed	Source
1791	11 Mulberry Street	limner	1791 city directory ¹¹⁰

No city directories are available for the years 1792 and 1793. A directory was published in 1794, but Mack was not listed in that edition. He did, however, appear in newspaper advertisement in both 1793 and 1794.

1793	Maiden Lane, No. 43	miniature painter	newspaper advertisements ¹¹¹
1794	Maiden Lane, No. 43	miniature painter	newspaper advertisements ¹¹²

No city directory is available for the year 1795.

1796	23 Maiden Lane	miniature painter	1796 city directory ¹¹³
1797	89 Beekman Street	miniature painter	1797 city directory ¹¹⁴
1798	144 William Street	miniature painter	1798 city directory ¹¹⁵
1799	72 Vesey Street	miniature painter	1799 city directory ¹¹⁶

For the years 1800-1805, no entries for Ebenezer Mack appeared in New York City directories.

1806	273 Water Street	miniature painter	1806 city directory ¹¹⁷
1807	271 Water Street	miniature painter	1807 city directory ¹¹⁸
1808	271 Water Street	miniature painter	1808 city directory ¹¹⁹
1809	271 Water Street	physician	1809 city directory ¹²⁰
1810	271 Water Street	physician	1810 city directory ¹²¹

For the years 1811-1815, no entries for Ebenezer Mack appeared in New York City directories.

1816	8 Birmingham St and 53 Catherine St	physician	1816 city directory ¹²²
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For the years 1817-1820, no entries for Ebenezer Mack appeared in New York City directories.

1821	53 Catherine Street	doctor	1821 city directory ¹²³
1822	53 Catherine Street	doctor	1822 city directory ¹²⁴
1823	41 Catherine Street	doctor	1823 city directory ¹²⁵
1824	350 Water Street	doctor	1824 city directory ¹²⁶
1825	193 Spring Street	doctor	1825 city directory ¹²⁷
1826	67 Roosevelt Street	physician	1826 city directory ¹²⁸ and newspaper obituary ¹²⁹

There are meaningful gaps of years in which no record of Ebenezer Mack's whereabouts can be found – most notably, the six year period of 1800-1805, and the four year period of 1817-1820. The fact that he did not appear in city directories for those years does not necessarily mean that he was absent from the city, however, as his presence in the city may be recorded in other sources. The year 1794 serves as a good example of this. In that year, Mack did not appear in the city directory, but he did appear in newspaper advertisements.

Unfortunately, Mack did not advertise after 1794; and, thus far, other than city directories, no other records of Mack's residences have surfaced. Perhaps future research will uncover other sources that will help fill in the gaps. Until then, we are unable to reconcile where Mack was during the "missing" years noted above.

ADDENDUM 2: OTHER EBENEZER MACKS WHO HAVE OFTEN BEEN CONFUSED WITH THE ARTIST/DOCTOR EBENEZER MACK

Researchers have long sought to confirm the identity of miniature portrait painter Ebenezer Mack. It has been suggested by some that he was likely the Ebenezer Mack buried at Hillside Cemetery, located in Antwerp, Jefferson County, New York (near Philadelphia). This Ebenezer Mack's headstone indicates that he was born in Lyme, Connecticut in 1766 and died in Antwerp in 1831,¹³⁰ which would make him the right age to have been the miniature painter. While he might have been the right age, however, other factors make it impossible for this Ebenezer Mack to have been the miniature painter Ebenezer Mack. Most notably, while the miniature painter is documented as having lived in Philadelphia and New York City, his similarly aged counterpart is only documented as having lived in Lyme, Connecticut¹³¹ and Antwerp, New York.¹³²

In a similar manner, there are some who have erroneously assigned attributes of miniature painter Mack to other Ebenezer Macks. Numerous online family trees, for example, erroneously state that Rev. Ebenezer Mack (born in Lyme, Connecticut in 1696; died in Lyme in 1777¹³³) was a soldier in the Revolutionary War and was taken prisoner in 1775, near Montreal, with Col. Ethan Allen. As outlined herein, the Ebenezer Mack who served in the Revolutionary War alongside Ethan Allen was from Norfolk, Connecticut, not Lyme, was born in 1755, and was the son of Daniel Mack, Sr. It should be additionally noted that the Rev. Ebenezer Mack of Lyme would have been 78 years old when Ethan Allen and his men were taken prisoner by the British – not a likely age to be serving in combat.

