

# STATE OF NEW YORK

1163--A

2023-2024 Regular Sessions

## IN SENATE

January 10, 2023

Introduced by Sens. SANDERS, CLEARE, COMRIE, HOYLMAN-SIGAL, JACKSON, PARKER, RIVERA, SEPULVEDA -- read twice and ordered printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on Finance -- committee discharged, bill amended, ordered reprinted as amended and recommitted to said committee

AN ACT to acknowledge the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery in the City of New York and the State of New York; to establish the New York State community commission on reparations remedies, to examine the institution of slavery, subsequently de jure and de facto racial and economic discrimination against people of African descent, and the impact of these forces on living people of African descent and to make determinations regarding compensation; and providing for the repeal of such provisions upon expiration thereof

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

1 Section 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as the "New York  
2 State community commission on reparations remedies".  
3 § 2. Legislative intent. Contrary to what many believe, slavery was  
4 not just a Southern institution. Prior to the American Revolution, there  
5 were more enslaved Africans in New York City than in any other city  
6 except Charleston, South Carolina. During this period, enslaved Africans  
7 accounted for 20% of the population of New York and approximately 40% of  
8 colonial New York's households owned enslaved Africans. These enslaved  
9 Africans were an integral part of the population which settled and  
10 developed what we now know as the State of New York.  
11 The first enslaved Africans arrived in New Amsterdam, a Dutch settle-  
12 ment established at the southern tip of Manhattan Island, around 1627.  
13 These enslaved Africans did not belong to individuals, but worked for  
14 the Dutch West India Company. The Dutch West India Company had estab-  
15 lished Fort Amsterdam, a fortification located on the southern tip of  
16 the Island of Manhattan, for the purpose of defending the company's fur

EXPLANATION--Matter in italics (underscored) is new; matter in brackets [-] is old law to be omitted.

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1 trade operations on the North River, now known as the Hudson River. In  
2 1624, New Amsterdam became a provincial extension of the Dutch Republic  
3 and it was designated the capital of the province in 1625.

4 These first enslaved Africans cleared forests, prepared land for agri-  
5 culture and built an infrastructure of roads, buildings and walls of  
6 timber and earthwork, including the wall that gives Wall Street its  
7 name. During the following years, more enslaved Africans were brought to  
8 the New World for the purpose of expanding the settlement.

9 New Amsterdam came under English control in 1664 and was renamed New  
10 York in honor of the then Duke of York, in whose name the English had  
11 captured it. Three years later, the Dutch gave up their claim of the  
12 city and the rest of the colony, in exchange for control of certain  
13 trade routes and areas.

14 The change of control of the city did not hinder the system of slav-  
15 ery; it was an enormously profitable enterprise and it continued under  
16 English control. In fact, the English enacted new slave codes aimed at  
17 keeping this population repressed. Further, a new class of pro-slavery  
18 business owners also emerged seeking to, directly and indirectly, bene-  
19 fit from the slave trade. They supplied food, tools and grain to slave  
20 plantations in North America and in the West Indies. Slave labor built  
21 and maintained ships used for trade between North America, Europe, the  
22 Caribbean and Africa. Enslaved Africans produced goods for sale and  
23 worked in private homes. Even newspapers benefited from slavery: adver-  
24 tisements of enslaved Africans for purchase were a major source of  
25 revenue for the papers during the eighteenth century. With these econom-  
26 ic relationships in place, the pro-slavery forces in New York jealously  
27 guarded what they viewed as their financial interests.

28 Life was repressive for enslaved Africans in New York. The New York  
29 City Common Council passed a number of restrictive laws designed at  
30 curtailing the rights and freedoms of enslaved Africans. Enslaved Afri-  
31 cans were barred from owning significant property and from bequeathing  
32 what they did own to their children. The number of people of African  
33 descent who could gather in one place was limited. Restrictions on move-  
34 ment included requiring enslaved Africans to carry lanterns after dark  
35 and to remain in certain geographic areas.

