

Title: **Group to raise rebel flag at Capitol**  
 Author: BRISTOW MARCHANT THE STATE  
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# Group to raise rebel flag at Capitol

**BRISTOW MARCHANT**  
 THE STATE

COLUMBIA - One year after thousands watched as the Confederate flag was removed from a flagpole on the State House grounds, the divisive banner will rise again at the South Carolina Capitol.

At least temporarily.

The South Carolina Secessionist Party will raise the rebel banner Sunday during a ceremony to mark the one-year anniversary of the flag coming down.

The Secessionists, who support South Carolina leaving the Union again, plan to raise the flag on a 30-foot aluminum pole with a plastic base in the same spot where it flew before, near the Confederate Soldier Monument on the State House's front lawn. The ceremony starts at 11 a.m. The flag will be removed at the end of the rally.

A Confederate memorial honor guard will take part in the flag raising, which supporters plan to make an annual event.

James Bessenger, the chairman of the Secessionist Party's board, expects the event to draw a crowd of hundreds, based on interest on the party's Facebook page.

The group has not changed its plans to assemble in light of the latest mass shooting, when police officers were shot and killed in Dallas late Thursday during a protest.

Bessenger said he was contacted by capitol police Friday to ask if the rally would be postponed in light of the police shootings in Dallas during a protest about police violence against African-Americans. He

said Public Safety did not formally ask the group to change its plans.

"We had a special board meeting (Friday), and the board decided to continue with the rally," Bessenger said.

Bessenger said the rally also would honor the slain law enforcement officers in Dallas with black ribbons and raise a law enforcement emblem alongside the battle flag.

Members of the Upstate Black Lives Matter chapter will not be attending the rally Sunday.

On a recent conference call, the Upstate chapter and others were "all in agreement that we didn't really want to focus our attention on the flag at this time," said Greenville's Derrick

Quarles, president of the activist group's Upstate chapter.

Quarles said "it's a very sensitive time around the nation," and the group did not want the rally to result in violence.

Bessenger said the push to remove the flag was the result of "political correctness," which also has been a talking point in the presidential campaign. "People are sick of hearing that people's feelings are hurt," he said.

"Our history is being erased," he said, comparing the push to remove the Confederate battle flag to the Islamic State's looting of Middle Eastern museums and destruction of historical artifacts. "It's like cultural Marxism."

But Quarles had a different interpretation.

Bringing the flag down was "the correct thing to do because

of the history and the legacy attached to the flag, which, in my opinion, is a heritage of racism and hate toward blacks and minorities," he said.

State Sen. John Matthews, D-Orangeburg, said there was no chance of the flag returning to the State House grounds.

"We've fought that battle, and we've agreed to move on,"

Matthews said. "We want to put the focus on health care, on education, and it does no good to have this back out there. ... We've decided to move on into the 21st century."

Security has been a concern at the State House since the Confederate flag debate flared up last year after the racially motivated shooting at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston. Nine black parishioners were killed by a white gunman during a Bible study and images surfaced of the gunman draped in the flag.

Focus quickly shifted to the flag at the State House. A week after the shooting, a protester climbed the pole that flew the flag and pulled the flag down.

Gov. Nikki Haley soon called for the flag to come down, after receiving a torrent of emails on the subject, and the state Legislature voted by a two-thirds majority to remove it.

After the flag came down last year, a pro-flag rally organized by a Ku Klux Klan group attracted angry counter-protesters - including members of the New Black Panther Party. The clash resulted in scuffles, five arrests on charges of breach of peace, disorderly conduct and



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assault. Other people received emergency attention.

Without discussing details, a S.C. Department of Public Safety spokesman said there would be a similar number of law enforcement agencies involved Sunday as there were at last year's KKK rally. Eight state or local agencies contributed officers to that event, from Public Safety and the State Law Enforcement Division to the Richland and Lexington sheriff's offices, the city of Columbia and the University of South Carolina campus police.

Their plans include preparations for counter-protesters, said S.C. Highway Patrol Lt. R. Kelley Hughes. "We don't anticipate issues, but we will be prepared and will take appropriate enforcement action, if necessary."

The Secessionists and Confederate memorial honor guard were the only groups to alert state officials they would be gathering Sunday.

But Bessenger said he expects to have company.

"I expect there will be some kind of ruffraff," he said.

*Reporter Jamie Self contributed.*

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# LOOKING FOR ANSWERS, FAMILIES FIND QUESTIONS

Records detail troubling history of deaths, abuse reports, arrests at group homes

RICK BRUNDRETT RBRUNDRETT@GREENVILLENEWS.COM

Michelle McCarroll recalled the Monday night in 2012 her mother dialed the number of the group home where McCarroll's 25-year-old brother had been living for about six years on a quiet cul-de-sac in Mauldin.

It was 7 p.m., she said, and time for their nightly ritual watching Family Feud together while talking on the phone.

Roderick Carlton Grove, filling in for another worker at the home where Jamie Rosemond and two other men were living, answered Cynthia Rosemond's call, McCarroll said. Grove explained that Jamie had lost his phone privileges and was in his room asleep. When she called back 15 minutes later hoping someone else would put her son on the phone, McCarroll said Grove picked up and gave her mother the same response.

What she didn't know was that her son was lying on a busy two-lane road about a half mile away. Jamie, diagnosed with autism and schizophrenia, was struck by two motorists on Ashmore Bridge Road about 6:25 p.m. and died at the scene, records show.

Documents obtained by *The Greenville News* show that the company for which Grove worked, South Carolina Mentor, knew Rosemond had a history of wandering from the home on Flanders

## Questions

Continued from Page 1A

On two occasions after the time when Rosemond was struck by vehicles – at 6:30 p.m. and again at 6:45 p.m. – Mentor staff recorded in the log that Rosemond was safely in his room, according to the report of the criminal investigation that followed.

