

# Guerrilla Maneuvers in Architectural Preservation

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The 2018–2023 architectural preservation process of a historic Black church in Massachusetts demonstrates a set of socio-architectural tactics identified as guerrilla preservation, or small maneuvers in pursuit of exuberance. These are shown to be both necessary in dealing with existing structures of power, property, and funding and also necessary in responsibly unpacking difficult layers of history produced by racial capitalism and colonialism. Historical contexts of the building and its inhabitants, the historical context of the term “guerrilla,” and architectural legacies of Black vernacular architecture in New England demonstrate that smaller tactics of preservation and exuberant expression contain potential to rupture the social matrix of the colonial-capitalist value system in the present.

By 1910 there were nine Black churches near Central Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts. A historical survey reveals a common thread about their origins since the late nineteenth century; Black communities were tired of politely waiting and being denied participation in religious organization, so they left to find or establish their own spaces. In bigger, older churches, people of color were relegated to the rearmost pews, which were often painted black in contrast to all the others.<sup>1</sup> These new buildings were built quickly and cheaply; structural

schemes were taken from pattern books and their turned or band-sawn wood details were bought at low cost from component production yards. They were always built in neighborhood interiors, rather than on main roads, and thus had to make the best of small and constrained sites. Usable spaces were stacked over multiple floors in unlikely ways. Entry sequences were often irregular. These buildings were improvised, adapted, and strategically crafted—they were built with guerrilla tactics. In the context of twenty-first century architectural and urban

paradigms—intense gentrification, property flipping, and landlordism—these types of buildings call for guerrilla tactics with respect to their preservation and reparation.

The term ‘guerrilla’ is a Spanish word that emerged in 1808 during Spain’s national struggle against French imperial invasion.<sup>2</sup> The word referenced small combat maneuvers, or wars fought through stealthy, shrewd, and calculated tactics. The birth of guerrilla maneuvers, however, actually occurred in the colonial world over the course of the preceding century. During the eighteenth century, as plantations reached unprecedented production intensities, enslaved and colonized peoples developed new methods for organized resistance, fugitivity, hidden movement through bushland and mountain terrain, subterfuge, and networks of secret communication. “Conspiracies” and “rebellions,” as the colonizers termed these maneuvers, spread across Caribbean archipelagos and in places such as Haiti (Saint Domingue) and Jamaica.<sup>3</sup> Only later did “guerrilla war” arise in Europe as an echo of the colonial world.<sup>4</sup> During this era of mounting rebellions across the plantation Americas, small groups of partisans, confronted by massive colonial force, maneuvered to sabotage the reigning order, or to rupture the dominant logistics of imperial conquest. As Black Studies scholars point out, enslaved and Maroon peoples performed futuristic acts of liberation using their guerrilla repertoires. Through their collective action they created new temporalities



**Figure 1.** A view of St. Augustine's African Orthodox Church as it was before renovations began in 2018. Photograph by Christopher Hail, 1985. Cambridge Historical Commission collections.

that sabotaged the oppressive schedule of colonial time.<sup>5</sup>

This writing reflects on reparations struggles, as they manifest at and around a small Black church—St. Augustine's African Orthodox Church—in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Figure 1 and Figure 2). We define this effort as a series of guerrilla maneuvers, led from below by those who seek to disrupt and sabotage the present-day regime of racial capitalism. These are “small ‘r’ reparations”—ongoing, everyday, community-based, processual ways of sabotaging racial capitalism through strategic maneuvers of care and attention. By reckoning with and tending to Black survivals and the continuities of Black exuberance lodged here, we disrupt the gentrifying disavowals and exclusions against which the Church and its members have long contended.<sup>6</sup> These exclusions and disavowals, rooted in the city’s history, social policies, and in the everyday attitudes of high-income

neighbors, places St. Augustine's in a position of precarity in an extractive property market that seeks to homogenize spaces of common *use* into enclosures of private wealth; a process that is rooted in an infrastructural economy of *exchange* that emerged from the historical legacies of slavery, racism, colonialism, and racial capitalism.<sup>7</sup>