36 Penalties for breaking these and other laws were severe. Beatings,  
37 mutilations and executions were common.

38 Enslaved Africans refused to submit to the slave existence. The condi-  
39 tions of their lives gave rise to rebellions and the development of a  
40 network known as the Underground Railroad.

41 Moreover, a powerful abolitionist movement developed. Nonetheless, the  
42 end of slavery in New York did not come easily or quickly. Those who  
43 profited from the slave economy fought to maintain the system.

44 In 1799, the New York State Legislature, at a time when sixteen  
45 sitting New York State Senators personally owned dozens of enslaved  
46 Africans, passed "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery." This  
47 legislation was a first step in the direction of emancipation, but it  
48 provided little relief in the short-term. Rather, it provided for only a  
49 gradual manumission. All children born to enslaved women after July 4,  
50 1799 would be freed, but only after their most productive years: age 28  
51 for men and age 25 for women. Enslaved Africans already in servitude  
52 before July 4, 1799 were reclassified as "indentured servants," but in  
53 reality, remained enslaved Africans for the duration of their lives.

54 In 1817, the New York State Legislature enacted a statute that gave  
55 freedom to New York enslaved Africans who had been born before July 4,  
56 1799. However, this statute did not become effective until July 4, 1827.

1 Despite these laws, there were exceptions under which certain persons  
2 could still own enslaved Africans. Non-residents could enter New York  
3 with enslaved Africans for up to nine months, and the law allowed part-  
4 time residents to bring their enslaved Africans into the state temporar-  
5 ily. The nine-month exception remained law until its repeal in 1841,  
6 when the North was redefining itself as the "free" region in advance of  
7 the Civil War.

8 Nevertheless, many formerly enslaved Africans fleeing slavery and  
9 arriving in New York were forced back into slavery following the Fugi-  
10 tive Slave Law of 1850. Moreover, even as the laws regarding slavery  
11 were loosened, both public and private discrimination continued to main-  
12 tain similar social relationships and racial hierarchies.

13 During the Civil War, sentiments in New York regarding the war were  
14 divided and tense. New York's finance and local institutions were still  
15 deeply entangled in the slave trade in the South and the Caribbean, and  
16 New York profited tremendously from the trade in Southern cotton. By  
17 some estimates, New York received 40% of U.S. cotton revenue through its  
18 financial firms, shipping businesses, and insurance companies.

19 Near the start of the war, in January 1861, New York City Mayor  
20 Fernando Wood actually suggested to the New York City Council that New  
21 York secede and declare itself a "free city" in order to continue its  
22 profitable cotton trade with the Confederacy. These same pro-slavery  
23 forces erupted into violence when the national Conscription Act was  
24 enacted on July 11, 1863. Pro-slavery forces engaged in "draft riots" in  
25 New York City, violently targeting Black Americans. Before the riots  
26 were finally stopped by federal troops four days later, over 119 New  
27 Yorkers, mostly Black Americans, had been killed. After the end of the  
28 Civil War, Congress passed the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to offi-  
29 cially end slavery, make Black people citizens, and enable Black men to  
30 enjoy all rights of citizenship including the right to vote. Although  
31 New York had given Black men the right to vote in 1827, it retained  
32 property requirements, and included new restrictions on the right to  
33 vote for those accused of committing crimes, to continuously maintain a  
34 system of disenfranchisement. On April 14, 1869, New York ratified the  
35 15th Amendment in a party-line vote. In 1870, however, control of the  
36 Senate changed to those who were sympathetic to the recently defeated  
37 South, with State Senator William "Boss" Tweed leading a charge for New  
38 York to rescind its ratification of the 15th amendment (i.e., the right  
39 to vote). New York legislators at the time claimed that allowing Black  
40 New Yorkers to vote "would introduce ignorance to the ballot box and the  
41 suffrage would be cheapened and degraded". Along another party-line  
42 vote, New York rescinded its ratification. Fortunately, however, this  
43 rescission did not prevent the 15th Amendment from being ratified.