Mauldin police charged Grove with neglect of a vulnerable adult resulting in

death that night, according to court records. The Greenville County Solicitor's Office elected not to go forward with the case due to what they said was a lack of evidence. Without admitting liability, the company settled a wrongful death lawsuit filed by Cynthia Rosemond for \$750,000, court records show.

A seven-month investigation by *The News* has found that Rosemond's case is not an isolated one.

Court, and staff were under orders to check on him every 15 minutes.

See **QUESTIONS**, Page 10A

### PART ONE OF A THREE- PART SERIES

#### MONDAY

Three lives lost  
before their 30s.

#### TUESDAY

Fixes proposed  
but solutions  
elusive

#### ALSO ONLINE

Explore the  
cases through  
video, documents,  
photo galleries and  
audio recordings.

### Troubling record

Documents, interviews and recordings obtained by *The News* reveal that Mentor, the company with a state contract of about \$20 million to look after the well-being of some of the state's most vulnerable adults, has a troubling record of resident deaths, staff arrests, lawsuits and allegations of abuse and neglect.

Between July 1, 2011, and the end of May 2016, 10 residents of Mentor-run

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homes have died, according to the S.C. Department of Disabilities and Special Needs. The agency responsible for overseeing Mentor said it was banned by privacy laws from identifying the individuals or providing details of their deaths.

The agency said that one of the deaths was classified by the agency as a substantiated case of abuse or neglect. DDSN defines substantiated cases as those in which an arrest is made by a law enforcement agency or, in some cases, an investigation by the state Department of Social Services determines the allegation was founded, said DDSN spokeswoman Lois Park Mole.

One day after *The News* began raising questions with DDSN about Mentor and the agency's oversight of the company, DDSN froze new client referrals to Mentor homes in mid-March and put on hold any plans the company might have to add new homes. Mole said that no other community training home providers were under similar freezes.

In late May, S.C. Inspector General Patrick Maley confirmed his office had begun conducting a formal audit in connection with Mentor. Maley declined further comment when contacted by *The News*.

According to a May 24 email to the director of DDSN obtained by *The News*, the inspector general is seeking, among other things, to determine whether the agency is adequately monitoring allegations of abuse and neglect at Mentor facilities, and if those allegations might be underreported.

South Carolina Mentor Director Stan Butkus, who resigned as director of DDSN in February 2009 following a critical audit of the agency by the S.C. Legislative Audit Council, told *The News* in a written response the company has a nearly two-decade "track record of success" caring for people with intellectual or developmental disabilities in the state.

"For more than 15 years, South Carolina Mentor has been proud to deliver quality-of-life enhancing services to hundreds of residents in the Palmetto State living with intellectual and developmental disabilities and other complex conditions," said Butkus, who became director of South Carolina Mentor in September 2013.

"With our support, these individuals have the opportunity to live in community-based settings where they participate in the everyday rhythms of community

life, often close to family and friends," he said.

### Three deaths

Bringing Jamie Rosemond closer led his family to move him to the Mentor home in Mauldin from the Whitten Center in Clinton run by DDSN, said Michelle McCarroll.

In addition to wandering away from the Mauldin home at least twice prior to his death on Dec. 17, 2012, Mauldin police investigated an incident in which Rosemond received 14 stitches to three places on his head in May 2010, records show. A Mentor worker told police Rosemond grabbed her after demanding his medication and fell on top of her, hitting his head on a kitchen counter, according to the police report. No charges were filed.

Attempts to contact Cynthia Rosemond were unsuccessful. McCarroll said her mother declined to be interviewed.

McCarroll said the family has many questions about the care her brother received while living at the Mentor home in Mauldin.

"There were a lot of things that just didn't sit right with us," said McCarroll, 40, a preschool aide at the Greenville County School District's Riley Child Development Center.

Almost exactly one year after Rosemond died, Forrest Carlton, 22, was struck and fatally injured by a hit-and-run driver after he wandered from a Mentor group home in Charleston County on Dec. 8, 2013, records show. Like Rosemond, Carlton had left the home before, and Mentor staff flagged him to be visually checked every 15 minutes, according to court documents.

Police drafted an arrest warrant for a Mentor employee but never got it signed by a judge after Charleston County prosecutors advised that investigators couldn't say with "100 percent certainty" the employee did not check on Carlton, according to a Sheriff's Office report.

Without admitting liability, Mentor reached a confidential settlement with the family in their wrongful death lawsuit against the company, court records show. DDSN, also a defendant in the case, paid \$75,000 to Carlton's estate and approximately \$32,000 in legal expenses through the state Insurance Reserve Fund, records show.

And on Sept. 5, 2015, at another Mentor home in Charleston County, Charles Noland, 23, choked on a cracker days af-

ter returning from a hospitalization for pneumonia, according to a coroner's report. Noland, whose family lives in Taylors, was rushed to the hospital where he was declared brain dead seven hours later, records show.

Noland was the subject of two reported incidents in the months prior to his death, including one in which he was hospitalized for his injuries, according to police reports obtained by *The News* under the S.C. Freedom of Information Act. No charges were filed in either case.

At the DDSN Commission meeting in March, former commissioner Deborah McPherson of Columbia questioned whether Mentor staff should have given crackers to Noland following his hospitalization for pneumonia.

Seven months after his death, the Charleston County Coroner's Office

ruled Noland died of natural causes, according to its report obtained by *The News* through the state Freedom of Information Act. The report did not list the choking incident as a contributing factor.

The State Law Enforcement Division says it closed its investigation into Noland's death but will not release its report due to a state law that keeps secret the records of SLED's Vulnerable Adult Investigations Unit.