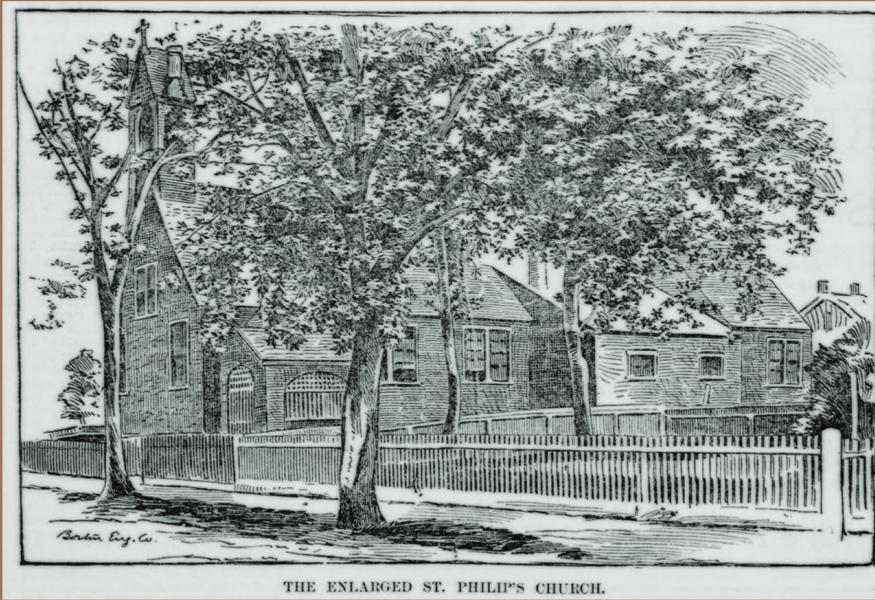
These guerrilla maneuvers can be seen during a 2018–2023 architectural preservation project at St. Augustine's that seeks to sabotage and transform this infrastructural exchange. The “small ‘r’ reparations” work of this project were both embodied and are material and symbolic practices, where time is spent to accompany, tend to, care for, and treasure a historic Black church community in a system that has repeatedly classified their interests as less worthy of safeguarding than those of the expanding, gentrifying majority white population. The progress by “Man,” as Sylvia Wynter

explains, relies on assigning Black and Brown communities to intensifying experiences of “dysselection”: disregard, exclusion, and precariousness.<sup>8</sup> The reparative investment of care involved in tending to the administrative well-being, architectural integrity, and the safety of Black life at St. Augustine's ruptures the surrounding racial capitalist grid. These moments of rupture allow for the wider gentrifying neighborhood community to see beyond static horizons of racial disavowal, and to find entry points to transforming a system of extractive values into shared wealth, equity, and historical reparation.

The work of reclaiming St. Augustine's demonstrates that reparation is not about “revitalizing,” “reactivating,” or “fixing” a Black cultural institution; rather, it is the work of rupturing, and then transforming and repairing, the social matrix and colonialist-capitalist value system surrounding the sites of Black survival.

Since 2018, we—an architect and historian who live near St. Augustine's—have been working with the remaining elderly parishioners of St. Augustine's African Orthodox Church who have been caring for the building as a living social space, to maintain its stories, and to help enact its possible future. It was essential for us to make decisions with and alongside the parishioners as primary stakeholders. And our rapport with the parishioners grew out of a long-term practice of affiliation and genuine friendship. The project team has been joined by more neighbors, researchers, artists, healers, and activists to learn from the Black exuberance of St. Augustine's, rooted in a rich African Caribbean American history. To this end, we formed a new resident nonprofit, Black History in Action for Cambridgeport, with reparation, research, art, and education as its mission.

The first—and most obvious—thing to be done to St. Augustine's African Orthodox Church was to replace the roof. In 2018, sunlight



**Figure 2.** Artist's rendering of the church from an 1888 issue of *The Cambridge Chronicle*. St. Augustine's was formerly known as St. Philip's. The church was originally built in 1886, but just two years later it was enlarged by sawing the building in half, moving the rear half back to the rear of the parcel, and filling in more nave length between the two split halves. Public domain image.

could be seen through cracks in the exposed wood ceiling (Figure 3). On rainy days, buckets were used to catch the water that leaked into the church. This small English countryside chapel-style church, in a historically Black industrial working-class neighborhood of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was beginning to stand out because nearly all nearby buildings had been renovated or replaced. Its 1970s woodgrain-stamped asphalt shingles were the last of their kind in the neighborhood. Coordinated by our newly formed nonprofit, an informal assemblage of people began the work of this “small ‘r’ reparation.” In the process, it became necessary to contend with the historical legacy building, and with the broken social bonds that resulted from systemic racism, exclusion, and disregard. Deferred maintenance at St. Augustine’s, pertaining to the physical state of the building as well as its social bonds, reputation, and the status of its deed and governance, actually represented the larger—and disavowed—racial disrepair of the surrounding gentrifying neighborhood.