Another individual who is often confused with our research subject is actually a nephew of the artist/doctor: Ebenezer Mack (1791-1849), son of Judge Stephen Mack¹³⁴ (whose miniature portrait is featured herein, in fig. 3). Obviously, having been born in 1791, this nephew Ebenezer Mack is too young to have been the miniature painter Mack (who was active as a painter from 1780 until 1808); but he is often erroneously said to have been the author of *Anatomy in Rhyme* and *The Cat-Fight*. As outlined herein, these books were written by Dr. Ebenezer Mack (1755-1826) who, prior to 1809, was a miniature portrait painter.

This confusion surely arises due to the fact that Dr. Mack's nephew was indeed a published author (he was a newspaper publisher in Ithaca, New York and also wrote a book titled, *The Life of Gilbert Motier De Lafayette; A Marquis of France; A General in the American and French Revolutions*, published in 1841); but the uncle and the nephew are well documented as being separate individuals. *The Cat-Fight*, furthermore, was published in New York City and sold at Dr. Ebenezer Mack's address of 350 Water Street; and, fifteen years after the doctor's death, *The Life of Gilbert Motier De Lafayette* was published in Ithaca, New York, where the doctor's nephew lived his entire life.

ADDENDUM 3: A SAMPLING OF MINIATURE PORTRAITS BY EBENEZER MACK



Early American Lady

circa 1785

Tormey-Holder Collection
Saint Petersburg, Florida



Early American Gentleman

circa 1790

Collection of the Columbus Museum, Georgia
The Art Acquisition & Restoration Fund
G.2009.18

(image used with permission)



Jasper Ely Cropsey (1768-1813)

circa 1794

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York, New York
2000.70

(image used with permission)



Judge Stephen Mack (1765-1814)

circa 1795-1800

As found in in "The History of the Treman,
Tremaine, Truman Family in America", by
Ebenezer Mack Treman and Murray E. Poole,
published in 1901.



Evert Bancker (1721-1803)

circa 1796

New-York Historical Society Museum & Library
New York, New York
1922.6

(image used with permission)

ADDENDUM 4: A LETTER FROM ETHAN ALLEN TO THE CONNECTICUT ASSEMBLY, DATED AUGUST 12, 1776, IN WHICH EBENEZER MACK IS MENTIONED

Halifax Jail, August 12, 1776

Honourable Gentlemen: In addition to my letter of the 8th instant, I have to inform, that intelligence was yesterday received in this place that General Clinton had failed in an attempt to take Charleston by water; that a fifty-gun ship and two frigates were almost destroyed; that a third was burnt by the Americans, and that two or three more were so surrounded by batteries and shivered to pieces that they were unable to get out to sea; and that Clinton was returned to Head-Quarters, Staten Island, New-York, where the King's Army were encamped, and that no action of moment had happened at New-York.

I greatly rejoice to hear that the States of America have declared for independency. I am the more confirmed in its importance, in consequence of many political arguments from a French gentleman. He assures, that on supposition of that declaration, the French and Spaniards will assist and come into alliance with America; and I assure you that the English rascally treatment to me has wholly erased my former feelings of parent State, mother country, and in fine, all kindred friendly connexion [sic.] with them. I have never asked better treatment than what the laws of arms give to prisoners between foreign nations; but instead of that, have been crowded into the most filthy apartments of ships, among privates, where I have, almost the whole of my time since taken, been covered with lice; and though I have genteel clothes, could not, for this reason, wear them till since I have been confined in the common jail of Halifax, which is about a week. The prisoners have the liberty of the yard; but there is no distinction between gentlemen and others. If I must suffer the vengeance and ignominy of tyrants, it would be more graceful from Turks, Moors and barbarians. The names of the prisoners that were taken with me are as follows, namely: Roger Moor, Peter Noble (who made his escape from a man-of-war at Cape Fear), Levi Barnem, Barnabas Cane, Preston Denton, John Gray, Zachariah Brimsmaid, William Drinkwater, Jonathan Maho, Levi Mearson, Samuel Lewis, William Gray, David Goss, Amos Green, John James Burque, Ithuriel Flower, Charles Stuard [sic.], Ebenezer Mack, and Adonijah Maxam. Thirteen Canadians were taken with me: one is dead since, the other twelve are at work in the King's yard. Sundry are sick with the scurvy, but are getting better

