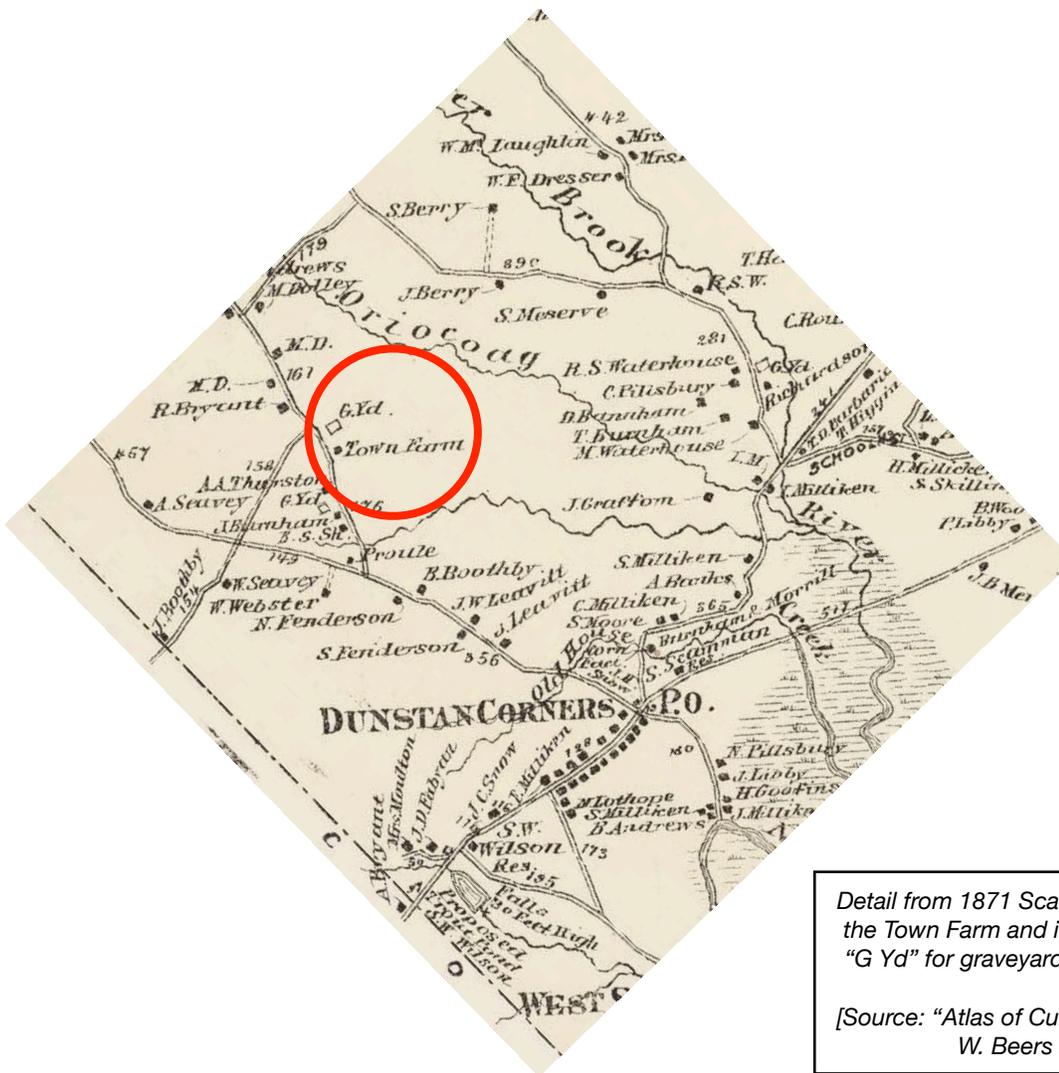


The Graves of Scarborough's Paupers:

The Town Farm Cemetery, 1867 - 1891

by Ron Romano



Detail from 1871 Scarborough map showing the Town Farm and its cemetery—noted as "G Yd" for graveyard—on Broadturn Road.

[Source: "Atlas of Cumberland Co. Maine, P. W. Beers & Co, 1871]

In 1867 Scarborough purchased the Brackett family farm near Dunstan Corners. Its purpose was to provide housing and food to townspeople who found themselves in dire circumstances, while producing crops and goods to sell in an effort to be self-sustaining. A patch of land was set aside on the property to receive the remains of those who died while living at the farm. This paper shines a spotlight on the Town Farm's cemetery and the people laid to rest there, all but forgotten until now.

Introductory Notes

1. The Town Farm was also called the “Poor Farm,” “Poor House,” and “Alms House” in various town documents. All are used in this paper, but they are, in fact, the same place.
2. This paper draws from a variety of documents created in the 1800s that categorized people using terms we no longer consider to be acceptable. In most cases when quoting from these historical documents, terms are presented as found in their original sources.
3. Thank you to Scarborough Historical Society’s Rodney Laughton, Janice Makowski, Linda Snow McLoon, and Don Taylor. Thanks also to Alecia Meyer from the town of Scarborough, Michael Goebel-Bain from the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Brenton Hill from the Buxton-Hollis Historical Society, and Mary Liberty. All provided helpful information.

The 1821 Town Warrant

Just over two hundred years ago, Scarborough’s Selectmen issued a warrant that called upon those citizens qualified to vote to assemble at the First Parish Meeting House in order to consider a variety of articles of town business. Decisions needed to be made regarding the funding for roads and schools, but articles “To see what method the town will take to support their poor,” and “To see what sum of money the town will raise for the support of the poor...” were also on the agenda. The outcome of that meeting is not known since so few early documents of this type have survived, but the warrant shows that the town was committed to finding ways to help those of its citizens in need. In 1854 the town began to issue annual reports—most of which *have* survived—and they provide a clearer picture of how the town addressed the need to care for its poor.

Scarborough’s Earliest Annual Reports

The first annual report was published in 1854. Under the heading “TOWN’S POOR” we find more than a full page listing payments made to various townspeople who had helped to support twenty of the town’s poor (or “paupers” as they were often called). For example:

- Abraham Brickford was paid \$1.42 for supplying a pair of shoes to James Libby,
- Ebenezer Libby was paid \$5.50 for two cords of wood provided to Polly Hunnewell,
- Bryant Strout was paid \$3 for a pig for Emma Moody and her sister.

Other townspeople were paid for supplying food staples; John M. Parker received \$14.34 for supplying flour, molasses, tea—even tobacco!—to Dorcas Dyer. Other charges against the “Pauper Expenses” account included boarding charges for at least five people living in private homes, medical care, and even legal advice.

Perhaps most interesting is the documentation of the final expenses for two of the town's poor, Lydia Skillin and Joanna Gustin. James S. Libby was paid \$2.32 "for funeral expenses of Lydia Skillin and grave clothes," \$4.50 for her coffin, \$2 for "digging grave," 50 cents for the use of a hearse, and \$1 for personal services. The total was \$10.32. Four men were paid for the various final expenses of Joanna Gustin. They included personal services (\$2.50), grave clothes (\$1.50), a coffin (\$3), shoveling a path to the burying ground (75 cents), and digging her grave (\$2). This total was \$9.75. The burying ground referred to in the 1854 report is likely the same patch that Augustus Moulton would later refer to as the "Old Dunstan Cemetery."¹ He wrote that for a long time it "had no apparent owner or care." In the late 1870s the town purchased adjoining land, improved the site, began to sell lots, and named the common burying ground "Dunstan Cemetery." It became the town's first public cemetery.²

" Eben'r Libby for 2 cords of wood to Polly Hunnewell	5 50
" Wm. Hunnewell for 1 cord wood	4 00
" Abra'm Brickford for 1 pr. shoes for James Libby	1 42
" H. A. Tilton for boarding David Patterson 2 weeks	1 00
" Ansel Libby for boarding and clothing D. Patterson 1 year	5 00
" John Buzzel for medical attendance on D. Patterson	1 42
" Jas. S. Libby for funeral expenses of Lydia Skillin and grave clothes 2,32, coffin 4,50, digging grave 2,00, hearse 50, personal services 1,00	10 32
" H. A. Tilton, S. L. Waterhouse, G. W. Parker and others for apprehension and examination of Sam'l Snow of York, insane,	12 80
" Legal advice of Shepley & Hayes in relation to Pauper,	2 00
" Passage of Sam'l Walker's wife to Gardiner,	2 00
" Overseers of the Poor in Gardiner, on account of Sam'l Walker,	47 20
" Solomon Bragdon, journey to Gardiner, (cash expenses,)	4 48
" Wm. Meserve, for digging grave for Joanna Gustin,	2 00
" Ivory Penny for Coffin,	3 00
" Paid John M. Parker for grave clothes for Joanna Gustin,	1 50
" " " for personal services, 2 days,	2 50
" " " for shoveling path to burying ground,	75
" Jan. S. Libby for supplies furnished to Statira McKenney, 70 31	78 94

Detail from the 1854 town Annual Report

Town Reports were not based on a calendar year but instead were published in the first quarter of the year and covered the period back to the first quarter of the prior year. The 1853/1854 report notes that the town paid \$802 to support its poor. That was far more than the \$242 spent to repair town roads and bridges and it shows that supporting the disadvantaged people of Scarborough was a substantial financial commitment for the town. The following year's report documented expenditures for paupers at \$537, about ten percent of the town's overall expenses. Under the heading "Town's Poor," expenses for sixteen people were listed, plus a charge of \$4.92 paid to Solomon Bragdon "for board of three infirm paupers, and removing them from town." The identities of the three people temporarily boarding with Mr. Bragdon and the place to which he removed them were not documented in the report.