44 Following the Civil War, conditions for Black Americans in New York  
45 remained poor. Newly emancipated enslaved people and their families  
46 needed to contend with both public and private discrimination in the  
47 State of New York. Although civil rights legislation was passed in the  
48 years following the Civil War, in an attempt to guard against acts of  
49 discrimination, Associate Justice Joseph P. Bradley, of New York State,  
50 wrote a majority (8-1) decision for the United States Supreme Court,  
51 striking down these civil rights laws. The case related to an 1879 inci-  
52 dent, where a Black New Yorker had been turned away from the Grand Opera  
53 House located on West 23rd Street and 8th Avenue; even though this man  
54 had paid for a ticket, he was turned away, and a local policeman forc-  
55 ibly removed him from the premises. Although the following lawsuit was  
56 brought under the civil rights act, Justice Bradley rejected the claims,

1 stating: "Can the act of a mere individual, the owner of the inn, the  
2 public conveyance or place of amusement, refusing the accommodation, be  
3 justly regarded as imposing any badge of slavery or servitude upon the  
4 applicant...? After giving to these questions all the consideration  
5 which their importance demands, we are forced to the conclusion that  
6 such an act of refusal has nothing to do with slavery or involuntary  
7 servitude." With this ruling, private citizens were once again permitted  
8 to lawfully discriminate against their fellow New Yorkers, with no legal  
9 recourse. A subsequent New York Times editorial, however, stated that it  
10 did not foresee any substantial changes in daily life because the civil  
11 rights legislation to protect Black New Yorkers "has never been  
12 enforced" in any meaningful way.

13 With this legal precedent, expanding even more broadly when the 1896  
14 case of Plessy v. Ferguson explicitly permitted segregated railroads and  
15 street cars, Jim Crow laws, along with various forms of private discrim-  
16 ination, spread across the country and New York State. Segregation  
17 became particularly common in both education and housing. In 1883, when  
18 a Black resident of Kings County sought to enroll her daughter in a  
19 school for white children, her child was denied admission. In the subse-  
20 quent lawsuit of People, ex. Rel King v. Gallagher, the Court ruled in a  
21 4-2 decision that "[~~t~~he system of authorizing the education of the two  
22 races separately has been for many years the settled policy of all  
23 departments of the State government, and it is believed obtains very  
24 generally in the States of the Union." The New York Court of Appeals  
25 upheld the segregation of schools in Kings County. Although the laws  
26 have changed in the years since this decision, research has shown that  
27 up to the present day of this writing, New York still is the most segre-  
28 gated state for Black students.

29 Discrimination in housing has also been a persistent and constant  
30 issue in New York since the Civil War. In addition to the housing  
31 inequality that came with wealth inequality, landlords have engaged in  
32 discriminatory housing practices. Black Americans of all backgrounds  
33 typically paid disproportionately higher rents, and were forced into  
34 dilapidated tenement conditions, with the support of public officials.  
35 This pattern of geographic isolation would continue to impact Black  
36 Americans in New York continuously throughout the years, including  
37 through the state-sanctioned discriminatory "redlining" practices in the  
38 1930s, and in the segregationist urban planning implemented by individ-  
39 uals like Robert Moses in later decades. Importantly, the Federal Hous-  
40 ing Administration (FHA), an institution that refused to insure mort-  
41 gages in or near African American neighborhoods, subsidized builders who  
42 were creating subdivisions and developments in the suburbs, with the  
43 proviso that none of the homes be sold to African Americans. For exam-  
44 ple, in Levittown, New York, the FHA guaranteed bank loans for  
45 construction and development to Levittown on the condition that no homes  
46 be sold to African-Americans, and that every home have a clause in its  
47 deed prohibiting resale to African-Americans.

48 The consequences of these past practices are still with us today. In  
49 1991, a massive African burial ground was discovered in the heart of New  
50 York's financial district during the construction of a skyscraper. The  
51 excavations that followed the termination of the construction project  
52 yielded the skeletal remains of 419 Africans, many of whom were women  
53 and children.