I remain your humble servant,

Ethan Allen

N.B. We know not the cause why we are not yet exchanged, as it seems the King's troops might be compelled to it, inasmuch as you have so many prisoners in your hands, more especially as you have many of the King's officers. I will lay my life on it, were you to treat them as they have me, they would willingly have exchanged us before. Now, we are destitute of cash, friends, etc., everything desirable.

*Force, Peter (1848). *The United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783*, M. St. Clair and Peter Force, Washington, D.C., pages 928, 929.

ADDENDUM 5: FAMILY GROUP SHEET
FAMILY OF DANIEL MACK, SR. AND ELISABETH CARY

Husband: **DANIEL MACK, SR.**

Born: March 23, 1727
Married: August 15, 1751
Died: January 1792
Father: Orlander Mack
Mother: Damarius Dutton

Location: Hebron, Tolland, Connecticut
Location: Hebron, Tolland, Connecticut
Location: Norfolk, Litchfield, Connecticut
Birthplace: Lyme, New London, Connecticut
Birthplace: Lyme, New London, Connecticut

Wife: **ELISABETH CARY**

Born: April 25, 1727
Died: March 10, 1772
Father: Seth Cary
Mother: Mary Hebard

Location: Windham, Windham, Connecticut
Location: Norfolk, Litchfield, Connecticut
Birthplace: Windham, Windham, Connecticut
Birthplace: Windham, Windham, Connecticut

Child 1: **DR. EBENEZER MACK**

(Male)

Born: September 23, 1755
Married: n/a
Died: July 26, 1826
Spouse: (never married)

Location: Hebron, Tolland, Connecticut
Location:
Location: New York City, New York

Child 2: **ELIZABETH MACK**

(Female)

Born: May 25, 1758
Married: n/a
Died: November 16, 1776
Spouse: (never married)

Location: Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut
Location:
Location: Norfolk, Litchfield, Connecticut

Child 3: **DANIEL MACK, JR.**

(Male)

Born: August 17, 1760
Married: December 24, 1785
Died: February 17, 1833
Spouse: Elizabeth Tout

Location: Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut
Location: New York City, New York
Location: New York City, New York

Child 4: **HANNAH MACK**

(Female)

Born: December 10, 1762
Married: September 13, 1782
Died: April 11, 1848
Spouse: Reuben Brainard

Location: Norfolk, Litchfield, Connecticut
Location: Spencertown, Columbia, New York
Location: Harpersfield, Ashtabula, Ohio

Child 5: STEPHEN MACK

(Male)

Born: August 29, 1763

Married: unknown

Died: unknown

Spouse: unknown

Location: Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut

Location:

Location:

Child 6: JEMIMA MACK

(Female)

Born: October 21, 1766

Married: December 22, 1791

Died: February 11, 1837

Spouse: Asahel Huxley

Location: Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut

Location: New Marlborough, Berkshire, Massachusetts

Location: Avon, Hartford, Connecticut

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- Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter* (newspaper advertisement), *Federal Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 3, 1789 edition, page 1.
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NOTES

¹ Ebenezer Mack first appeared as an artist in 1780, when he and fellow miniature portrait painter Joseph Dunckerley shared an art studio in Boston. Thereafter, Mack advertised as a miniature painter in both Philadelphia and New York, and he appeared in New York City directories as a miniature painter as late as 1808.

² Miniature portrait of T. Stanford, painted by Ebenezer Mack, circa 1795; a holding of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Renwick Gallery, museum accession number 1957.3.2; viewed online June 20, 2017, at <http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/?id=15354>.

³ Miniature portrait of Jasper Ely Cropsey, painted by Ebenezer Mack, circa 1794; a holding of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, museum accession number 2000.70; viewed online June 20, 2017, at <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/16725>.