The next available report from 1862 showed that in the seven years since the first report, expenses of the poor had risen to over \$1000. The budget for school expenses was about the same that year. And the costs of maintaining the town's roads and bridges nearly matched the budget for the poor as well.

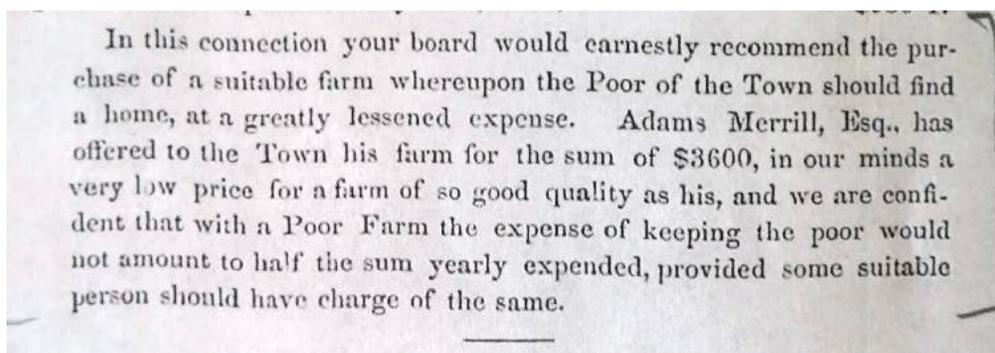
¹ See pages 81-83 in his book *Grandfather Tales of Scarborough* (published 1925).

² Across town, Black Point Cemetery had been receiving remains for well over 100 years, but in 1854 it was still reserved for congregants of the First Parish. In 1888 that cemetery's private association began to offer burial lots to the general public.

“The Poor of the Town Should Find a Home”

In 1864's Annual Report, expenses of the poor totaled \$946 for eleven individuals and two families. Some of the names in this report were the same as found in the first report from ten years earlier...Samuel Walker and family, Deborah Dyer, John Waterhouse, and Polly Hunnewell. And of course, some had been identified as paupers in the 1860 census. Mary Ann Libby was on the roster of poor in this report, noted as being “Insane.” She had been under the town's care as early as 1853/1854, but this was the first reference to her mental illness.

The Town's Selectmen added this request in the 1864 report:



In this connection your board would earnestly recommend the purchase of a suitable farm whereupon the Poor of the Town should find a home, at a greatly lessened expense. Adams Merrill, Esq., has offered to the Town his farm for the sum of \$3600, in our minds a very low price for a farm of so good quality as his, and we are confident that with a Poor Farm the expense of keeping the poor would not amount to half the sum yearly expended, provided some suitable person should have charge of the same.

No action was taken to purchase the Adams Merrill farm. In the following report, expenses of the poor had reached \$1279, the highest amount yet. The town's budget for supporting the poor was set at \$2000, equal to the budget for Scarborough's schools but surpassing the budget for infrastructure such as roads and bridges.⁵ The Selectmen again called for the town to “purchase a farm for the support of the Poor” in the 1866 report, noting “we are convinced the town would save a large portion of the Pauper bill thereby.”

The Sad End of Daniel Richards

The Annual Report from 1866/67 documents a town expense of \$22.95 for “D. Richards, (including burial).” By itself this entry seems rather routine and not particularly noteworthy, but in the subsequent report we find that the town paid \$2 to Bartlett Pillsbury for “assisting at (the) Coroner's inquest (regarding) Daniel Richards.” A coroner's inquest would not have been required unless a death was suspicious. Period newspapers help unfold his story. The clipping shown to the right is from the April 21, 1866, *Daily Eastern Argus*, a Portland paper.

SUICIDES.—Mr. Daniel Richards, of Scarborough, a single man, aged 54, committed suicide on Wednesday, by hanging. He had been subject to fits from his youth, which caused partial derangement. It is supposed that the deed was committed through fear of being sent to the Insane Asylum. Coroner Hall, of this city, was sent for, but after investigating the matter, deemed an inquest unnecessary.

⁵ This was also, of course, the time of the American Civil War when budgets were tight. The Selectmen addressed the fact that fifty of Scarborough's men had enlisted to serve in the war effort, and that funds were needed to provide cash to each who returned home from the war as a means to assist their reintegration into the community.

Mr. Richards was single and age 54, so would have been born around 1812. His parents were Anthony and Susannah Richards, both of Scarborough. He was probably their first born child, named Daniel for his grandfather. Details of his father's death are not known except that he died prior to 1850. In the 1850 census we find Daniel was unmarried, a laborer, and living in his mother's home in Scarborough. By the 1860 census, he had become head of their household and was still working as a day laborer. Only his mother, then age 80, was in the home with him. She must have died shortly after that census was recorded, though details have yet to be found. By 1866, Daniel seems to have been alone and must have been struggling with personal issues. His death was notable for its cause, but his burial location—likely the common burying ground at Dunstan Corners—was not recorded.

More Than Four Decades of Care for Samuel Snow

The newspaper describing Daniel Richards's end suggested he feared being admitted to the state's Insane Asylum. During the mid-1800s, a few other people who relied upon the town for aid were linked to that hospital. Annual Reports occasionally included references to a person's transport to and from, and board at, the Insane Hospital in Augusta.⁶

Samuel Snow is one such example. He was born around 1824 and was receiving town assistance as early as 1853. In that first town report we find that \$12.80 was paid to "H. A. Tilton, S. L. Waterhouse, G. W. Parker, and others for the apprehension and examination of Sam'l Snow of York, insane." Some of the hospital's original admission log books have survived, and I found record of Samuel's admission to the hospital in 1861.⁷ Then in 1872 the town paid \$25 "for taking S. Snow to (the) hospital at Augusta." In 1872 and 1873, the town paid nearly \$200 in six installments for Samuel's board at the facility. And the following year the town paid \$12 to Benjamin Carter for "conveying Samuel Snow from Augusta to Scarborough." He continued to receive town assistance through at least 1897.

The Brackett Farm becomes the Town Farm

On March 16, 1867, the Town of Scarborough purchased the land and farm occupied by James F. Brackett and his wife Harriet O. (Rounds) Brackett on Broadturn Road, for \$2800. The property consisted of a home and farm buildings on about 125 acres. The 1868 Annual Report reveals that a community-wide call to action had followed the purchase, as four pages in the report detail the payments made to dozens of townspeople for services and supplies related to outfitting the new farm.

The farm was furnished with tables, stoves, bedsteads, bedding, feathers, tables, crockery, tinware, tools, household articles, and farm equipment. Groceries such as beans, flour, potatoes, corn, lard, molasses, beef, pork, and quintal fish were itemized.⁸ Livestock included

⁶ The Maine Insane Hospital was established in 1840. Mental health advocate Dorothea Dix was a consultant on the project, believing fresh air and removal from the stresses of society were important for patient care. The hospital was later known as the Augusta Insane Asylum. The name changed again in 1913 to the Augusta State Hospital, and in 1973 to the Augusta Mental Health Institute. AMHI closed in 2004, replaced by Riverview Psychiatric Center on the same campus. [Source for this footnote: the Augusta Mental Health Institute (AMHI) website]

⁷ Source is the *Maine Insane Hospital Admission Books 1840 -1902, Volume 2: Admissions April 12, 1856 to February 15, 1871*. Four other Scarborough residents were also found in that volume.

⁸ Quintal fish is not a type of fish, rather it is the quantity, equivalent to 100 kilograms or about 220 pounds.

a yoke of oxen, three cows, eleven sheep, three pigs, and nine hens. The cost to furnish and stock the farm in its first year was nearly equal to the cost of the farm itself.



Scarborough's Town Farm. Photo courtesy of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1994.