Unrelated to the three deaths, two former Mentor workers currently face charges in Greenville County dating back to 2014, and an ex-Mentor worker was arrested in March in Charleston County in connection with alleged abuse incidents at group homes operated by the company, according to court records.

### Few cases substantiated

DDSN Director Beverly Buscemi said the agency is "concerned about any instances that result in bad outcomes."

"There are never any excuses for bad outcomes, and the reality is, there have been some bad outcomes," Buscemi told *The News* in a March interview at the agency's Columbia headquarters.

From July 1, 2015, through May, there were 85 abuse, neglect or exploitation allegations at community residential facilities operated by Mentor in the state, agency records show. DDSN substantiated two of those 85 cases, according to the agency. The agency substantiated one of the 103 reports of abuse, neglect or exploitation at Mentor homes during fiscal year 2015, which ended June 30, 2015,



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records show.

Mole said substantiated criminal cases are investigated by the State Law Enforcement Division or local law enforcement agencies. According to DDSN, the 103 cases in fiscal year 2015 represent a 178 percent increase from the 37 reported in fiscal year 2011, and almost double the 54 and 56 reported in fiscal 2013 and 2014, respectively.

The agency could not readily provide *The News* with details of those reports. DDSN records obtained by *The News* show that Mentor-run homes account for a disproportionate number of reported abuse, neglect and exploitation allegations statewide.

Since fiscal year 2011, the number of reported allegations per 100 individuals served by Mentor has ranged from a low of 14.3 in 2012 to a high of 51.5 in 2015. The statewide rate was 9.7 in 2012 and 9.8 in 2015.

"The high percentage of reported allegations may represent some over-reporting," Mole said. "However, over-reporting is much better than under-reporting. People frequently assume reporting equals substantiation, and it does not."

### 'Most challenging' cases

Buscemi, who became the agency's director in 2009 after Butkus' departure, said that Mentor "serves some of the most challenging folks in our system."

"Mentor serves a population that many other providers in our state are not willing to serve," she said, pointing out the company serves special-needs individuals, including those who have both intellectual disabilities and mental illness. "If Mentor did not serve these individuals, they would be sitting in either jail or hospital ERs or those types of settings," she said.

Butkus estimated that Mentor serves about 75 percent of individuals designated by the state as "having high management needs," including those with a "dual diagnosis of intellectual and/or developmental disabilities, as well as psychiatric disorders or related behavioral needs."

South Carolina Mentor serves roughly 200 clients annually in 74 community training homes the company operates in the state. Of those 74 homes, 16 are Community Training Home I residences where caregivers are residents who provide care to non-related individuals in their own homes, and 58 are Community

Training Home II residences where Mentor employees provide care to individuals in homes that are owned or rented by the provider organization, according to the company.

Mentor and DDSN officials declined *The News*' request for the addresses of all licensed Mentor homes in South Carolina, citing privacy concerns.

### Some employees terminated

The agency also could not provide the total number of Mentor employees terminated in recent years in connection with allegations of abuse, neglect or exploitation. DDSN spokeswoman Mole said a worker "must be terminated immediately" when there is a substantiated abuse, neglect or exploitation case.

Statewide, 284 community residential staff have been terminated at facilities run by all providers between July 1, 2012, and April 2016 for "policy and/or procedural violations or employee misconduct," according to DDSN. The agency could not say how many of those terminations stemmed from cases involving abuse, neglect or exploitation, nor could it break down the number by service provider.

Butkus said Mentor "thoroughly screens" all prospective employees and requires them to submit to "multiple background checks." Before beginning work, new workers must complete an 80-hour training program in a variety of areas, including the "rights and responsibilities of individuals served." After being hired, they participate in annual training sessions that include the topic of "individual rights and due process," he said.

Starting pay is \$9.79 per hour, and the average tenure of Mentor's direct-care staff is 3.5 years, he said. The starting wage is set by the state, which requires that Mentor employees receive wage increases received by comparable workers employed by state agencies, he said.

The average hourly wage of direct-care Mentor workers is \$9.86, he said. "We believe our compensation structure is competitive with our fellow providers," he said.

Butkus said that "we recognize that the work direct support professionals do is challenging and like so many of the caring professions, generally is not compensated at a rate commensurate with the level or effort of the work – and that this challenge is not unique to South Carolina."

Buscemi told *The News* that "pay across the system is low" for workers who care for people with intellectual or developmental disabilities, adding that Mentor "does not stick out as being any lower."

DDSN pays Mentor based on daily service rates for individuals set by the state, ranging from \$67.47 to \$138.96 per resident for individuals in Community Training Home I residences, and \$189 to \$274.35 per individual in Community Training Home II residences, Butkus said.

### Contract amounts increasing

Contracts approved by the DDSN Commission for the start of a fiscal year, which begins on July 1, have grown from \$13.1 million in fiscal 2012 to nearly \$19.9 million this fiscal year. Likewise, the number of approved residents to be served annually has climbed from 166 in fiscal 2012 to 233 for fiscal 2017 despite the current freeze on client referrals and new homes, agency records show.

Some of the increase in annual revenue received by Mentor in recent years stemmed from state-mandated wage increases for direct-care staff, Butkus said. Medicaid funds services for Mentor residents, he said, with about 70 percent of the state's Medicaid program coming from the federal government and the balance from the state.

State regulations require that Mentor residents contribute a portion of their Supplemental Security Income payments, based on a sliding scale required by DDSN, toward their room-and-board costs, Butkus said. The average annual contribution is about \$8,500, he said.

The other factor driving recent payment hikes to Mentor resulted from its acquisition of a "troubled provider," Butkus said, adding that the state "suggested that we take on these homes and improve the quality of services being delivered." Butkus didn't identify the provider.