St. Augustine’s appearance had not changed much since the 1970s when the asphalt wall shingles were installed as a stopgap measure to patch the decaying shingles beneath. It was not “ruined,” but rather stood outside the “market time” of the capitalist real estate economy. St. Augustine’s existed in a stasis or abeyance, outside the colonial-capitalist processes where properties are bought and extractively flipped. From 1955 to 1970, members of the neighborhood vigorously resisted the construction of the infamous “Inner Belt” expressway, an urban connector highway that would have slashed through Cambridge. A 1966 issue of *The Architectural Forum* highlighted a project by The Architects Collaborative to embroider the would-be highway with housing blocks.<sup>9</sup> The article included a photo of St. Augustine’s, serving as an example of the “crowded-together and obsolete” architecture directly in the highway’s path. Strong community protests and, ultimately, a moratorium on highway-building within the outer urban ring road, Route 128, stopped the proposed highway project.

St. Augustine’s is known as a “pro-cathedral,” as it was the home church of the first bishop of the African Orthodox Church organization, George Alexander McGuire. African Orthodox Church practice shares much in common with the Anglican Episcopalian liturgical rite, but McGuire found no Episcopal or Catholic bishops who would confer apostolic succession on a Black man. Finally in 1921, the rogue Syrian Orthodox Bishop René Vilatte consecrated McGuire, who was known as a tireless educator, community leader, and believer in the socially transformative power of autonomous religion for Black people. McGuire had been a close associate of Marcus Garvey since 1918, and guided the African Orthodox Church throughout the United States, and in parts of the Caribbean and Africa as the religious wing of Garvey’s Pan-Africanist movement. Members of St. Augustine’s from this heyday saved as keepsakes the tickets they bought for the steamship that was to take them on the storied “Back to Africa” voyage.

A church can be a tricky place. It is not subject to property tax and does not participate in the corresponding “market time” of the real estate economy, yet sits on land that could do so. The power of the church is also its weakness within the framework of extractivist real estate value-creation and maintenance. The “rot” and “ruin” we uncover at St. Augustine’s is only an indication of the otherness of this space—for too long it has been doing something other than creating “value” that is productive capitalist value. What appears as “ruin” is in effect a manifestation of survival and of the staying power of a place that works against the schedule of real estate capitalism. As a place seemingly out of time—an unlikely specter from another era—the epistemic ghosts of racism, policing, and gentrification are tangible. In other words, time itself “is out of joint” around St. Augustine’s. Ghosts, as Avery



**Figure 3.** A view up at the ceiling during initial emergency renovations showing steel reinforcement brackets and lateral tie rods that were added for structural stability, and also showing sunlight shining through cracks and holes in the roof of the church. Photograph by Gabriel Cira.



**Figure 4.** Brothers Charles "Kit" Eccles and Edward "Ned" Eccles, members of the church vestry; Tiago "Dell" Silva, a contractor; and a pit bull, "Monk," on the construction site in January 2019. Photograph by Gabriel Cira.



**Figure 5.** A view of the side vestibule after asphalt shingle siding had been partially stripped, revealing original window shapes boarded over, and original 1886 cedar shingle details. Photograph by Kris Manjapra.

Gordon brilliantly explains in her study of Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, are sociological indicators. They point to open secrets, the unconsidered known, and the silent confessions that disturb pretenses of normalcy, respectability, and amity within a social field constituted through ongoing racial, colonial, and gendered violence.<sup>10</sup> Ghosts, according to Gordon, call the ones they haunt to reckon with the sites and substance of disavowal. A haunted house is only the aperture through which the social haunting of its surrounding neighborhood and social order can be indicated or pointed out.

The racial ghosts arising from legacies of racism, policing, and gentrification in Cambridgeport seemed to reenter the scene around St. Augustine's over the course of the 2018–2023 preservation project. Working with the complexities of existing buildings is always a challenge to standard architect-owner-contractor procedures. At St. Augustine's, layers of asphalt shingles indiscriminately covered over problems of all types:

roof leak lines, splitting structural brackets, incomplete foundation walls, and rot. These problems only became apparent when the asphalt shingles and other quick-patch fixes were removed. Informed by scholarship on Black place-making, is not difficult to draw an analogy between these issues and the slipshod cultural layers of racial disavowal that obscure the need for reparation of historical damage done to Black social fabric.<sup>11</sup> Like our guerrilla historic preservation operations, with matching grants and donated labor, "small reparation" takes time, peeling back the layers of social disregard and reactive defense in order to first even grasp the extent of the social repair needed (Figure 4).