The farm's first overseer was 31-year-old Thomas Cummins Carter. The Annual Report acknowledged Mrs. Carter's contribution as well, with an itemized line reading "Overseer's salary, T. C. Carter and wife, \$300." She was Elizabeth Ann Holmes. They'd married in 1859 when he was 22 and she was 17 and they first lived with her parents on their farm in Scarborough. No children are known for them in the early years of marriage, though two youngsters are found with them in the 1880 census. The Carters did not oversee the Town Farm for long. In 1869 they moved to South Portland (then called Cape Elizabeth), passing the responsibilities of overseeing the farm to another young family.

The First Residents of the Farm

Because the people who lived at the farm were under the care of the town, they were often referred to as "inmates." For this paper I refer to those living at the farm as "residents." The town didn't regularly report the number of residents living at the farm until the 1880s, with one exception in 1875. Five were acknowledged to be living there that year. The 1870 US census had reported four people, all labeled as paupers, to be residing at the farm. They were Polly

Hunnewell (age 89), Joseph Newcomb (age 71), Priscilla Burnham (age 56), and John Waterhouse (age 53). Detail from 1870 census below shows the word “Paupers” within the sections designated for recording occupations.

Page No. 41 } Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Scarboro, in the County of Cumberland, State of Maine, enumerated by me on the 24th day of August, 1870. 389

Post Office: Windham Bernard H. Hall, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	DESCRIPTION.			7	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		10	PARENTAGE.		EDUCATION.			18	19	20	
			4	5	6		8	9		11	12	13	14	15				16
1	301	320	Rory Dwyer	24	M	W	Huber of Pen. Serv.	6000		Maine								/
2			— Anolis	28	F	W	Matron			Maine								
3			— Florence	6	F	W				Maine				1				
4			— Cluridge	3	M	W				Maine								
5			— Herbert	1	M	W				Maine								
6			Hunnewell Polly	89	F	W				Maine								
7			Newcomb Joseph	71	M	W				Maine								
8			Burnham Priscilla	56	F	W				Maine								
9			Waterhouse John	53	M	W	Paupers			Maine								

The 1870 census and 1875 town reports provide some perspective on what it was like to be living at the farm in its early years. These few residents would have certainly been able to form some bonds and, hopefully, even friendships with one another in what were surely difficult circumstances. Compare their situation to that of the residents of Portland’s Alms House. It housed well over one hundred people at a time, many of whom were non-English speaking. Communicable diseases spread easily through crowded quarters; it must have been a far more chaotic existence than for the people of Scarborough who found themselves living at the Town Farm.

It is quite logical to assume that when the farm opened in 1867, Polly Hunnewell, Priscilla Burnham, and John Waterhouse were among its first residents, as they all had been receiving town assistance leading up to the farm’s establishment. No aid to Joseph Newcomb is documented until the 1870 census, so he may have moved into the farm after it was established. But another likely first resident was Deborah Dyer, who—as noted on page 4—had been living in the same household as John Waterhouse (according to the 1860 census), both recipients of town aid.

Deborah Dyer: First to Be Buried at the Town Farm Cemetery

Deborah Dyer’s name did not appear in the 1870 census because she had died within a short time of the farm’s opening in 1867. Among the dozens and dozens of itemized expenses in the farm’s first year of operation, we find that Overseer Thomas Carter was paid \$16.50 “for funeral expenses Deborah Dyer.” No other deaths were reported at the farm then, so we can assume that Deborah Dyer was the first to be interred in the farm cemetery. At the time of Deborah’s death there were many marble workers in the area producing gravestones. But paupers were

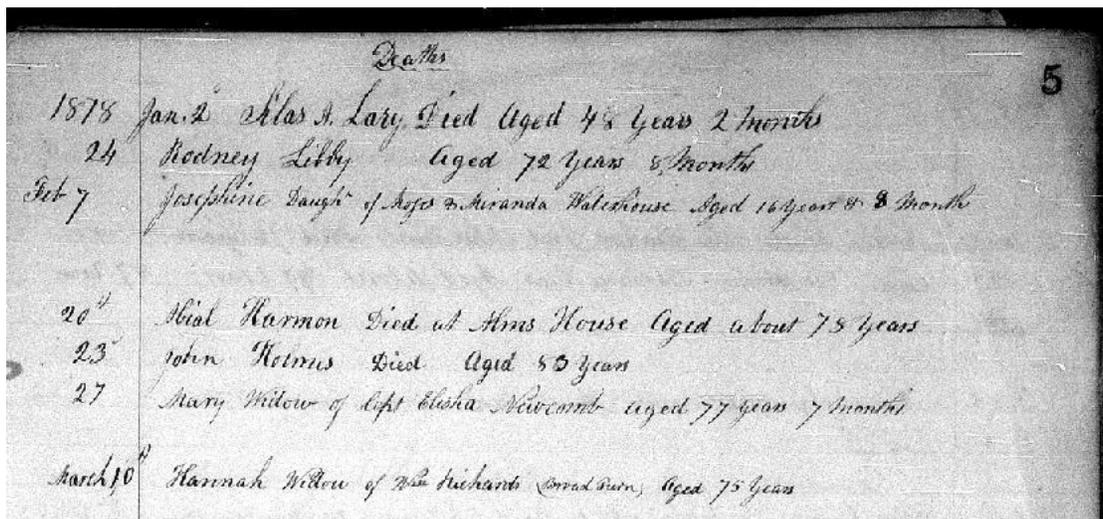
often without family or friends to arrange for (and, more importantly, pay for) a grave marker for their grave. The Town Farm’s overseers did not budget for grave stones, so those buried in the farm cemetery would have had—at most—a wooden stake or a piece of uninscribed field stone to mark their burials. Within a short period of time, these grave sites could easily be lost or forgotten.

The Farm’s Second Keepers

The 1870 census confirms that Ivory Berry had succeeded Thomas Carter as Overseer. Ivory was 24, a Maine native, and had been married to 28-year-old Buxton native Aroline Stone for six years. His occupation was noted to be “Keeper of Poor House” and Aroline’s was “Matron.” They had three children, Florence (age 6), Elbridge (age 3) and Herbert (age 1). Two more sons, Grover and Leroy, were born after 1870. Ivory and Aroline kept the farm for just a couple of years. By 1872 they’d moved back to Buxton on land adjacent to her parents’ farm. Once they left, the farm’s overseers changed quite frequently. But Ivory and Aroline would return as the farm’s keepers two more times.

Following the Paper Trail

Two sets of documents assist in the discovery of additional deaths—and presumed burials—at the farm after Deborah Dyer’s. Some handwritten vital records from the period have survived and in some cases note the place of death as the Alms House. The second source is the town Annual Reports. Once the farm opened, reports reflected the costs to care for the town’s poor in a new way. Costs were itemized either as “Expenses for Poor at Alms House” or “Expenses for Poor Not Maintained at Alms House.” Even so, some leaps of faith have been made in this research. To find that a person died while in residence at the farm suggests strongly that he or she was buried in the farm’s cemetery. But the burial location for people who died while



Hand-written vital records for the town in 1878. Note the center line confirms Abial Harmon’s death at the Alms House.

receiving town assistance and *not* living at the farm is less clear. Unless a vital record or—better still—a gravestone is found to confirm burial location, poor non-residents of the farm may have been buried at the common burying ground, in private family cemeteries of their host families, or at Black Point Cemetery if they had a connection there.

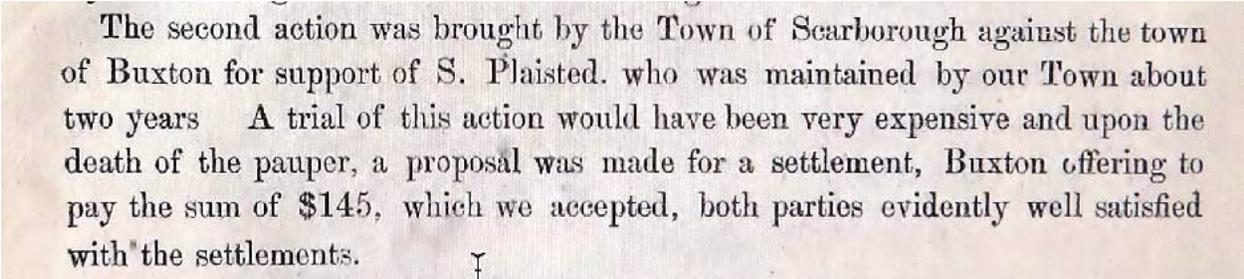
Following Deborah Dyer, two more people died at the farm within a year of opening. Then in 1869, two additional deaths at the farm were recorded, followed by four more in 1870. Some of these were documented in the vital records, some in Annual Reports, and some in both sources. These people—all assumed to have been buried in the farm cemetery—were:

- Simon P. Harmon, 1868, age about 73
- Margaret Hasty, 1868, age 50
- A child with the surname Coonley⁹, 1869
- A child of Sarah Graffam, 1869
- Mary Graffam, 1870, age 81
- Polly Hunnewell, 1870, age about 90
- Samuel Plaisted, 1870, age about 70
- John Waterhouse, 1870, age about 53

There's one more death of note in 1870 — that being Jacob Libby, who had been first listed as a pauper in the 1860 census. He continued to receive assistance from the town through 1868, but he was apparently not a resident at the farm. The vital record of his death did not mention the Alms House and his passing was reported in the local newspapers, a complete departure from all those who died at the farm in its first 25 years. Though his place of burial is not known today, the odds are against him being among those who were interred at the farm cemetery.¹⁰

The Whereabouts of Samuel Plaisted's Remains

Samuel Plaisted, a resident of Buxton, died at the Alms House on New Year's Day in 1870. The town had spent more than \$375 to care for him in the two years leading to his death and sought reimbursement from Buxton for those expenses. The 1870 Annual Report detailed four pending legal actions, including this one:



The second action was brought by the Town of Scarborough against the town of Buxton for support of S. Plaisted. who was maintained by our Town about two years A trial of this action would have been very expensive and upon the death of the pauper, a proposal was made for a settlement, Buxton offering to pay the sum of \$145, which we accepted, both parties evidently well satisfied with the settlements.

Samuel's death was recorded in the federal government's *Mortality Schedule for Scarborough*, confirming his age of 70 and noting that he died of consumption (tuberculosis). His vital record of death further confirms that he was living at the Alms House when died. But was he buried

⁹ This is an unusual surname. There was a James B. Coonley documented in the 1870 census who was a farmer, age 28, and a native of Virginia. He was married to a woman named Elsie, also 28, and they had a 4-year-old daughter. They were boarding in a Portland home with many others that year. He may have been a transient farmworker in Scarborough the previous year when/where the child died. One year earlier, in 1868, he had been admitted to the Insane Hospital in Augusta. We find him in the 1880 census again as an "inmate" at that facility.

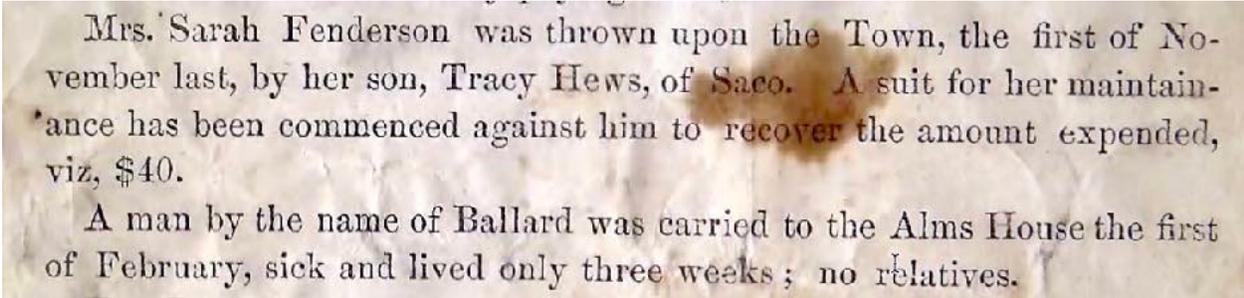
¹⁰ Jacob Libby's death was also recorded in the June 1870 federal *Mortality Schedule for Scarborough*. His cause of death was noted to be "dropsy," today generally referred to as edema, or the swelling of soft tissues due to excess fluid.

there? Brenton Hill from the Buxton-Hollis Historical Society confirms that Buxton—like Scarborough—had a Poor Farm in operation in 1870. Why hadn't Scarborough sent Samuel back to Buxton at some point in his final two years of life?

Regarding the legal action, the question becomes this: Had Scarborough filed action against Buxton for the recovery *only* of its costs leading up to Samuel's death—with an assumption that upon his death Samuel's body was sent to Buxton for burial, or had Scarborough filed action against Buxton for the recovery of its costs leading up to his death *as well as* the costs of his final expenses and burial at the Scarborough Poor Farm? Those details are not clear. Because the case between the two towns was settled out of court, further details seem to be lacking, leaving an equal likelihood of his burial at Scarborough or Buxton.

Through the 1870s

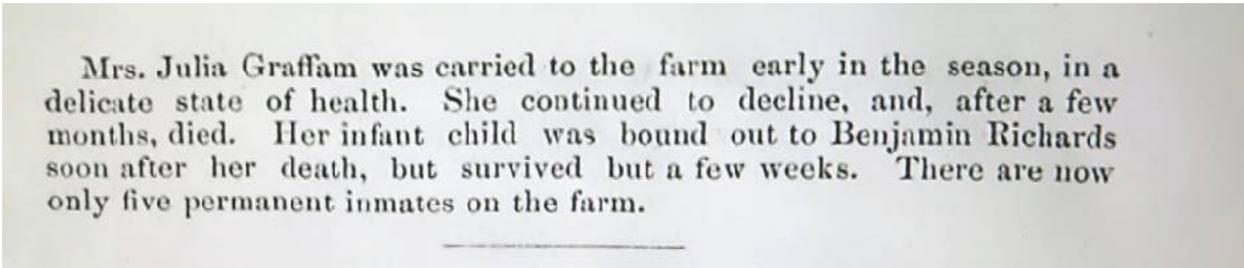
Whether by design or circumstance, overseers at the Town Farm changed rather frequently. There were six overseers in the 1870s. In addition to paying an annual salary to the keeper of the farm, the town also paid three or more men each year to serve as "Selectman, Assessor, and Overseer of the Poor." Although the farm was providing housing to some who were unhoused, the town was still providing substantial aid to its poor, many of whom lived off the farm. Here is a snippet from the 1872 Annual Report regarding one person who was abandoned by her family and another who was a stranger in town with no known family:



Mrs. Sarah Fenderson was thrown upon the Town, the first of November last, by her son, Tracy Hews, of Saco. A suit for her maintenance has been commenced against him to recover the amount expended, viz, \$40.

A man by the name of Ballard was carried to the Alms House the first of February, sick and lived only three weeks; no relatives.

Another snippet from 1875's Annual Report noted this:



Mrs. Julia Graffam was carried to the farm early in the season, in a delicate state of health. She continued to decline, and, after a few months, died. Her infant child was bound out to Benjamin Richards soon after her death, but survived but a few weeks. There are now only five permanent inmates on the farm.

Mrs. Fenderson continued to receive town aid; she died in 1876 and the town paid for her final expenses. No more is known about Mr. Ballard. And Julia Graffam's infant child was a daughter, although her name is not known.

In that same report, there was acknowledgement that “Five hundred and sixty meals have been furnished to more than 200 tramps, with lodgings.”¹¹

1876’s Annual Report noted that Scarborough had reimbursed the town of Buxton for expenses related to a Mrs. Moody. Total expenses were about \$80 for supplies and board charges “during (her) last sickness,” a coffin, and for “removing remains of Mrs. Moody to Scarboro and burying the same.” These expenses were not under the Alms House account, and it’s not clear who Mrs. Moody was.¹²

The Annual Report for 1877 confirms the transition from the town’s common burying ground (what Moulton referred to as the “Old” Dunstan Cemetery) to today’s Dunstan Cemetery. Charges for “printing notices for burying ground,” “lumber for burying ground,” “surveying burying ground,” and “building fence around burying ground” were documented. In subsequent reports, similar charges were found, including the purchase of adjoining land for expansion. In the 1878 report we find the first notice of burial lots being purchased there. Lewis L. Walker paid \$10 for one lot, and C. F. Moulton paid \$20 for two lots.

During this decade—and especially from 1870 to 1875—the farm was quite productive. The costs of housing and caring for the farm’s residents were largely offset by cash received from crops such as corn and beans, from livestock such as calves, lambs and turkeys, and related products such as butter and eggs. While never quite self-sustaining, the farm was proving itself to be of great value to the town.

Overall, few burials were reported in the Annual Reports in this decade. In the 1872 report a payment of \$10.75 was made from the Alms House account to Thomas Buckminster for “coffin, robe, etc” but the name of the resident was not included. In the following report—and in town vital records—Joseph Newcomb’s death was confirmed at the farm. The town made payment for his burial services, a coffin and a burial robe from the farm account. He was about 73, and had been noted in the 1870 census to be a pauper.