⁴ Miniature portrait of Evert Bancker, painted by Ebenezer Mack, circa 1796; a holding of the New-York Historical Society Museum & Library, museum object number 1922.6; viewed online June 20, 2017, at <http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/evert-bancker-1721-1803>.

⁵ Miniature portrait of an unknown gentleman, painted by Ebenezer Mack, circa 1790 [sic. -- believed by this author to have actually been painted circa 1795-1800]; a holding of the Columbus Museum, museum accession number G.2009.18; viewed online June 20, 2017, at <http://columbusmuseum.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/355273D7-10E6-4D5A-9A97-131805154989>.

⁶ Barratt, Carrie Rebora and Zabar, Lori (2010). *American Portrait Miniatures in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, page 62.

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⁹ Allen, Ethan (1838). *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity*, H. Johnson & Co., Burlington, Vermont, third edition, pages 69-75.

¹⁰ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: *Longworth's American Almanack* [sic.], *New-York Register*, and *City Directory* [with various subtitles], David Longworth, New York, New York, 1808 edition, page 222.

Also, Also, *ibid.*, 1809 edition, page 259.

¹¹ Specific documentation of Ebenezer Mack, son of Daniel Mack and Elisabeth Cary, being born on September 23, 1755: White, Lorraine Cook, ed. (1994-2002). *The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records. Vol. 1-55*. Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, Maryland, Volume 2, page 194.

¹² Treman, Ebenezer Mack and Poole, Murray E. (1901). *The History of the Treman, Tremaine, Truman Family in North America*, Press of the Ithaca Democrat, Ithaca, New York, page 353.

¹³ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: New York County, Manhattan death registration, Book 5, unpaginated, 26 July 1826, Ebenezer Mack; Manhattan Deaths vols. 3-5, 1819-1826, microfilm reel 2, 1824-1826, Municipal Archives, New York City.

¹⁴ *Died Yesterday Morning at 5 o'clock* (newspaper obituary), as published in the *New-York Daily Advertiser*, New York, New York, July 28, 1826 edition, page 3.

Also, *Died Yesterday Morning at 5 o'clock* (newspaper obituary), as published in the *Spectator*, New York, New York, August 1, 1826 edition, Volume XXIX, Issue 48, page 1.

Also, *Died in This City* (newspaper obituary), as published in the *New-York Observer*, New York, New York, July 29, 1826 edition, page 3.

¹⁵ Note that the obituary featured herein in fig. 4 indicates that Dr. Ebenezer Mack died on July 27, 1826 (as the obituary reads “died yesterday...” and was published on July 28, 1826). This differs, however, from New York’s Municipal Death Registration, which records Mack as having died on July 26, 1826. It is believed that the newspaper obituary is in error, as another obituary for Dr. Ebenezer Mack, published on August 1, 1826, also reads, “died yesterday morning at 5 o’clock.”

¹⁶ White, page 194.

Also, Martin, Sophia Smith (1903). *Mack Genealogy: The Descendants of John Mack of Lyme, Conn., with Appendix Containing Genealogy of Allied Families, etc.*, The Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, page 862.

¹⁷ Meryl Schumacker’s firm, *We Go Way Back*, can be visited online at www.waybackgen.com, and Ms. Schumacker can be reached via email at contact@waybackgen.com.

¹⁸ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1791* [with various subtitles], William Duncan, New York, New York, page 78.

¹⁹ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1796* [with various subtitles], John Low, New York, New York, page 120.

²⁰ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: *Longworth’s American Almanack* [sic.], *New-York Register*, and *City Directory* [with various subtitles], T & J Swords, New York, New York, 1797 edition, page 241.

Also, *ibid.*, 1798 edition, unpaginated.

Also, *ibid.*, (John C. Totten & Co.), 1799 edition, page 290.

Also, *ibid.*, (David Longworth), 1806 edition, page 254.

Also, *ibid.*, 1807 edition, page 254.

Also, *ibid.*, 1808 edition, page 222.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1809 edition, page 259.

Also, *ibid.*, 1810 edition, page 258.

Also, *ibid.*, 1816 edition, page 306.