The 2018–2023 preservation project reactivated the building's original entry sequence through the vestibule to the right side of the building's front facade (Figure 5 and Figure 6). Off-axis entry is a vernacular hallmark of urban churches on constrained sites. An 1888 newspaper engraving shows an excellent depiction of the original condition, although details

are not entirely clear. In 2022, the side entry vestibule structure allowed for both an outdoor ramp and stair to be routed through it. Accessibility ramps, especially on constrained sites, typically route to a rear entry to accomplish necessary code-required slope and clearances. The side vestibule enables a more graceful integration into St. Augustine's. In the future, ramps on historical buildings may be viewed as a product of a post-ADA era, and will struggle to escape historicization as what Jay Dolmage has categorized as a "retrofit," or an added-on afterthought that is emblematic of nonintegrated accessibility planning.<sup>12</sup> Given this, the architectural detailing of the side vestibule and exterior entry features serves as a prism through which historical questions of reparation, restoration, and style are addressed as a distinct break from original conditions.

The conservation work utilizes a repeated 2D cutout wiggle shape derived from the joyful and inexpensive detailing of 1880s carpenter gothic, which used



**Figure 6.** A view of the side vestibule after asphalt shingle siding had been partially stripped, revealing original window shapes boarded over, and original 1886 cedar shingle details. Photograph by Kris Manjapra.



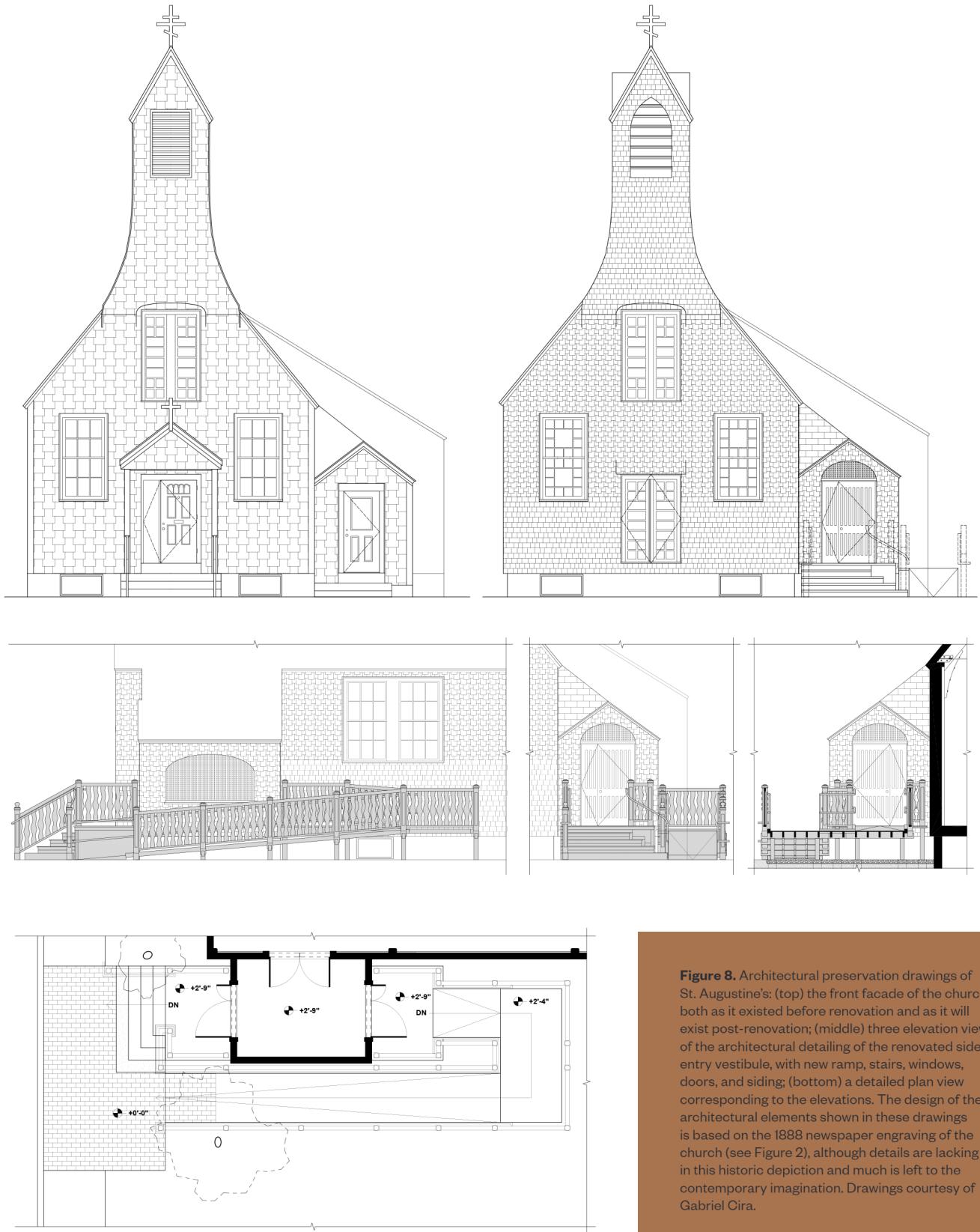
**Figure 7.** A circa 1930 photograph of the church sanctuary with clergy and choir. Photograph courtesy of St. Augustine's African Orthodox Church.