Through the 1880s

As had been the case in the prior decade, the 1880s had a succession of people overseeing the farm. Most interesting among the keepers is that two siblings managed the farm. William H. Seavey and Fannie N. Seavey served from 1887 to 1889. I originally assumed them to be husband and wife. They were instead the adult children of William and Sarah Seavey, Fannie the elder at age 46 and William at age 42 when they began as overseers in 1887. Neither had ever married; both were living with their parents still while in their twenties and thirties. Fannie left the family’s farm and moved to Saco by 1880 where she and at least seven other adults were boarding in a large home. Fannie was a dressmaker there. In 1887 she joined her brother at the Town Farm, serving as “Matron.”

¹¹ This is an extraordinary statement that brings many questions to mind. Who were these people being referred to as “tramps”? Temporary farmworkers? Homeless people wandering from town to town looking for work? Was there a “soup kitchen”? Where were their lodgings? And why were the costs of these meals and lodgings not itemized in the Annual Report?

¹² There’s a grave marker found at Black Point Cemetery for Mrs. Olive Moody who died in September 1875 at age 74. She was the widow of John Moody. Could she have been staying with relatives in Buxton at the end of her days and be a match to the Mrs. Moody in the report?

Wm. H. Seavey, services in part as overseer.....	19 00
Wm H. Seavey, services in part as overseer.....	50 00
Fannie N. Seavey, services in part as matron on farm.	50 00

While in her first year as Matron I found no separate payment for her services, in this Annual Report for 1889 (shown above) we find that she was paid \$50 for her work. William received much more, as other installment payments in addition to the two shown here were documented elsewhere in the report.

During this decade, burial-related expenses continued to be documented in Annual Reports for the town’s poor who were living off the farm. With one exception, burial locations are not known for them¹³, but if they had been buried at the farm’s cemetery, I would expect to see the town’s expenses noted under the Alms House account. It suggests they were buried at Dunstan. Still, tracking down the people who died in this period under town care is a challenge due to the general lack of supporting records. Sometimes just one line noting burial expenses paid is all we have to go on.

More Burials at the Town Farm Cemetery

Piecing together what records do exist, I’ve identified five people who died 1867 to 1869 and were likely buried at the farm cemetery. I have eight in the 1870s, with the possibility of Samuel Plaisted being the ninth. For the 1880s, these four people were likely laid to rest at the farm:

- Daniel Richards, 1883. His death at the Alms House at age 70 is verified in vital records.¹⁴
- Mary Conley, 1883. Though records are limited to one Annual Report, the cost of her burial was among the “Expenses for Poor at the Poor Farm...”. Other charges for medical services and board were made for her under the “Off the farm” account. Perhaps she moved to the farm in her final days.
- Sarah Smith, 1887. Though some “off the farm” expenses were paid to the City of Portland for aid they’d furnished, her coffin was paid under the farm account. Perhaps she was temporarily living in Portland but her remains brought to Scarborough for burial at the farm.
- Dennis Burnham, 1888. There’s very little information provided or found for him except for the fact that payment for his burial furnishings was drawn from the farm account.

A few other deaths from the 1880s are of note. Expenses for Statira Newcomb’s coffin and the digging of her grave in 1880 were included in the 1882 report, but neither under the account for the poor living “on the farm” nor “off the farm.” Her brother Albert died the following year, but payment was drawn from the “off the farm” account. Illness had apparently affected the entire family, as the town had paid for medical care for them in 1880/1881. The 1883 report notes that the town had paid \$30.73 for the “burial expenses for Earnest Libby, and supplies for the family” but again not under either category. These people were receiving town aid but were not living at the Alms House. So their burials were probably at Dunstan Cemetery, not the town farm cemetery.

¹³ The only exception this decade was Charles Parker. His 1883 burial expenses were paid by Scarborough but I found a gravestone for him at the Johnson Cemetery in Westbrook.

¹⁴ He is not to be confused with the other Daniel Richards, born around the same time, who took his own life in 1866. Both men received town assistance. This Daniel first appears in Scarborough in the 1880 census.

In just over twenty years, the Town Farm cemetery had received the remains of at least seventeen people. Two more would join them in the early 1890s.

Into the 1890s

As the new decade dawned, Ivory Berry had returned to the farm for the third time as its Overseer. He and his wife Aroline were in their mid-fifties. Four of their children were aged 18 to 26 and may have been on their own. Their son Grover was just 4 years old and certainly moved into the farm with them.

The town's "Expenses of Poor at the Town Farm" in 1890 totaled \$674. This was offset by \$303 received from the sale of farm produce. The town had sold straw, pumpkins, and potatoes—among other products—that year. Ivory had sold three pigs, lambs, and fowl in addition to other livestock. The Annual Report noted that there had been six residents (still referred to as inmates) living at the farm but that two had recently died there, leaving four at the present time. William K. Jose was one of the two who'd died. The costs of his burial supplies and a minister at his funeral were paid from the town farm account. Little else is known about him. The other death was Priscilla Burnham's.

The Longest-term Resident of the Farm

Priscilla Burnham died at the farm in 1890. Costs for the minister at her funeral and her burial were taken from the town farm account. Priscilla is the only Scarborough citizen who was named as a pauper in all three censuses of this period (1860, 1870, and 1880). She was born in 1813, being one of 11 known children of Ebenezer and Abigail Burnham. She's found in the 1850 census for Scarborough at age 38 living with her younger brother Joel—a blacksmith—and his wife Betsey. In the 1860 census she was 47 and, as noted earlier, was listed with the descriptors of "Idiot and Pauper" and living in the home of a widow named Shuah Moulton and her four children. She fell under the care of the town by 1861 and records for her care are found in all of the reports leading up to the farm's establishment.

Being among the farm's first residents means she had lived there for 23 years, longer than anyone else known. Her death occurred between March 1890 and February 1891 and her burial was surely at the farm's cemetery. Her grave, like all others there, was not marked with a professionally finished gravestone. Priscilla's brothers Harris (died 1855) and Joel (died 1887) have proper gravestones on their graves at Dunstan Cemetery. But within a couple of years, Priscilla's remains would be at Dunstan too...



Paid Chas. E. Roberts, for burying Priscilla Burnham and Wm. K. Jose.....	6 00
Chas. E. Roberts, blacksmithing for the town farm	.98
Geo. B. Thurston, cash paid minister at funerals of P. Burnham and W. K. Jose.....	2 00

Above: Harris and Joel Burnham's gravestones at Dunstan Cemetery. Photos courtesy of M. Simonds/Find-a-Grave.

Left: Final expenses detailed for Priscilla Burnham and William Jose in the Town Report.

Curiosities in the 1892 Town Report

The 1892 Annual Report (for the year ending February 23, 1892) contained an interesting entry under the farm account. It notes that George B. Thurston, who was one of the town's Overseers of the Poor, was paid \$5 for the "express charges on (the) body of Elizabeth Dodd." Elizabeth Dodd was living at the farm at the time, as the charges for her burial supplies fell under the "at the farm" account. But the "express charges" suggest that her remains were sent off the farm for burial. But why? And where?

A second curiosity is found in the 1892 report (see last line in the image below) that represents a key change at the farm. Thurston received \$9 for "removing pauper bodies to (the) cemetery." What bodies? And what cemetery?!

AMOUNT PAID FOR CONTINGENT EXPENSES.	
Pd. A. F. Larrabee, care of hall,	\$ 50
C. P. Varney, stationery, for office,	1 40
T. A. Libby, wood for office,	3 00
Stevens & Jones, stationery for Assessors,	14 08
Geo. B. Thurston, removing pauper bodies to cemetery,	9 00

To sort this out, some context is helpful.

- Scarborough had no truly public cemetery until 1877/1878, so most families had traditionally set aside a patch of land on their farms for family burials.
- When Dunstan Cemetery officially opened, townspeople were encouraged to relocate their private-patch graves there. This made a lot of sense; it allowed families to restore those burial patches back to farmland, made the dividing or sale of the land easier, and offered some reassurance that the new "final resting place" of their relatives (that is, Dunstan) would be cared for by the town.
- More than half of the private burial patches in town closed, and today's interment listings at Dunstan Cemetery prove the point. There are records for more than 400 people at Dunstan who died before 1878. Some may have been part of the common burying ground interments, but many others were moved in from their first interment places.
- Dunstan has a "paupers' field" that was set aside for burial of those who were homeless, friendless, transient, or unknown. It is still active today.

Given that the removal of remains from their original sites to Dunstan was commonplace throughout the town at that time, the payment to George Thurston to remove pauper bodies from the town farm cemetery aligns with the pattern.

Putting it all together, we can conclude—with little doubt—that the Town Farm cemetery closed in 1891 and the bodies of the people buried there were removed to Dunstan Cemetery.