### Commissioner concerns

At the March 17 DDSN Commission meeting, Commissioner Eva Ravenel of Charleston and former commissioner McPherson raised concerns about Mentor.

"This last month has probably been the saddest for me as a commissioner," Ravenel said. "I'm just hoping that the Mentor program can improve and not have any more instances like we've had

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in the past couple of months.”

Commission Chairman Bill Danielson announced at the end of that meeting that the commission was going into a closed-door session to “discuss contractual matters regarding South Carolina Mentor.” No formal action was taken after the commissioners emerged from the session.

One week after the March meeting, Buscemi, told *The News* that Mentor had agreed to “implement a freeze on all new expansions, which would mean no opening of new homes.” It was not clear whether Mentor had plans for new homes. The company has added 13 homes in South Carolina for adults with intellectual or developmental disabilities since Jan. 1, 2013, according to DDSN.

No timetable was set for ending the freeze. “We’re going to give them time for that to play out and evaluate the results of that to determine when, if, to lift set freeze,” Buscemi said.

In addition to the expansion freeze, Buscemi said her agency has implemented a freeze on “all new (client) referrals to Mentor,” saying it wasn’t tied to any particular incidents. DDSN spokeswoman Mole said that action was “mutually agreed upon.”

In April, DDSN Commissioner Vicki Thompson told *The News* she was “very concerned” about the allegations involving Mentor. Thompson, who also serves as executive director of the Rosa Clark Medical Clinic in Seneca, is a former director of the Oconee County Disabilities and Special Needs Board and was appointed by Gov. Nikki Haley last year to the DDSN Commission.

“I think that it is an agency’s job to say to a contracted provider, ‘You can go this far and no farther. If you go farther than that, then we will put you out of business,’” said Thompson. “And then the agency needs to actually put them out of business if the violations continue.”

“I believe that most of the providers in South Carolina are excellent,” Thompson continued. “But I don’t believe all of them are. And when they’re not doing a good job, there should be real consequences because contracting with providers does not absolve state agencies from responsibility or accountability.”

Despite the freeze on new home expansions and client referrals, the DDSN Commission at its June 16 meeting approved a \$19.86 million annual contract

for Mentor for the fiscal year that started July 1. The new contract represents about a 13 percent hike over the previous amended contract of \$17.5 million.

Under the new contract, Mentor would serve up to 233 residents, though DDSN spokeswoman Mole said Mentor will remain under the \$17.5 million contract with service to 206 individuals pending the lifting of the freeze.

“If the freeze is lifted, and if consumers with assigned funding for residential services choose Mentor to provide those services, then the contract will be amended accordingly,” Mole said. “There is no date set or predetermined to lift the freeze.”

In approving the new contract, the commission rejected a proposal by Thompson to place Mentor under what she described as a “probationary” contract.

“I think that the only way we can control some situations that are out of control is through these contracts,” Thompson said at the meeting. “Let them know as a commission that we are serious about these corrections.”

Buscemi said the agency has been meeting quarterly with Mentor representatives, including Butkus, to address concerns. “Their licensing and QA (Quality Assurance) scores were on a downward trajectory, and we wanted to work with them to improve them,” she said.

“I wouldn’t say that they (the meetings) were punitive,” she said. “But we don’t do that with every provider.”

Buscemi said reviews by DDSN and Mentor management of incidents, staffing and oversight have led to changes or increases in staffing patterns, increased managerial oversight, and a “pretty thorough review of what we refer to as behavioral management plans.”

“I look at the arrests (of Mentor workers) that have happened as evidence that the process works,” she said, adding that Mentor has “worked with and cooperated with those investigating agencies regarding any of these incidents.”

#### ‘Track record of success’

Butkus did not grant a request by *The News* for an in-person interview, but he did provide 10 pages of responses to questions through a spokeswoman for Mentor.

In his written responses, Butkus said the three deaths of Mentor residents ex-

amined by *The News*, previous allegations of abuse in connection with two of those three residents, and the arrests of three former Mentor workers in unrelated cases did not collectively indicate a serious problem with the company’s care of residents.

While acknowledging that “neither our organization, nor any of our fellow providers, is perfect,” Butkus said that Mentor has “zero tolerance for abuse and neglect of those we support.” He said the company has taken “important steps to enhance the quality of our services.” Those steps include:

- » Adding 15 positions “linked directly to program oversight and management,” including an area director position in the Greenville program;

- » Making “adjustments in our group home management structure” and reducing the number of homes overseen by program coordinators from three to two;

- » Implementing “new protocols and strategies that help us better recruit, screen and retain staff”;

- » Strengthening the company’s “unannounced program visit protocol.”

Most of the new oversight and management positions, as well as the “enhanced recruiting, screening and retention protocols,” were added last year, he said.

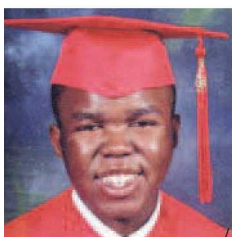
Asked in April about Mentor’s record and DDSN oversight of the company, a spokeswoman for Gov. Haley said “the governor’s office has worked with DDSN’s executive director and board members to understand what happened and to ensure, to the extent possible given our limited control of the agency, this never happens again.”

“We’ve learned that improvements are underway at S.C. Mentor, but even isolated incidents of abuse or neglect are completely unacceptable,” said Chaney Adams, a spokeswoman for the governor.

In a written response to *The News*, Bill Allen, Mentor’s vice president of operations for a group of states including South Carolina, described Butkus as a “proven leader in the field of community-based services for individuals with intellectual and developmental disabilities.”