Also, *ibid.*, (Thomas Longworth), 1821 edition, page 295.

Also, *ibid.*, 1822 edition, page 305.

Also, *ibid.*, 1823 edition, page 305.

Also, *ibid.*, 1824 edition, page 294.

Also, *ibid.*, 1825 edition, page 288.

Also, *ibid.*, 1826 edition, page 321.

²² *Ibid.*, (David Longworth) 1806 edition, page 254.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1807 edition, page 254.

Also, *ibid.*, 1808 edition, page 222.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1809 edition, page 259.

Also, *ibid.*, 1810 edition, page 258.

²⁵ White, page 194.

Also, Martin, page 862.

²⁶ Treman and Poole, page 353.

²⁷ Daniel Mack ultimately died insolvent (debts exceeding assets) in 1792. At the time, his most valuable possessions by far were two looms by which he conducted his trade; as documented in records of the administration of his estate: *Connecticut, Wills and Probate Records, 1609-1999, Probate Files Collection, Early to 1880*; Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut; Probate Packets, Humphrey, Dudley-Marshall, D, 1779-1880.

²⁸ Elisabeth Mack, died March 10, 1772, in Norfolk, Litchfield, Connecticut, as recorded in *Connecticut Deaths and Burials, 1772-1934 Index*, Family Search, Salt Lake City, Utah, Family History Library Film Number 1503193.

²⁹ *Connecticut, Wills and Probate Records, 1609-1999, Probate Files Collection, Early to 1880*; Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut; Probate Packets, Humphrey, Dudley-Marshall, D, 1779-1880.

³⁰ As evidenced by a notice of probate of the estate of Daniel Mack, represented to the court as insolvent; as published in the *Litchfield Monitor*, Litchfield, Connecticut, June 27, 1792 edition, Volume 8, Issue 360, page 4.

³¹ Hudson, Charles (1868). *History of the Town of Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from Its First Settlement to 1868, with a Genealogical Register of Lexington Families*, Wiggins and Lunt, Boston, Massachusetts, page 184.

³² Johnston, Henry P. (1889). *The Record of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service During the War of the Revolution, 1775-1783*, State of Connecticut, Hartford, pages 3, 4.

³³ Nellis, Eric (2007). *The Long Road to Change: America's Revolution, 1750-1820*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario, page 87.

³⁴ Wright, Robert K. (1983). *The Continental Army*, published in 1983 by the Center of Military History, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., page 17.

³⁵ Crissey, Theron Wilmot (1900). *History of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut: 1744-1900*, Massachusetts Publishing Co., Everett Massachusetts, page 94.

³⁶ Lewis, J.W. (1881). *History of Litchfield County, Connecticut with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, J. Lewis & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, page 470.

³⁷ Johnston, page 30.

³⁸ Ibid., page 29.

³⁹ Botta, Charles (1834). *History of the United States of America, Vol. II, War of Independence*, A. Fullarton & Co., London, England, pages 161-163.

⁴⁰ Eldridge, Rev. Joseph (1881). *History of Litchfield County, Connecticut, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, J. W. Lewis & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, page 469.

⁴¹ Botta, pages 163-165.

⁴² Allen, pages 26-27.

⁴³ Crissey, page 94.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Allen, page 27.

⁴⁶ Allen, page 37.

⁴⁷ Allen, pages 27-33.

⁴⁸ Hinman, Royal R. (1842). *A Historical Collection from Official Records, Files, etc., of the Part Sustained by Connecticut During the War of the Revolution*, Hartford, Connecticut, page 571.

⁴⁹ Crissey, page 94.

⁵⁰ Lewis, page 470.

⁵¹ *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, published in 1968 by the United States Government, Washington, D.C., volume 3, part 3 of 8, page 343 (further citing an article published in the *London Chronicle* on November 4, 1775).

⁵² *Crissey*, page 83.

⁵³ Allen, page 38.

⁵⁴ *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, page 458.

⁵⁵ Allen, page 44.

⁵⁶ Allen, page 48.

⁵⁷ Allen, page 45.

⁵⁸ Allen, page 47.

⁵⁹ Allen, page 57.

⁶⁰ Allen, page 52.