Checking Records Through 1899

The conclusion just noted is supported by the unusual “express charges” for the body of Elizabeth Dodd. If the town had made the decision to end the use of the farm cemetery around the time of her death, then her body would have to have been transported off the farm to her final resting place. No grave site is known for her now, so Dunstan’s paupers’ field may be where she ended up.

The evidence to support this conclusion is also found in subsequent reports. No further deaths were reported at the farm until 1895. In that report, it was noted that “There have been two deaths at the farm during the present year, Thomas Burnham and Annie Tibbetts...”. Charges for their burial supplies were made under the “at the farm” account. But the key difference between those two deaths and the deaths of others at the farm between 1867 and 1891 is this: Both Thomas Burnham and Annie Tibbetts were issued full formal vital records of death...and shown right, *Thomas’s names Dunstan Cemetery as his place of burial*. Without seeing the words “the Town Farm cemetery is now closed” in an Annual Report, this trail of evidence may be as close as we can get to proving that the farm cemetery had in fact ceased taking bodies in 1891.

One other death was noted in the 1895 report, for Samuel Libby, a pauper who was not living on the farm at the time of his death. Still, the town documented that they had removed his remains to Dunstan Cemetery for burial.

In checking Annual Reports through the end of the century, I found only two other records of death at the farm: Mrs. A. J. Libby (1895) and Rose Libby (1899). Mrs. A. J. may be Charlotte, wife of Andrew J. Libby, who has a marker at Dunstan. Rose Libby’s vital record notes her burial was in Westbrook.

The Overworked Matron

The 1899 Annual Report is noteworthy for another reason. The Selectmen gave an assessment of the farm’s condition after thirty years of operation, and addressed the stewardship of John C. and Betsy Burnham as Superintendent and Matron of the farm. Despite giving Mrs. Burnham glowing reviews, it appears she went unpaid. Her husband received regular installments of pay for his work as Superintendent. The Selectmen’s Poor Farm report for 1899 is found in its entirety on the following page.

RECORD OF A DEATH.

Name *Thomas J. Burnham*
Place of Death *Scarborough, Me.*
Date of Death *April 9* 18 *94*
Age, Years *88* Months *-* Days *-*
Place of Birth *Scarborough, Me.*
Sex *M* Color *W* Married, Single, Widowed, or Divorced. } *Mar*
Occupation *Carpenter*
Cause of Death *Mitral Regurgitation & Heart Disease*
Place of Burial *Dunstan in Scarborough*
Name of Father *Jonathan Burnham*
Maiden Name of Mother *Polly*
Birthplace of Father *Scarborough, Me.*
Birthplace of Mother *"*
Occupation of Father _____
Name and address of Physician (or other person) reporting said death.
Dr. H. H. Allen
Scarborough, Me.

STATE OF MAINE.

I hereby certify that the above death record is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

E. H. H. Allen
Clerk of *Scarborough, Me.*

POOR AT THE FARM.

The Poor Farm since April 1st, 1898, has been under the able charge of Mr. John C. Burnham and wife, as Superintendent and Matron. Mr. Burnham has shown himself as being a careful, honest and energetic Superintendent, laboring for the interest of the town, and the comfort of the inmates. While your Overseers would like to see a number of good cows on the farm, and the farm brought into a high state of cultivation, we have not at any of our visits at the farm thought it right or consistent to add any more care or labor to the already over-worked matron. We have had for the last year six inmates at the farm, five of them are aged and infirm, two of them are almost totally blind, and some one of them has been sick the most of the time, and while at all of our visits we have found them clean, well fed, comfortable and apparently happy (a great change from any previous year), we are confident that the matron has all that she can possibly attend to without caring for the milk or butter from a large herd of cows. Mr. and Mrs. Burnham's management has been entirely satisfactory to us and we would respectfully recommend that, were it possible, to secure their services for another year, that they be retained to manage the farm. You will see by the report, that although the number of inmates are the same as on previous years and that there have been improvements both inside and outside the farm buildings, that our poor at the farm have been

kept at a less cost than for some years. Mr. Burnham has made a decided improvement in the condition of the farm buildings by clapboarding and painting the house, so that it now presents a very respectable appearance. We have made considerable addition to the furniture, and the bedding has been overhauled and repaired by the matron, and some new blankets and other bedding bought to replace that entirely worn out and destroyed.

The End of the Farm

Scarborough's Town Farm continued to house people well into the 1900s. It is likely that those able-bodied residents of the farm were expected to work there too. The farm also continued to produce crops and livestock for sale as a means to offset costs, and came very close to self-sufficiency a couple of years.¹⁵ The town's total expenses for the poor reached \$1595 by 1900, two thirds of that being expenses on the farm and one third being expenses off the farm.

Believing that the cemetery closed in 1891, I did not carefully examine each Annual Report beyond the turn of the century. But I did want to learn when the farm ceased operations so I reviewed reports in five-year increments. Through 1920, notes were found to suggest there were still residents at the farm, but beginning in 1925 there was no mention of people living there and the expenses at the farm were quite low. It seems the farm was slowly losing its importance to the town.

Then in May of 1953, Smith A. Grant purchased the farm from Scarborough for one dollar "and other good and valuable considerations." In the 1954 report, the purchase of the farm was reflected as payment by Smith Grant for \$2250. In private hands once again, the property had served the town's poor for 85 years. When Smith Grant died, the property passed to his son Ralph.

In the 1980s, Scarborough resident Janice Makowski spent a great deal of time "tramping through the woods...to get all of (Scarborough's) grave sites documented before developers destroyed them..." The fruits of her labor are the three binders of maps, photographs, and descriptions of the town's cemeteries found today in the Historical Society's collections. Janice shared that she had been told of the Poor Farm cemetery, but that she did not find any evidence that it was still there during her project.

Then in 1994/1995 there was a town-wide property survey performed by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission. The farm was still owned by Ralph Grant and was photographed for the survey (shown on page 7). The survey sheet indicated that there was no cemetery located on the property.

Finally, in 2002, the farm was dismantled and was no more. The farm site and all of the land surrounding it has since been redeveloped and holds about fifty homes.



Smith Grant's 1936 passport photo. He was born in New Brunswick, Canada, and at the time of this photo, he was already living and farming on Broadturn Road in Scarborough with his wife and four kids. Less than two decades later, he purchased the Town Farm.

¹⁵ The best year appears to be 1893, when total costs at the farm of \$1090 were offset by income of \$903, for a return of 83%.

Lingering Questions...

The 1871 town map clearly shows the Town Farm and its cemetery, but could the Brackett family have set aside the burial patch before the town purchased the property? Earlier town maps of Scarborough did not include private cemeteries. Further, James and Harriet Brackett, at least five of their children, and many other relatives, have gravestones in Limington. It seems that this couple, who were about 30 when they sold their farm to the town, had not spent much time in Scarborough. I found no record on their family tree of children who died before 1868. So the more likely scenario is that the farm cemetery was the town's creation.

There was a reference in the 1875 Annual Report footnoted earlier of an extraordinary number of "tramps" being housed and fed. 1875 was not the only year such a reference was made. A few reports from the 1890s included similar references to transient people receiving temporary assistance from the town. The Selectmen wrote in the 1896 report "There have been one hundred and eighty tramps sheltered and fed at the farm during the year." The following year the Selectmen noted "There have been three hundred and sixty-three tramps sheltered and fed during the year." I found note of a "house for tramps" being constructed at the farm around 1896; the cost was just \$25, so it was likely rustic, at best, and served only as temporary shelter for people passing through. We know that the farm's permanent residents typically numbered no more than a half-dozen.

Though all facts point to the emptying of the farm cemetery (with reinterment at Dunstan) in 1891, the low amount paid to George Thurston for that task admittedly casts a bit of a shadow of doubt.¹⁶ Yet there is a possible explanation when we acknowledge that George was one of the town's Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor that year, and was already drawing a salary from the town in that capacity. Perhaps he just charged a nominal fee for the emptying of the farm's graves, or perhaps he managed the project but used unpaid labor to do the digging. Whatever the truth of it is, the twentieth-century property deeds make no mention of an on-site cemetery, and the surveys done by Janice Makowski and the Maine Historic Preservation Commission found no evidence of a cemetery on the properties.

As is often the case when doing historical research, uncertainties abound.

...and Summary Thoughts

In this paper I have laid out the facts gathered from a variety of sources to tell the story of the Town Farm cemetery. My conclusions about the span of time it was active and the people who ended up there are reasonable given what information is available. We can feel good about the fact that Scarborough spent a good portion of its budget caring for those townspeople who were living with poverty, lack of housing, mental and physical disability, and abandonment. Town records are clear in that regard. On the other hand, the documentation of "poor" people at the personal level was just not as thorough as for the majority of townspeople who didn't face such challenges. The reality is that some people were sent to the farm and all but forgotten. Certainly at the time of death we find differences; for the disadvantaged there is often a lack of complete vital records, the lack of newspaper notices of death, and the lack of grave markers to decorate their final resting places.