new steam-powered bandsaws to expressive, exuberant ends. Some of the most notable results from that period are the vernacular “gingerbread” drip vergeboard of the Black summer vacation-cum-religious enclave of Oak Bluffs on Martha’s Vineyard, and the

serpentine cutouts on witty and whimsical divans or tiered shelves made by Thomas Day, a renowned Black carpenter and furniture maker. The original architect of St. Augustine’s, Robert Slack, often used simplified Gothic fairing to integrate architectural parts in his

search for a humble New England gothic style. While the overall new design of the side vestibule and entry sequence is based on the 1888 engraving, the wiggle shape and the other smaller wood details are geared toward a new architectural identity—one that balances external historical touchstones and a new exuberance of Black History in Action for Cambridgeport (Figure 7 and Figure 8).

Guerrilla preservation as a maneuver of “small ‘r’ reparation,” by necessity, deals with the ghosts of disrepair and rot, approaching them with small, sustained, grassroots acts of healing. On a larger scale, guerrilla preservation tracks and nurtures those elements, however small, that carry the spirit of exuberance and community from deeper histories of a space. Family recipes for the church basement Glenwood stove, or hand painted marbleization on glass panes for color effects, or the hymnals and the sung musical repertoire, carry these threads of continuity. These examples, and the architectural strategies that favor them, focus on something more than the survival of cultural inheritances. We suggest that *exuberance*, instead of survival, revival, or adaptation, is an ambition of guerilla preservation. Exuberance is not only about the continuation of lifeways from past to present. Exuberance is also not about revival, or the restarting of former lifeways in the present. We see exuberance as the capacity for life to bring forth a nascent future within present conditions—to create what is, as yet, new, recombinant, and unanticipated. Preservation cannot accomplish this alone, as it tends toward “adaptive reuse” with the logics of postindustrial cultural appropriation.<sup>13</sup> Rather than adapting spaces and places to dominant spatial-economical paradigms of the present, guerrilla preservation takes advantage of spatial energies rooted in past usage and historical accumulation that exude futuristic possibilities. Here, a neighborhood’s racial ghosts and



**Figure 8.** Architectural preservation drawings of St. Augustine's: (top) the front facade of the church, both as it existed before renovation and as it will exist post-renovation; (middle) three elevation views of the architectural detailing of the renovated side entry vestibule, with new ramp, stairs, windows, doors, and siding; (bottom) a detailed plan view corresponding to the elevations. The design of the architectural elements shown in these drawings is based on the 1888 newspaper engraving of the church (see Figure 2), although details are lacking in this historic depiction and much is left to the contemporary imagination. Drawings courtesy of Gabriel Cira.



## LAST HITCH IN THE INNER BELT

Massachusetts highwaymen find that cutting through Cambridge saves no time.

The last few links in the Federal Interstate Highway program of 1956 are now being forced into place against a background of spreading doubt about their value. These few remaining segments—most of them running through cities—are the last to be done because they have generated the most powerful opposition. But, what with 90 per cent of the aid depending on a mid-1971 completion date, it is now or never for the highway planners.