⁶¹ Allen, page 44.

⁶² *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, page 458 (further citing a letter of orders from British Admiralty, dated December 27, 1775, to Commodore Sir Peter Parker).

⁶³ Allen, page 64.

⁶⁴ Allen, page 69.

⁶⁵ Allen, page 71.

⁶⁶ Allen, page 75.

⁶⁷ Allen, page 76.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Crissey, page 83.

⁷¹ Allen, pages 78, 79.

⁷² Allen, page 79.

⁷³ Allen, page 83.

⁷⁴ Allen, page 71.

⁷⁵ Eldridge, page 470.

⁷⁶ Randall, Willard Sterne (2011). *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times*, W. W. Norton & Co., New York, New York, page 412.

⁷⁷ Eldridge, page 471.

⁷⁸ Eldridge, page 470.

⁷⁹ Allen, pages 141, 142.

⁸⁰ Hagist, Don N. (2014). *He'd Rather be Painting* (article), *Journal of the American Revolution*; accessed online December 6, 2016, at https://allthingsliberty.com/2014/02/hed-rather-be-painting/#_edn1.

⁸¹ *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, Volume 5 (names Duarell-Foys), page 52. (The 17-volume set was published in Boston over the years 1896-1908 by the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; printed by Wright & Potter Printing.)

⁸² For more detailed information on the life and times of Joseph Dunckerley, see *Featured Artist: Joseph Dunckerley (1752-1806)*, a companion article by this author: <http://www.michaelsmuseum.com/articles/Dunckerley.pdf>.

⁸³ *Mr. Mack Miniature Painter* (newspaper advertisement), *Philadelphia Evening Herald*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1785 edition, Volume I, Issue 8, page 1.

⁸⁴ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter, in Market Street, opposite the Indian Queen* (newspaper advertisement), *Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 21, 1785 edition, Issue No. 1910, page 4.

⁸⁵ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter* (newspaper advertisement), *Independent Gazeteer*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1787 edition, Volume VII, Issue 602, page 1.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter* (newspaper advertisement), *Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1787 edition, Volume VII, Issue 602, page 1.

⁸⁸ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter* (newspaper advertisement), *Federal Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1788 edition, page 1.

Also, January 3, 1789 edition, page 1.

⁸⁹ The earliest city directory to appear in Philadelphia was published in 1785, before Ebenezer Mack moved to Arch Street. The next edition was not published until 1791, after Mack had already left Philadelphia. The Arch Street neighbors of Mack who are listed herein are individuals believed to have been long-term residents of Arch Street who, accordingly, would have been present in 1788 and 1789, when Mack also lived on the street. [*MacPherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia, 1785*, published in Philadelphia by Francis White and John MacPherson.]

⁹⁰ *A List of Letters Remaining in the Post Office*, (public announcement), *Federal Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1790 edition, page 4.

⁹¹ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter*, (newspaper advertisement), *Weekly Museum*, New York, New York, August 3, 1793 edition, Volume VI, Issue 173, page 3.

⁹² Raddin, Jr., George Gates (1953). *The New York of Hocquet Cariat and His Associates, 1797-1817*, The Dover Advance Press, Dover, New Jersey, page 27.

⁹³ *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record (quarterly)*, selected extracts, published in 1881 by the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York, New York, page 135. [On microfilm at Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.; marriage I.D. 2220287460.]

⁹⁴ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1790* [with various subtitles], Hodge, Allen & Campbell, New York, New York, page 64.

⁹⁵ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1791* [with various subtitles], William Duncan and T. & J. Swords, New York, New York, page 78.

⁹⁶ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: *Longworth's American Almanack* [sic.], *New-York Register, and City Directory* [with various subtitles], David Longworth, New York, New York, 1808 edition, page 222.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1809 edition, page 259.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1810 edition, page 258.

Also, *ibid.*, 1816 edition, page 306.

Also, *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* [with various subtitles], Thomas Longworth, New York, New York, 1820 edition, page 299.

Also, *ibid.*, 1821 edition, page 295.

Also, *ibid.*, 1822 edition, page 305.

Also, *ibid.*, 1823 edition, page 305.