¹⁶ Nine dollars is not a lot of money for removing bodies, especially when other annual reports of the period documented that a typical charge for digging a grave was about \$3.

The Paupers' Field at Dunstan Cemetery

Today, as you drive into the main gate at Dunstan Cemetery just off Route 1, there is a large open patch on the right with just a few scattered grave markers in place. That area holds the paupers' field and is where the remains of those removed from the Town Farm cemetery were reburied. It's a patch that is still in use by the town today. Though the space looks relatively vacant, visitors can be certain that there are, in fact, dozens of people at rest there.



Dunstan Cemetery's Paupers' Field today.

I've designed walking tours at about twenty historic cemeteries, and as a necrogeographer and taphophile (no need to look them up...just fancy words meaning I study cemetery landscapes and like old gravestones) when I'm "in the field" I tend to spend more time thinking about the *where* and *what* than the *who*. This research tipped that balance towards the *who* as I got to know some of these townspeople as well as anyone could, given the lack of primary sources. It has brought a quote from neuroscientist and public speaker David Eagleman front and center. He wrote "There are three deaths. The first is when the body ceases to function. The second is when the body is consigned to the grave. The third is that moment, sometime in the future, when your name is spoken for the last time." The names of Priscilla Burnham, Simon Harmon, and the others whose lives ended at the Scarborough Town Farm may have been last spoken many, many decades ago; with this paper, I say their names again to help ensure they won't be forgotten.

THE END

Notes about the Appendices

Appendix A has the list of those believed to have been buried at the Town Farm cemetery.

Appendix B provides the list of Town Farm Overseers from 1867 to 1900.

Appendix C provides the number of permanent residents reported at the farm.

Appendix D names others who died while under the town's care and whose graves may be at the paupers' field at Dunstan Cemetery. It includes:

- People who died before the Town Farm cemetery was established (that is, before 1867). Examples are Joanna Gustin and Lydia Skillin (see page 3).
- People who died while in the town's care when the Town Farm cemetery was active (that is, 1867 to 1891) but who were not residents of the farm. Examples are Statira Newcomb and Earnest Libby (see page 13).
- People who died at the farm after the farm cemetery was closed (so, deaths after 1891). Examples are Thomas Burnham and Annie Tibbetts (see page 16).
- Question-mark cases. There are a half-dozen of these. Samuel Plaisted is one since he died at the farm when the cemetery was active, but there is some uncertainty about his body ending up in Scarborough (see page 10). A second example is Julia Graffam's infant daughter, who lived just a few weeks. She'd been adopted when Julia died at the farm but lived very briefly thereafter; her adoptive parents may have reunited her with her mother at the farm cemetery¹⁷ (see page 11).

There are a few other cases of interest that I've included in Appendix D. For example, the Newcomb family of four (Samuel and Abigail, plus children Albert and Statira) all received medical care and burial expenses at the town's expense over nearly two decades. No family lot is known to exist at any of Scarborough's cemeteries for them, so for now the assumption is that they were buried at the paupers' field.

There were three people whose final expenses were paid by the town but whose gravesites are known. I did not include them in Appendix D, since the focus of that roster is to identify those who may have been buried at the paupers' field. Those three are:

- **Charles Parker.** See page 13.
- **Ferdinand Knight.** The 1891 town report listed his burial expenses as contingent (that is, unexpected) instead of being drawn from the "on the farm" account. He was a Civil War veteran and a town resident when he died September 26, 1890. He shares a gravestone with his wife at Evergreen Cemetery in Portland.
- **Rose Libby.** She died at the Poor Farm on October 10, 1899. Her vital record of death indicates that she was buried in Westbrook, although a marker hasn't been found for her.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, the burial location of her adoptive parents, Benjamin F. And Elizabeth Richards, is also unknown. I was hoping to be able to find such a lot and look for records of an infant's 1874 burial there.

Appendix A: Those who died at the Town Farm, 1867 to 1891, and are believed to have been interred at the farm cemetery

[Note: Years of death in **bold** are verified; those in *italics* are estimated from Annual Reports, which covered the period ending February/March each year versus the calendar year.]

	Resident	Source confirming death at the Town Farm/Alms House	Year of death	Notes
1	Ballard, adult male	1872 Town Report	1872	<i>No other details are found for him</i>
2	Burnham, Dennis	1889 Town Report	<i>1888</i>	
3	Burnham, Priscilla	1891 Town Report	1890	<i>Longest-term resident</i>
4	Conley, Mary	1884 Town Report	<i>1883</i>	
5	Coonley, child	1870 Town Report	<i>1869</i>	<i>Child of James and Elsie?</i>
6	Dyer, Deborah	1868 Town Report	<i>1867</i>	<i>First burial at the farm cemetery</i>
7	Fenderson, Sally (Sarah)	Town vital records	1876	
8	Graffam, child of Sarah	1869 Town Report	<i>1868</i>	
9	Graffam, Julia	1875 Town Report	1874	
10	Graffam, Mary	Town vital records	1870	<i>She died of consumption</i>
11	Harmon, Abial	Town vital records and 1879 Town Report	1878	
12	Harmon, Simon P.	Town vital records and 1869 Town Report	1868	
13	Hasty, Margaret	Town vital records and 1869 Town Report	1868	
14	Hunnewell, Polly	Town vital records and 1871 Town Report	1870	
15	Jose, William K.	1891 Town Report	1890	
16	Newcomb, Joseph	Town vital records and 1873 Town Report	1872	
17	Richards, Daniel	Town vital records and 1884 Town Report	1883	
18	Smith, Sarah	1888 Town Report	<i>1887</i>	<i>Coffin paid from the farm account, but she may have died in Portland</i>
19	Waterhouse, John	Town vital records	1870	

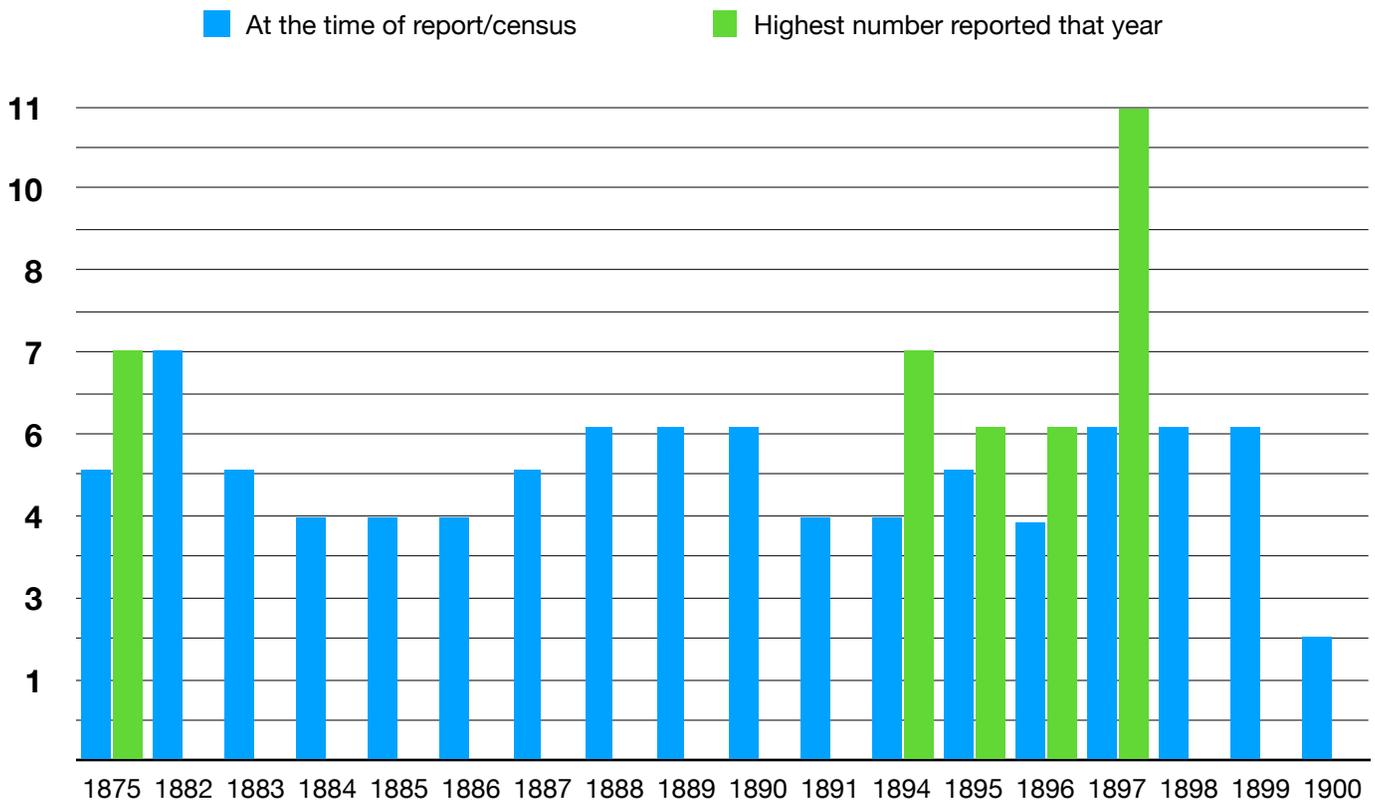
Appendix B: Overseers of the Town Farm, 1867 to 1900 (As recorded in Town Annual Reports)

