

More on February 12, 1834, set apart fractional blocks 178 and 179 for the public graveyard of the Town of Little Rock. It is not clear why these blocks were referred to as fractional blocks, for both contained the usual twelve lots of the usual size. Also, no other known source includes Block 178 in the old cemetery, and since lots on this block were sold within the next few years, it seems unlikely that it was ever actually used as a cemetery. Block 178 lies immediately south of Block 179.

Section 2 of the 1834 ordinance may have been a serious jolt to some of the people of Little Rock, but if there was any reaction to it one way or the other, it was not reflected in the columns of the Arkansas Gazette. It read: "Be it further ordained, That every individual or private graveyard within the town of Little Rock, is considered, and is hereby defined, to be a nuisance; and that hereafter it shall not be lawful for any individual or individuals to inter or bury any dead body, or deceased person, anywhere within the limits of the town or corporation, except it be at the public graveyard." Since the ordinance applied only to future burials and did not require removal of previously made graves, possibly the citizens did not find it objectionable.

Section 3 provided that violators convicted before the mayor or a justice of the peace would be fined from ten to twenty dollars, and in addition would have to bear the expense of disinterment and reburial of the illegally buried body in the public graveyard, which would be attended to by the town constable immediately.

The public cemetery remained on Block 179 until the donation of Mount Holly cemetery in 1843. Many graves were later moved from the old cemetery to Mount Holly, but there is no record of the original interment location of these graves. Consequently it cannot be definitely determined whether the graves that antedate the establishment of Mount Holly were originally on Block 179 or in a private cemetery, except in a few cases where we have specific information from other sources. Newspaper obituaries of the period never mentioned burial places, and while we might reasonably assume that residents of Little Rock who died between the times of the 1834 ordinance and the establishment of Mount Holly were almost sure to have been buried on Block 179, we cannot ascertain whether those who died prior to 1834 were buried there or in private cemeteries.

For these reasons, it is impossible now to determine exactly when Block 179 was first used as a cemetery, but it was definitely before the 1834 ordinance, for Governor George Izard, who died November 22, 1828, is known to have been buried there. His grave is now on Chester Ashley's plot at Mount Holly. Also on the Ashley plot are six other tombstones bearing death dates earlier than 1843, four of which antedate the 1834 ordinance and one of which is only a little more than seven months after the ordinance was approved. One of them, Ashley's 18-months-old daughter, Mary Van Alstyne Ashley, died April 12, 1828, the earliest of any on the Ashley plot. All of these except Governor Izard were members of the Ashley family, and we have no way of knowing whether or not Ashley ever maintained a private cemetery.

Neither can we know how many of these private cemeteries existed in Little Rock at the time of the ordinance, or where they were located. In