Also, *ibid.*, 1824 edition, page 294.

Also, *ibid.*, 1825 edition, page 288.

Also, *ibid.*, 1826 edition, page 321.

⁹⁹ Bolton, Theodore (1921). *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, Frederick Fairchild Sherman, New York, New York, page 4.

¹⁰⁰ Raddin, pages 23-25.

¹⁰¹ Morrell, T. H. (1869). *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Books on America, Illustrated Works, Etc., Belonging to T. H. Morrell*, Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York, New York, page 74.

Also, Sabin, Joseph (1879). *Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time*, J. Sabin's Son, New York, New York, Volume XI, page 52.

¹⁰² *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Boston, Massachusetts, October 12, 1836 edition, Volume XV, No. 10, page 162.

¹⁰³ Mack, Dr. Ebenezer (1824). *The Cat-Fight; a Mock Heroic Poem, Supported with Copious Extracts from Ancient and Modern Classic Authors*, New York, New York, title page.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Last Will and Testament of Daniel Mack* (dated November, 30, 1818, probated in 1833), as published in *New York, Wills and Probate Records, 1659-1999*; New York Surrogate's Court, New York, New York, Volume 70, page 251.

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Mack died on February 17, 1833, as documented in a newspaper obituary, published in the *Commercial Advertiser*, New York New York, February 18, 1833 edition, page 3.

¹⁰⁷ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: New York County, Manhattan death registration, Book 5, unpaginated, 26 July 1826, Ebenezer Mack; Manhattan Deaths vols. 3-5, 1819-1826, microfilm reel 2, 1824-1826, Municipal Archives, New York City.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1791* [with various subtitles], William Duncan, New York, New York, page 78.

¹¹¹ *Mr. Mack, Miniature Painter*, (newspaper advertisement), *Weekly Museum*, New York, New York, August 3, 1793 edition, Volume VI, Issue 173, page 3.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *The New-York Directory and Register for the Year 1796* [with various subtitles], John Low, New York, New York, page 120.

¹¹⁴ As researched by Meryl Schumacker: *Longworth's American Almanack* [sic.], *New-York Register, and City Directory* [with various subtitles], T & J Swords, New York, New York, 1797 edition, page 241.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 1798 edition, unpaginated.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., (John C. Totten & Co.), 1799 edition, page 290.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., (David Longworth), 1806 edition, page 254.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 1807 edition, page 254.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 1808 edition, page 222.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 1809 edition, page 259.

¹²¹ Ibid. 1810 edition, page 258.

¹²² Ibid. 1816 edition, page 306.

¹²³ Ibid., (Thomas Longworth), 1821 edition, page 295.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1822 edition, page 305.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 1822 edition, page 305.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 1822 edition, page 294.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 1825 edition, page 288.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1826 edition, page 321.

¹²⁹ *Died Yesterday Morning at 5 o'clock* (newspaper obituary), as published in the *New-York Daily Advertiser*, New York, New York, July 28, 1826 edition, page 3.

¹³⁰ Find A Grave Memorial #26867082, record created by Mary Martin on May 16, 2008. Accessed online August 9, 2017, at <https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=26867082&ref=acom>.

¹³¹ U.S. Federal Census. Year: 1790; Census Place: New London County, Connecticut; Roll: M637_1; Page 118; Image 74; Family History Library Film Number: 0568141.

Also, U.S. Federal Census. Year: 1800; Census Place: Lyme, New London, Connecticut; Roll: M32_3; Page 586; Image 146; Family History Library Film Number: 205620.

¹³² U.S. Federal Census. Year: 1820; Census Place: Antwerp, Jefferson, New York; Roll: M33_72; Page 350; Image 194.

Also, U.S. Federal Census. Year: 1830; Census Place: Antwerp, Jefferson, New York; Roll: M19_92; Page 99; Image 29. Family History Library Film Number 0017152.

¹³³ Ebenezer Mack (1697-1777), documented in the lineage of Mrs. Robert S. Martin, as recorded in: Merkle, Edward J. (1988). *Lineages of Members of the National Society of the Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, Volume II, 1929-1952*, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, page 145.

¹³⁴ Treman and Poole, pages 378, 394-397.



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