[Note: Names in bold were buried at Dunstan Cemetery]

Years	Overseers	Notes
1867 to 1870	Thomas C. Carter	The first Overseer. His salary of \$300 was documented in the Annual Report as “Overseer’s Salary - T. C. Carter and wife.” She was Elizabeth Ann Holmes.
1870 to 1872	Ivory Berry	Confirmed in 1870 census as “Keeper/Poor House” and his wife Aroline was listed as “Matron.” He was the only person to have served as Overseer over three decades — the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.
1872 to 1875	Woodbury S. Libby	
1876 to 1877	Charles A. Deshon	
1877 to 1878	William M. Collins	
1878 to 1882	John W. Webster	Confirmed in 1880 census
1882 to 1883	William H. Clifford	
1883 to 1887	Ivory Berry	
1887 to 1889	William H. Seavey Fannie N. Seavey	Brother and sister; William was recorded as Overseer, but Fannie received her own pay—albeit limited—for her role as “Matron on the farm.”
1889 to 1894	Ivory Berry	By 1894, Ivory Berry was listed as “Agent” instead of “Overseer”
1894 to 1897	Reuben S. Meserve	Reuben’s title was “Superintendent”
1898 to 1900	John C. Burnham	Despite acknowledgement in the 1899 Annual Report that the farm was under the care of “Mr. John C. Burnham and wife, as Superintendent and Matron,” Betsy did not receive pay for her significant contribution. By the time the 1900 census was recorded in June, John Burnham, Betsy, and three teenaged children were living on their own farm.
1900	Charles C. Edwards	Charles had received some pay in 1900 as Overseer “in part” which suggests John Burnham had left this position around the New Year and passed the baton to Charles. In the June 1900 census, we find Charles Edwards, age 31, with the occupation of “Manager.” In his household were his wife Blanch (age 25), and their son Clarence (11 months old). Two people labelled as “inmates” were also listed — 58-year-old Anna Babson and 87-year-old Eliza Gustin.

Appendix C: Number of Residents at the Town Farm, 1867 to 1900
(some years unreported)

This chart shows that the farm typically housed a half-dozen or fewer residents.



Appendix D: Others who died while under the town's care and may be buried at Dunstan Cemetery's paupers' field.

[Note: Years of death in **bold** are verified; those in *italics* are estimated from Annual Reports, which covered the period ending February/March each year versus the calendar year.]

	Name	Year of Death	Notes <i>("report" refers to Town Annual Reports)</i>
1	Babson, Philip	1888	His medical care, a casket and the digging of his grave were documented in the 1889 report under the "off the farm" account.
2	Burnham, Thomas J.	1894	He died April 9, 1894 at age 88, at the Alms House according to the 1895 report. Cause of death: mitral regurgitation. See page 16
3	Dodd, Elizabeth	1891	See pages 15 - 16. <i>She may not have been buried in Scarborough.</i>
4	Dolly, Mrs. Frank	1883	Medical expenses, a coffin and a robe were paid from the "off the farm" account in 1884 report. Little else is known about her.
5	Farr, Arthur C.	1899	The 1900 report notes his death at age 48 years, 11 months. Medical care and burial costs were drawn from the "off the farm" account. His vital record of death notes the cause of death as "self abuse" and that his burial was in Scarborough. <i>He may have been buried at Scotto Hill Cemetery with his father (all gravestones now missing).</i>
6	Farr, Everett	1896	He died November 4, 1896, of scarlet fever. He was 5 years and 2 months old, the son of Arthur C. Farr and Matilda Martin. His casket was paid from the "off the farm" account as documented in the 1897 report. His burial was in Scarborough. <i>He may have been buried at Scotto Hill Cemetery with his grandfather (all gravestones now missing).</i>
7	Foye, Simeon	1888	The cost of digging his grave was documented under the "off the farm" account in the 1889 report. He had enlisted in September 1862 as a musician in the ME 25th Infantry, but deserted in October.
8	Graffam, child of Julia	1874	See pages 11, 20
9	Gustin, Joanna	1853	See page 3
10	Libby, Earnest	1882	See page 13
11	Libby, Jacob	1870	See pages 4, 10. <i>He may have been buried at one of the many Libby family lots at Black Point or Dunstan cemeteries.</i>
12	Libby, Mrs. A. J. (Charlotte)	1895	The 1896 report documents costs for caring and burial of Charlotte Libby from the "off the farm" account; later in the report the Selectmen wrote that there had been only one death "at the farm" that year, Mrs. A. J. Libby. These references appear to be for the same person.
13	Libby, Samuel	1894	See page 16
14	Lothrop, Abram	1888	He was Abraham Pierce Lothrop, husband of Hannah Bryant. His burial expenses were documented "off the farm" in the 1889 report.
15	Lothrop, Mrs. Hannah (Bryant)	1886	Hannah Bryant, wife of Abram. Her medical care, burial robe, coffin, and the digging of her grave were paid from the "off the farm" account.

	Name	Year of Death	Notes
16	Lowell, Augusta	1861	The 1862 report confirms that following her death, the town sold her belongings for \$22.04.
17	Merrill, child of Olive	1880	Per the 1881 report, burial expenses were paid for this unnamed child; Olive received aid in the form of clothing, medical services, and board charges, all from the "off the farm account."
18	Moody, Betsy	1867	Her death occurred in January of 1867, before the Alms House opened.
19	Moody, Mrs.	1875	See page 12
	The Newcomb family	<i>The 1881 report noted that the town had paid for medical care for this family.</i>	
20	Statira	1880	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statira and Albert were two of six children of Samuel & Abigail Newcomb who died within a short time of each other. Payment for Statira's coffin and burial in 1880 was documented in the 1882 report. Albert's burial furnishings and the digging of his grave were noted in the same report as paid from the "off the farm" account. Family patriarch Samuel's medical and burial expenses were paid from the "off the farm" account (1888 report). Abigail Coolbroth married Samuel c. 1848 and was mother of six. Her burial expenses were drawn from the town's "off the farm" account.
21	Albert	1881	
22	Samuel	1887	
23	Abigail	1899	
24	Newcomb, Elisha	1872	No known relation to Samuel and Abigail's family has yet been verified. His burial expenses were listed under contingent (unexpected) expenses versus the town farm account in the 1873 report.
25	Parker, Mary (Dyer)	1869	Her burial expenses "off the farm" were in the 1870 report. The town had sought reimbursement from Westbrook (the residence of her husband), but it was discovered that Mr. Parker was already married to another woman at the time of his marriage to Mary Dyer. Scarborough then withdrew the request for reimbursement of Mary's final expenses.
26	Plaisted, Samuel	1870	<i>Burial may be in Buxton.</i> He died of consumption. See pages 10 - 11
27	Richards, Daniel	1866	See pages 5 - 6
28	Skillin, Lydia	1853	See page 3
29	Smith, Josiah	1861	Burial expenses were documented in the 1862 report.
30	Sweetsir, Dorcas (Sarah)	1863	The 1864 report notes payment of \$53.87 to the "Misses McLaughlin for support of Sarah Sweetsir, including funeral charges." (Martha and Mary McLaughlin lived next door to Dorcas (Sarah) Sweetsir).
31	Tibbetts, Annie	1894	She died November 29, 1894, at the Alms House according to the 1895 report. Her age was unknown, but her cause of death was noted as "ulcers of stomach." See page 16
32	Varney, Charles	1886	Expenses for medical care, burial robe, case (coffin), and the digging of his grave were paid under the "off the farm" account in the 1887 report.
33	Williams, Phebe	1881	Board, medical expenses and burial expenses including a box (coffin) and digging of her grave were paid from the "off the farm" account.