54 The consequences of slavery in New York State is not an echo of the  
55 past, but can still be observed in daily life. Systemic racism has  
56 cemented a legacy of generational poverty, and we still see today

1 instances of voter suppression, housing discrimination, biased policing,  
2 food apartheid, and disproportionate rates of incarceration. Currently,  
3 in the United States, the imprisonment rate of Black Americans for drug  
4 charges is almost six times that of white Americans, despite the rate of  
5 drug usage being similar among both groups. Likewise, the use of the  
6 "Stop and Frisk" tactic by the New York City Police Department has had  
7 disparate impacts: at the policy's peak in 2011, an estimated 685,724  
8 people were stopped, with fifty-three percent of those being Black, even  
9 though only twenty-six percent of New York City's population was Black.  
10 These policies have also led to the tragic deaths of Black Americans  
11 here in New York, such as Daniel Prude, who was unarmed and facing a  
12 mental health crisis when he was forcibly restrained by Rochester  
13 police, and ultimately died due to complications of asphyxia resulting  
14 from his restraint.

15 New York State's status as an economic and cultural hub of the world  
16 has been built and shaped by slavery. The contributions of enslaved  
17 Africans has provided the resources upon which trade and commerce in New  
18 York was built. Some of our most prestigious institutions and infras-  
19 tructure were built with these contributions. However, New York State  
20 also has the largest income disparity in the country, and that large  
21 disparity is in large part the legacy of our slave system.

22 This legislation is necessary because the slavery that flourished in  
23 New York State constituted an immoral and inhumane deprivation of Afri-  
24 cans' life, liberty, citizenship rights, cultural heritage, and denied  
25 them the fruits of their own labor. A sufficient inquiry has not been  
26 made into the effects of the institution of slavery on present day soci-  
27 ety in New York.

28 § 3. Establishment, purpose and duties of the commission. a. Estab-  
29 lishment. There is hereby established the New York State community  
30 commission on reparations remedies (hereinafter referred to as the  
31 "commission").

32 b. Duties. The commission shall perform the following duties:

33 (1) Examine the institution of slavery which existed within the State  
34 of New York and in the City of New York. The commission's examination  
35 shall include, but not be limited to, an examination of:

36 (A) the capture and procurement of Africans;

37 (B) the transport of Africans to what is now known as New York City  
38 and New York State for the purpose of enslavement, including their  
39 treatment during transport;

40 (C) the sale and acquisition of Africans as chattel property in inter-  
41 state and intrastate commerce, including the direct and indirect bene-  
42 fits that New York received from these economic relationships;

43 (D) the treatment of enslaved Africans in the City of New York and the  
44 State of New York, including the deprivation of their freedom, exploita-  
45 tion of their labor, and destruction of their culture, language, reli-  
46 gion, and families; and

47 (E) the treatment of formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants  
48 in the City of New York and the State of New York during the period  
49 between the end of the Civil War and the present.

50 (2) Examine the extent to which the federal government, as well as the  
51 state and local governments of New York, supported the institution of  
52 slavery, including the extent to which such governments prevented,  
53 opposed, or restricted efforts of freed enslaved Africans to repatriate  
54 to their homeland.

1 (3) Examine how New York State engaged in the interstate transfer of  
2 enslaved Africans, and carried out federal policies in the furtherance  
3 of slavery.

4 (4) Examine the de jure and de facto discrimination against freed  
5 enslaved Africans, their descendants, and people of African descent,  
6 generally, at both the state and federal levels of government, during  
7 the period between the end of the Civil War and the present, including,  
8 but not limited to, economic, political, educational, and social  
9 discrimination.

10 (5) Examine the lingering negative effects of the institution of slav-  
11 ery and discrimination on living people of African descent and on socie-  
12 ty in the State of New York.

13 (6) Examine the current condition of living people of African descent  
14 in the State of New York, to the extent practicable, including, but not  
15 limited to, economic, political, educational, and social conditions.

16 (7) Recommend appropriate ways to educate the public of the commis-  
17 sion's findings.