“He understands that while no provider will ever achieve perfection, we have an obligation to those we support to strive for it in partnership with DDSN,” Allen said.

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**Jamie Rosemond**



**Forrest Carlton**



**Charles Noland**



**Michelle McCarroll holds a plaque in memory of her brother, Jamie Rosemond, in her home.**



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**EXCLUSIVE INVESTIGATIVE REPORT**

Michelle McCarroll cleans off her brother's grave in Resthaven Memorial Gardens.

PHOTOS BY LAUREN PETRACCA/STAFF



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**ABOUT THE REPORTER**

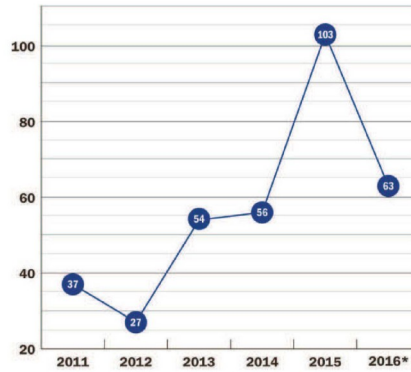
Rick Brundrett is an investigative reporter at *The Greenville News*, where he has worked since September 2015. He can be reached at (864) 478-5904 or by emailing [rbrundrett@greenvillenews.com](mailto:rbrundrett@greenvillenews.com). Follow @RickBrundrett on Twitter.

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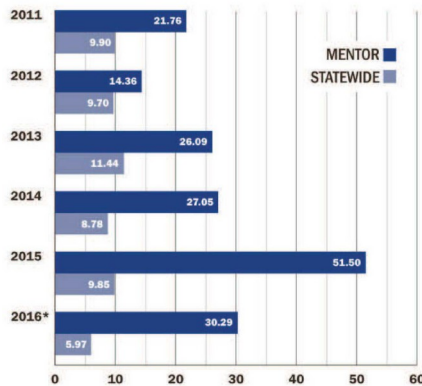
**BY THE NUMBERS**

SOUTH CAROLINA MENTOR HAS A STATE CONTRACT WORTH \$19.86 MILLION TO LOOK AFTER THE WELL-BEING OF SOME OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S MOST VULNERABLE ADULTS. BELOW IS A BREAKDOWN OF ABUSE, NEGLECT AND EXPLOITATION REPORTS AND INCIDENTS.

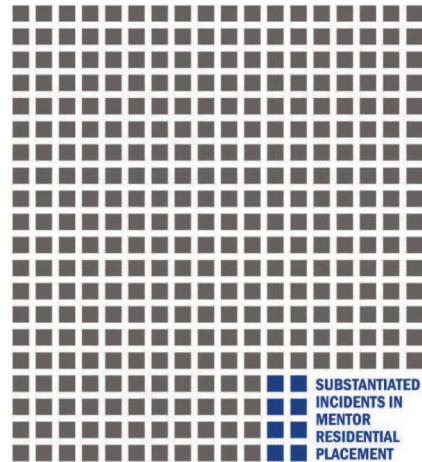
**NUMBER OF REPORTED ALLEGATIONS FILED AT MENTOR RESIDENTIAL PLACEMENT FACILITIES**



**RATE OF REPORTED ALLEGATIONS PER 100 RESIDENTS**



**NUMBER OF ALLEGATION REPORTS (340) IN MENTOR RESIDENTIAL PLACEMENT FOR FY 2011-16\***



\* THROUGH 2/29/16  
SOURCE: S.C. DEPARTMENT OF DISABILITIES AND SPECIAL NEEDS

Title: **Confederate flag set to fly temporarily in Columbia**  
 Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT bmarchant@thestate.com  
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# Confederate flag set to fly temporarily in Columbia

Rally marks one-year anniversary of flag's removal

Law enforcement: Heavy security presence expected

"We've fought that battle, and we've agreed to move on," Democratic S.C. senator says

BY BRISTOW MARCHANT

bmarchant@thestate.com

COLUMBIA

One year after thousands watched as the Confederate flag was removed from a flagpole on the State House grounds, the divisive banner will rise again at the South Carolina Capitol.

At least temporarily.

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James Bessenger, the chairman

**SEE FLAG, 8A**

## FROM PAGE 3A FLAG

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"Our history is being erased," he said, comparing the push to remove the Confederate battle flag to the Islamic State's looting of

Middle Eastern museums and destruction of historical artifacts. "It's like cultural Marxism."

But Quarles had a different interpretation.

Bringing the flag down was "the correct thing to do because of the history and the legacy attached to the flag, which, in my opinion, is a heritage of racism and hate toward blacks and minorities," he said.

State Sen. John Matthews, D-Orangeburg, said there was no chance of the flag returning to the State House grounds.

"We've fought that battle, and we've agreed to move on," Matthews said. "We want to put the focus on





Title: **Confederate flag set to fly temporarily in Columbia**  
 Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT bmarchant@thestate.com  
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health care, on education, and it does no good to have this back out there. ... We've decided to move on into the 21st century."

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Focus quickly shifted to the flag at the State House. A week after the shooting, a protester climbed the pole that flew the flag and pulled

the flag down.

Gov. Nikki Haley soon called for the flag to come down, after receiving a torrent of emails on the subject, and the state Legislature voted by a two-thirds majority to remove it.

After the flag came down last year, a pro-flag rally organized by a Ku Klux Klan group attracted angry counter-protesters - including members of the New Black Panther Party. The clash resulted in scuffles, five arrests on charges of breach of peace, disorderly conduct and assault. Other people received emergency attention.

Without discussing details, a S.C. Department of Public Safety spokesman said there would be a similar number of law enforcement agencies involved Sunday as there were at last year's KKK rally. Eight state or local agencies contributed officers to that event, from Public Safety and the State Law Enforcement Division to the Richland and Lexington sheriff's offices, the city of Columbia and the University of South Carolina campus police.