The path of Boston's Inner Belt has been through the bridge represents a national dilemma in a nutshell. The Inner Belt is a proposed loop (map above) that would pick up the existing traffic on six radial expressways converging on the center of the Boston area, all of them either completed or under construction. The last segment of the belt—the 1.5-mile stretch between the two ends of the belt route has been laid out and approved by Federal authorities—all except a segment of less than two miles through Cambridge.

The Cambridge link involves none of the unique cityscape problems presented by the Embarcadero Freeway in San Francisco; for instance, or the elevated highway that cuts through the Vieux Carré in New Orleans. The controversy in Cambridge is mainly over unpimped residential and industrial neighborhoods that adjoin to Harvard and MIT rarely seen.

As a last resort, the City Council briefly considered sacrificing MIT's "ingenious" research facility, the 100-year-old most popular choice has been between houses and factories. Torn between the votes of one and the tax receipts from the other, the Council has so far refused to give up either.

### A hard fight, but clean

The most noteworthy feature of the Cambridge controversy has been the enlightened mood of the opponents, most of whom have argued on respectable social and esthetic grounds though reaching vastly different conclusions. Almost every group concerned has questioned the

wisdom of the whole metropolitan highway plan, but concluded that it will inevitably be carried out and that the Cambridge link is indispensable to it. Only the City Council remains skeptical.

The bitterness of the Cambridge city fathers toward the Inner Belt was sharpened back in 1961, when the first stretch of the expressway—the Boston area, the Central Artery, was completed. This elevated monster tearing through the heart of Downtown Boston is still the best illustration to date of the destructive potential of highways. Frightened by the specter of the Central Artery, several Massachusetts state legislators, including all of them along the Inner Belt, banded together in 1961 to push a law through the legislature giving them a virtual veto over state highway plans within their borders.

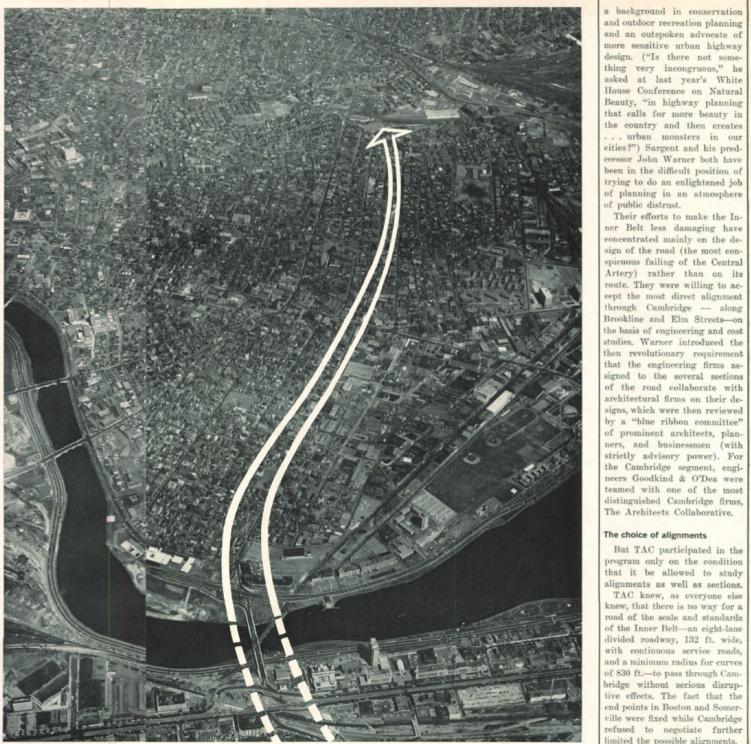
### Doing the least damage

This veto has undoubtedly been a salutary force. It has delayed the Inner Belt for years, but the public-city-state debate it generated has forced highway planners to recognize the needs of these citizens—or at least some of them—of their neighbors. There will be few easier conditions where the Inner Belt passes through Boston, Brookline, or Somerville. (In Boston, it will pass under the Charles River in tunnel where it goes by the Museum of Fine Arts and under the Back Bay Fens park.)

But the Cambridge City Council, which has reluctantly but eventually led the symphony of the legislature, which repealed the veto rule in 1965 to save the Inner Belt from a stalemate.

Ironically, state Public Works Commissioner Franklin W. Sargent, who is now trying to force the road through again, is a man with

the state proposed route for the Inner Belt through Cambridge would avoid both Harvard (left in photo) and MIT (right in photo), but pass through residential neighborhoods between them. PHOTO: Aerial Photos of New England.



a background in conservation and outdoor recreation planning and an outspoken advocate of more sensitive urban highway design. ("Is there not something very incongruous," he asked at a meeting of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, "in highway planning that calls for more beauty in the country and less in the cities?") Sargent and his predecessor John Warner both have been in the difficult position of trying to do an enlightened job of planning in an atmosphere of public distrust.