18 (8) Recommend appropriate remedies and reparations in consideration of  
19 the commission's findings on the matters described in paragraphs 1, 2,  
20 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this subdivision to determine how the state of New  
21 York may provide for appropriate laws, policies, programs, projects, and  
22 other recommendations in order to reverse such injuries. Such remedies  
23 may include compensation, including but not limited to the amount of  
24 compensation and who should be eligible for such compensation.

25 (9) Examine the feasibility for the creation of a bureau to assist in  
26 the distribution and administration of remedies and reparations as  
27 recommended by the commission pursuant to paragraph 8 of this subdivi-  
28 sion.

29 c. Report to the legislature. The commission shall submit a written  
30 report of its findings and recommendations to the temporary president of  
31 the senate, the speaker of the assembly, the minority leaders of the  
32 senate and the assembly and the governor not later than one year after  
33 the date of the first meeting of the commission held pursuant to subdivi-  
34 sion c of section four of this act.

35 § 4. Membership. a. Appointment of members. The commission shall be  
36 composed of nine members who shall be appointed within 90 days after the  
37 effective date of this act, as follows:

38 (1) three members shall be appointed by the governor;

39 (2) three members shall be appointed by the speaker of the assembly;

40 (3) three members shall be appointed by the temporary president of the  
41 senate.

42 b. Qualification of members. All members appointed to the commission  
43 shall be persons who are especially qualified to serve on the commission  
44 by virtue of their expertise, education, training, or lived experience,  
45 in the fields of African or American studies, the criminal legal system,  
46 human rights, civil rights, law, economics, psychology, civil society  
47 and reparations organizations that have historically championed the  
48 cause of reparatory justice, clergy, and/or the history of slavery in  
49 New York, and, to the extent possible, represent geographically diverse  
50 areas of the state.

51 c. First meeting. The first meeting of the commission shall take place  
52 within 180 days after the effective date of this act.

53 d. Quorum. Five members of the commission shall constitute a quorum,  
54 but a lesser number may hold hearings.

55 e. Chair and Vice Chair. The commission shall elect a Chair and Vice  
56 Chair from among its members no later than the first meeting.

1 f. Compensation. The members of the commission shall receive no  
2 compensation for their services as members, but shall be reimbursed for  
3 their actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their  
4 duties.

5 § 5. Powers of the commission. a. Hearings and sessions. The commis-  
6 sion shall, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act,  
7 solicit public input from stakeholders and interested parties, and shall  
8 hold such public hearings as the commission considers appropriate.

9 b. Powers of subcommittees and members. Any subcommittee or member of  
10 the commission may, if authorized by the commission, take any action  
11 which the commission is authorized to take by this section.

12 c. Obtaining official data. The commission may acquire directly from  
13 the head of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the state,  
14 available information which the commission considers useful in the  
15 discharge of its duties. All departments, agencies, and instrumentali-  
16 ties of the state shall cooperate with the commission with respect to  
17 such information and shall furnish all information requested by the  
18 commission to the extent permitted by law. The commission may also  
19 coordinate with historically black colleges and universities and  
20 research centers to conduct research and acquire additional information  
21 which the commission considers useful in the discharge of its duties  
22 pursuant to this act.

23 § 6. Termination. The commission shall terminate 90 days after the  
24 date on which the commission submits its report to the temporary presi-  
25 dent of the senate, the speaker of the assembly, the minority leaders of  
26 the senate and the assembly and the governor as provided in subdivision  
27 c of section three of this act.

28 § 7. This act shall take effect immediately and shall expire and be  
29 deemed repealed 90 days after the New York State community commission to  
30 study reparations remedies submits its report to the temporary president  
31 of the senate, the speaker of the assembly, the minority leaders of the  
32 senate and the assembly and the governor as provided in subdivision c of  
33 section three of this act; provided that, the chair of the New York  
34 State community commission to study reparations remedies shall notify  
35 the legislative bill drafting commission upon the submission of its  
36 report as provided in subdivision c of section three of this act in  
37 order that the commission may maintain an accurate and timely effective  
38 data base of the official text of the laws of the State of New York in  
39 furtherance of effecting the provisions of section 44 of the legislative  
40 law and section 70-b of the public officers law.