Their plans include preparations for counter-protesters, said S.C. Highway Patrol Lt. R. Kelley Hughes.

"We don't anticipate issues, but we will be prepared and will take appropriate enforcement action, if necessary."

The Secessionists and Confederate memorial honor guard were the only groups to alert state officials they would be gathering Sunday.

But Bessenger said he expects to have company.

"I expect there will be some kind of ruffraff," he said.

*Reporter Jamie Self contributed. Bristow Marchant: 803-771-8405, @BristowatHome, @BuzzAtTheState*

Title: **First Wes Hayes, now Larry Martin: a Senate diminished**  
 Author: BY CINDIROSS SCOPPE  
 Size: 55.18 column inches  
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## OTHER VOICES

# *First Wes Hayes, now Larry Martin: a Senate diminished*

BY CINDIROSS SCOPPE

It's hard to think of a smart reform the Legislature has passed in the past decade that hasn't had Larry Martin's fingerprints all over it.

It was the Pickens County Republican's tenacity and determination that brought ethics reforms back from the dead this year, and got us the income-source reporting and independent investigations of legislators that his fellow senators seemed to have killed last year, and the year before that, and the year before that.

And although he had to accept some crippling amendments, it was Sen. Martin who pushed legislation through the anti-reform Senate to wrest appointment power of the state Transportation Commission away from small groups of legislators and give it to the governor.

When the video gambling industry threatened to make a comeback early in this decade, it was Sen. Martin who outsmarted opponents and muscled through the bill to stop it. It was Sen. Martin who fought repeatedly to strengthen our anemic DUI law. Sen. Martin who shepherded legislation to fix a problem in our State Grand Jury law that had nearly allowed a judge to shut down the corruption investigation of then-House Speaker Bobby Harrell.

Sen. Martin was key to passage of bills to let gubernatorial candidates pick their running mates and control the state's central administrative agency. He engineered a rules change to reduce the power of the single-senator veto. (It didn't work, but it's the only serious attempt anyone has made).

He spearheaded this year's effort — killed by a House horse-trading deal gone awry — to make police obey the law that requires them to release videos of police shootings. In fact, he has been a consistent supporter of an array of efforts to make more public information

available and accessible to the public.

And in Tuesday's Republican primary runoff, people who claim to be the real reformers, the real conservatives — yes, those are opposites, but in this state in today's tongue, they often refer to overlapping constituencies — took him out. They replaced him with a former House member whose accomplishments couldn't fill a thimble to Sen. Martin's overflowing cup.

Sen. Martin's biggest problem was the gun crazies who had been gunning for him for five years. By "gun crazies" I do not mean people who wanted to carry their concealed weapons into bars; Sen. Martin helped them pass that ridiculous law. Nor do I mean those who believe untrained Georgians should be able to carry their concealed weapons into our state; Sen. Martin helped pass that ridiculous law. Nor do I mean those who support the right of criminals to buy guns if the feds can't prove their criminality within five days; Sen. Martin is the reason that change wasn't even considered.

No, by "gun crazies" I mean the people who were outraged because he supported letting judges temporarily take guns away from wife abusers and killers, as part of their punishment.

I mean the people who were incensed because they never could enlist Sen. Martin's aid in their quest to carry any sort of guns they want anywhere they want, with no background check or license or other regulations. (They like to call this "constitutional carry," which is masterfully Orwellian since, if the Constitution actually promised it, they wouldn't need a law.)

Gov. Nikki Haley said she wanted to use this year's Republican primaries to change the Senate, and boy did she succeed. Just not

in a way that will benefit her, or any of the less ideologically reform-minded among us. We should be grateful that Sen. Martin was able to push through some ethics reforms this year, because the governor pretty much guaranteed us a 2017 Senate that wouldn't pass them.

The good senator will be replaced as Judiciary chairman by Sen. Luke Rankin, who was no fan of ethics reforms or of dismantling the parochial Transportation Commission.

No doubt he is even less of a fan since the governor employed her out-of-state cash to try to take him out in the primary.

Of course she failed, just as she failed to take out Senate Finance Chairman Hugh Leatherman, who likewise opposed those reforms.

Gov. Haley did support the effort to get rid of one of the most disruptive senators, the guns-and-bathrooms fetishist Lee Bright, although it's unclear how much if any credit she deserves for that. Her only clear win was defeating Mr. Ethics, York County Sen. Wes Hayes, who was on her side far more often than not and whom she seems to have targeted so she could claim one victory.

Losing Sen. Hayes hurts our state almost as much as losing Sen. Martin — and I can't help wondering what would have happened if instead of fixating on her enemies list, Gov. Haley had put some serious effort into saving one of her best friends. That would be Sen. Martin.

What's clear is that the two most powerful committees in the Senate now will be chaired by the two men the governor tried hardest to defeat. Somehow, I doubt they will be as noble about that as Sen. Hayes, who spent the day after his loss convincing his colleagues to pass the ethics measures she had championed.

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The governor deserves every bit  
of their wrath. The rest of us do  
not.

*Scoppe writes editorials and col-  
umns for The State. Reach her at  
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Title: **SLED investigated emails sent to Haley**

Author:

Size: 22.78 column inches

Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



## CONFEDERATE FLAG CONTROVERSY

# SLED investigated emails sent to Haley

State law enforcement officials investigated as possible threats six emails sent to S.C. Gov. Nikki Haley last year during the tumultuous weeks between the Charleston massacre and the removal of the Confederate flag from S.C. State House grounds.

The State Law Enforcement Division has made no arrests related to the emails, spokes-

man Thom Berry said Friday.