Their efforts to make the Inner Belt less damaging have concentrated mainly on the design of the road (the more conspicuous failing of the Central Artery) rather than on its route. They were willing to accept the most direct alignment via the Charles River, along Brookline and Elm Streets, as the basis of engineering and cost studies. Warner introduced the then revolutionary requirement that the engineers firms assigned to the several sections of the road collaborate with architectural firms on their designs, which were then reviewed by a "blue ribbon committee" of transportation experts, planners, and businessmen (with strictly advisory power). For the Cambridge segment, engineers Goodkind & O'Neil were teamed with one of the most distinguished Cambridge firms, The Architects Collaborative.

### The choice of alignment

But TAC participated in the program only after the legislature had voted that it be allowed to study alignments as well as sections.

TAC knew, as everyone else knew, that there is no way for a road to cut the middle straight-line divided highway, 302 ft. wide, with continuous service roads, and a minimum radius for curves of 300 ft., to pass through Cambridge without severe disruptive effects. The fact that the end points in Boston and Somerville were fixed while Cambridge refused to negotiate further limited the possible alignments.

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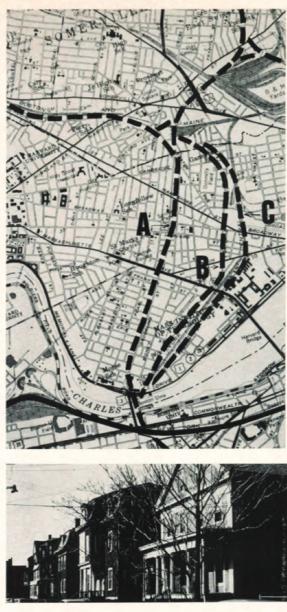
The differences among the several possible alignments lay mainly in whether the property they took was largely residential (the Brookline-Elm Street, A, on map), industrial (Portland-Albany Street route, B), or institutional (the Railroad route, C, never seriously considered by the state). Cambridge can hardly afford to give up either land for either housing or industry. A five-square-mile enclave at the very center of the Boston metropolitan area, it is constantly being besieged by students from its two universities and it has already been chosen as the site of a large NASA laboratory.

TAC concluded that the state almost had to take the houses that were more expandable than the industrial property. Many of the houses along the Brookline-Elm route are ripe for renewal, and others are likely to be replaced by high-density development as large becomes scarcer. Besides, TAC saw an opportunity to replace both the lost housing and the loss of tax base of the area by constructing inexpensive air-rights housing over a depressed roadway (facing page), for which there is special Federal support.

### Voices of protest heard

Last fall a new force entered the picture. A group of young Cambridge planners, architects, and sociologists—feared that the road would run through their landmarks if the city failed to support any counter-proposal—established the Cambridge Committee on the Inner Belt. Their purpose was to find an alternative route that would serve the low-to-middle income houses along the Brookline-Elm route.

They argued that while these dwellings might look undesirable to middle-class buyers, they housed a group for whom replacement housing would be especially hard to find. The supply of low-cost housing in Cambridge was being reduced not only by the expansion of campuses and industry, but by upgrading of houses for occupancy by college-oriented newcomers. Air-rights housing, the Committee contended, would meet neither the social nor eco-



Most of the many alignments proposed for the Inner Belt through Cambridge take three basic routes with slight variations in each, and differences in its impact and cost.

A Brookline-Elm route (depressed) goes through industrial belt, close to major traffic-generating activities. State alignment (state figures): 1,235 families, 2,116 jobs; estimated total cost: \$62.8 million.

B Portland-Albany route (elevated) goes through industrial belt, close to major traffic-generating activities. State alignment (state figures): 1,235 families, 2,116 jobs; estimated total cost: \$72.2 million. Bartons-Ashman alignment (MIT figures): 6,110 jobs; \$96.8 million. Cambridge Committee alignment (their figures): 102 families, 2,330 jobs.

C Railroad route follows established barrier, uses existing right-of-way to reduce demolition. Displacement, state alignment (state figures): 1,201 jobs; estimated total cost: \$76.4 million. Bartons-Ashman alignment (depressed): 141 families, 2,444 jobs; estimated total cost: \$130.8 million.