Berry said it would be inappropriate for SLED to release details about the emails, as the investigations remain open "should any new information be developed."

The Republican governor's office this week released more than 10,000 pages of emails and letters sent to her con-

cerning the Confederate flag's eventual removal from the State House campus.

The emails spanned from June 18, the day after nine black parishioners were shot and killed in a Charleston church, to July 13, three days after the Confederate flag was furled.

— AVERY G. WILKS



FILE PHOTOGRAPH The State

Gov. Nikki Haley signs legislation furling the Confederate flag last year.

Title: **Secession group to fly Confederate flag again at State House**  
 Author: BY BRISTOW MARCHANT [bmarchant@thestate.com](mailto:bmarchant@thestate.com)  
 Size: 55.33 column inches  
 Columbia, SC Circulation: 128564



## SUNDAY CEREMONY

# Secession group to fly Confederate flag again at State House

BY BRISTOW MARCHANT  
[bmarchant@thestate.com](mailto:bmarchant@thestate.com)

One year after thousands watched as the Confederate flag was removed from a flagpole on the State House grounds, the divisive banner will rise again at the South Carolina Capitol.

At least temporarily.

The South Carolina Secessionist Party will raise the

rebel banner Sunday during a ceremony to mark the one-year anniversary of the flag coming down.

The Secessionists, who support South Carolina leaving the Union again, plan to raise the flag on a 30-foot aluminum pole with a plastic base in the same spot where

it flew before, near the Confederate Soldier Monument on the State House's front lawn. The ceremony starts at 11 a.m. The flag will be removed at the end of the rally.

A Confederate memorial honor guard will take part in the flag raising, which supporters plan to make an an-

nual event.

James Bessenger, the chairman of the Secessionist Party's board, expects the event to draw a crowd of hundreds, based on interest on the party's Facebook page.

The group has not changed

**SEE SECESSIONISTS, 8A**

FROM PAGE 3A

# SECESSIONISTS

its plans to assemble in light of the latest mass shooting, when police officers were shot and killed in Dallas late Thursday during a protest.

Bessenger said he was contacted by S.C. capitol police Friday to ask if the rally would be postponed in light of the police shootings in Dallas during a protest about police violence against African-Americans. He said Public Safety did not formally ask the group to change its plans.

"We had a special board meeting (Friday), and the board decided to continue with the rally," Bessenger said.

Bessenger said the rally also would honor the slain law enforcement officers in Dallas with black ribbons and raise a law enforcement emblem alongside the battle flag.

Because of the Dallas

shooting, members of the Upstate Black Lives Matter chapter will not be attending the rally Sunday.

On a recent conference call, the Upstate chapter and others were "all in agreement that we didn't really want to focus our attention on the flag at this time," said Greenville's Derrick Quarles, president of the activist group's Upstate chapter.

Quarles said "it's a very sensitive time around the nation," and the group did not want the rally to result in violence.

Bessenger said the push to remove the flag was the result of "political correct-

ness," which also has been a talking point in the presidential campaign. "People are sick of hearing that people's feelings are hurt," he said.

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"We've fought that battle, and we've agreed to move on," Matthews said. "We want to put the focus on health care, on education, and it does no good to have this back out

there. ... We've decided to move on into the 21st century."

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*Reporter Jamie Self contributed. Bristow Marchant: 803-771-8405, @BristowatHome*



Title: **'We don't want to see our community turn into chaos'**  
 Author: BY TIM FLACH [tflach@thestate.com](mailto:tflach@thestate.com)  
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## POLICE SHOOTINGS

# 'We don't want to see our community turn into chaos'

Local leaders urge cooperation, rather than confrontation, in wake of violence

BY TIM FLACH

[tflach@thestate.com](mailto:tflach@thestate.com)

State and Midlands political and community leaders called for unity Friday while mourning shootings across the nation this week with racial overtones that took the lives of five police officers and two African-American men other officers had confronted.

"Teach us how to love one another," the Rev. A.A. Dicks said at a prayer service at Greater St. Luke

Baptist Church on Friday evening that promoted cooperation instead of protest. "We don't want to see our community turn into chaos."

The prayer service captured an outpouring of sentiment that

centered on cooperation

rather than confrontation to reduce shootings. It was part of a vast outpouring of sadness and concern that swept the Midlands and much of the country.

Twelve Dallas officers were shot, five of them fatally, during what

➔ **MORE INSIDE**

America mourns after difficult week, **4A**

➔ **ONLINE**

**THESTATE.COM:** Watch a video from the vigil.

**SEE VIGIL, 8A**

## FROM PAGE 1A

## VIGIL

started as one of several peaceful protests around the nation Thursday in reaction to this week's deadly officer-involved shootings of black men in Louisiana and Minnesota.

Columbia Police Chief Skip Holbrook and other officers on Friday wore black bands across their badges to show solidarity with those in law enforcement killed.

"It's a tough day to be a police officer," he said. "We have heavy hearts."

Holbrook was among two dozen city police officers and Richland County deputies who attended the prayer service that attracted about 75 participants.

The gathering was held at the north Columbia church at which police chaplain Michael Baker is

senior pastor.

In an interview, the Rev. Baker praised Midlands civic and law enforcement leaders for working "to insure we don't have that kind of outburst" experienced elsewhere.

Local police leaders listen to community concerns and make changes as needed, he said.

Gov. Nikki Haley early Friday promised to pray for peace while commemorating the officers gunned down by a sniper and others injured "amid more senseless violence."

The shootings show the need to deal with long-simmering racial tensions, others said.

Others issued public statements as well.