Residential neighborhoods threatened by the state's inner belt route include many sound single-family houses, some of them quite old, and multi-family frame dwellings that are in poor condition and obsolete in design to be preserved indefinitely.

PHOTOGRAPHS: E. Teitler.

nomic needs of those displaced.

The Committee's alternative proposal was an alignment through the industrial belt similar to the Portland-Albany route considered by the state and TAC, but carefully threaded through it to avoid all of the biggest plants. Cambridge City Planner Alan McClelland, who heads the committee as well as the body, calls their painstaking scheme "ingenious," but says it fails to meet state requirements for grade, construction, and ramp widths, with regard to right-of-way, etc. There was some disagreement between the committee's figures on job displacement and the state's, hingeing mainly on whether taking some of a company's property would cause it to leave Cambridge.

### Another line of attack

Caught in a no-win situation between the Committee on the Inner Belt and the state Public Works Department, the City Council hired an independent consulting firm, Barton-Ashman Associates of Chicago, to study alternatives.

Barton-Ashman's engineers found they could not recommend the Portland-Albany Route just as the Committee had done, but they straightened it and widened it to conform with Federal standards, coming up with displacement and cost figures closer to those of the Public Works staff.

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their instructive hauntings can point to sites where the strategies of Black life and creativity operate below and beyond the radar of the racial-colonial order.

A Black church such as St. Augustine's served as a crucial nondomestic and nonwork space for the formation and exultation of a social body in the face of oppression (Figure 9). Guerrilla preservation sees this condition as the basis for a new, exuberant, Black cultural space. Within a gentrified—and secularized—urban condition, such a space will continue to exist on its own time, and for many will remain hidden. "The undercommons, its maroons, are always at war, always in hiding,"<sup>14</sup> note Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, as they make a broader case for fugitivity, but say this as they make a broader case for fugitivity as creativity. Exuberance is this condition: the becoming-social of a space of historic struggle in an era when space itself—or the upkeep of space despite great external pressures—is a struggle.

### Author Biographies

Gabriel Cira is a licensed architect based in Massachusetts. He is a professor in the history of art at MassArt, where he teaches the longstanding Architecture of Boston course and other architecture and art history seminars. Cira's professional practice and research work focus on historic preservation, vernacular/popular histories, ecological design, accessibility and preservation, and infrastructure history.

Kris Manjapra is a professor of history at Tufts University, specializing in Global Black Studies. He is the author of four monographs, including *Black Ghost of Empire: The Failure of Emancipation and the Long Death of Slavery* (Scribner 2022). He cofounded the reparative justice local nonprofit, Black History in Action, devoted to the struggle against gentrification in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts.

### Notes

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- 2 Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan*, trans. G. L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2007).
- 3 The vast literature on maroonage is brilliantly surveyed and advanced by two recent works, Malcom Ferdinand, *Decolonial Ecology* (New York: Wiley, 2022), and Neil Roberts, *Freedom as Marronage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). One of the greatest maroon conspiracies was the movement led by Françoise Makandal in Haiti in 1758. And one of the greatest "rebellions" was led by Tacky in Jamaica in the 1760s. See Elizabeth Dillon, "Makandal and Pandemic Knowledge: Literature, Fetish, and Health in the Plantationocene," *American Literature* 92:4 (2020): 723–35, and Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2020).
- 4 Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).
- 5 Katherine McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," *Small Axe* 17:3 (2013): 1–15; Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- 6 Kevin Quashie, *Black Aliveness, or a Poetics of Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).
- 7 Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2000).
- 8 "Dysselected" is the term that philosopher Sylvia Wynter uses. See "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom," *The New Centennial Review* 3:3 (2003): 257–337.
- 9 John Morris Dixon, "Last Hitch in the Inner Belt," *The Architectural Forum*, May 1966: 68–71.
- 10 Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Hauntings and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi.
- 11 "The extensive scholarship on Black place-making includes important contributions such as Ángel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander eds., "We Shall Independent Be": *African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008); Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Adrian Woods eds., *Black Geographies and the Politics of Space* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007); Andrea Roberts, "When Does It Become Social Justice? Thoughts on Intersectional Preservation Practice" National Trust for Historic Preservation: Preservation Leadership Forum, July 20, 2017, <https://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/special-contributor/2017/07/20/when-does-it-become-social-justice-thoughts-on-intersectional-preservation-practice>.
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