"We stand together as mayors in this region de-

nouncing violence of any kind," mayors from cities and towns in Richland, Lexington, Kershaw and Fairfield counties said in a joint statement. "We ask our churches to reach out to other churches; our neighborhoods to reach out to other neighborhoods; our cities and towns to embrace each other. When we know each other better, we will know peace and justice."

Republican U.S. Sen. Tim Scott said, "Reacting to violence with violence will only lead to more

heartache. We cannot, will not, let hate win. We have bridges to cross, but we cannot allow madmen to widen the divide."

The shootings underscore that "we are facing some of the most chal-

lenging times of our profession," Lexington County Sheriff Jay Koon said after talking with local community leaders to ask for patience and support.

"A good, healthy dialogue between law enforcement and our community is essential for all of us to prosper," he said. "This unrest that is erupting across our nation between those of us wearing the uniform and our citizens has to stop."

Holbrook joined Richland County Sheriff Leon Lott in a statement saying the shootings "exposed fractures in the public's trust of police. Law enforcement cannot be effective unless we have the trust and confidence of our community."

The pair pledged to re-evaluate use-of-force

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standards, improve police training to reduce conflict and work harder to promote partnerships with residents.

"Our work is far from complete," their statement said. "Community-police relations must be continually fostered."

Others expressed hope that reaction to the shootings will lead to better appreciation of diversity among Americans.

"I am both outraged and saddened by the deaths of too many young black males by the hands of some in law enforce-

ment," said state Rep. John King, D-York, the incoming chairman of the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus. "I am just as outraged and saddened by the senseless killing of law enforcement officers who were carrying out their number one duty: to protect and serve."

State Democratic Party chairman Jaime Harrison said, "We must honor them by coming together as Lincoln said 'with malice toward none, with charity for all' to break down the barriers between us that all too often lead to

needless violence."

Meanwhile, the Richland County Library tweeted out an image of the late civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. attached to one of his well-known statements against violence:

"Violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem: It merely creates new and more complicated ones. Violence is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. It is immoral because it seeks to humili-

ate the opponent rather than win his understanding: It seeks to annihilate rather than convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends up defeating itself. It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers."

Staff writer Clif LeBlanc contributed to this story.  
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SEAN RAYFORD [online@thestate.com](mailto:online@thestate.com)

Members of local law enforcement hold hands during a vigil for recent shooting victims Friday evening at Greater St. Luke Baptist Church in Columbia. About 20 members of local law enforcement gathered with community leaders and members at the church.

County: Richland

Title: **Emails show nationwide praise, criticism for Haley**  
 Author: BY JAMIE SELF, CASSIE COPE, BRISTOW MARCHANT  
 Size: 208.78 column inches  
 Hilton Head Island, SC Circulation: 20015



ONE YEAR LATER: REMOVING THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

# Emails show nationwide praise, criticism for Haley

Gov. Nikki Haley received more than 10,000 emails and letters about flag and Charleston church shooting

Haley's push to take down divisive banner came after the racially motivated slaying in Charleston church

"You are standing now on the right side of history and on the right side of human rights," one email says. Other emails weren't so nice.

BY JAMIE SELF, CASSIE COPE,  
 BRISTOW MARCHANT  
 AND AVERY WILKS

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COLUMBIA

Praise and criticism from across the country flooded S.C. Gov. Nikki Haley's inbox last year as the state reeled from the shooting of nine parishioners in Charleston and grappled with whether to remove the Confederate flag from the Statehouse grounds.

The Lexington Republican on Wednesday released more than 10,000 pages of emails and letters related to the Confederate flag and the event that led her to call for its removal — a shooting at "Mother" Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, which claimed the lives of nine African-American churchgoers.

In the days immediately following the shooting, emails overwhelmingly urged the governor to remove the divisive banner from its public perch. Many came from out of state.

"As a white citizen of this country, I am ashamed that a state government still flies a flag that is hurtful to all of us," a California woman wrote.





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"At this time of mourning for those who were murdered at Mother Emanuel Church, to continue to allow a symbol of hate and pain to fly is the height of insensitivity," a New Jersey man said.

When Haley called for the flag's removal five days after the shooting, she received a flood of emails from Confederate flag supporters.

A Greer man wrote, "Until yesterday I have been a supporter of your agenda. Now I regret to inform you that I will never cast another vote for you, or any legislator who votes to remove this symbol of heritage (not hate)."

The emails, released to reporters Wednesday through an open records request, are being made public just days before Sunday's one-year anniversary of the flag's furling. The correspondence spans from June 18, the day after the church shooting, to July 13, three days after the Confederate flag was removed from the Statehouse grounds.

The governor's office redacted last names and contact information for the people who communicated with her. The office also withheld a small number of emails that contained security details or legal memos,

her office said.

One email included in the public records request came from Columbia attorney Leighton Lord, who was working with a team of about 10 other people to contact businesses and prominent leaders to ask them to add their names to a full-page newspaper ad endorsing the flag's removal.

The team also asked for money to buy the ad, and "no one refused," Lord said Wednesday when asked about the list.

The team collected endorsements from more than 50 major business and political players for removing the flag, which they shared with the governor.

The endorsements included former S.C. governors, current U.S. senators and representatives, manufacturing giants Boeing, BMW, Michelin and Milliken, the presidents of Furman, USC, Clemson, and the College of Charleston and various other business and community organizations.

The emails released Wednesday also include an early \$1 million estimated cost for displaying the Confederate flag prepared by the Confederate Relic Room director for legislators. Later estimates, which included a major museum renovation,

set the cost more than \$5 million.

Cries for the flag's removal started almost immediately after news broke that nine African-American churchgoers were shot and killed while they prayed and studied the Bible together.

One of the victims included the church's pastor, state Sen. Clementa Pinckney.

Not long after the shooting, online pictures emerged of accused shooter Dylann Roof posing with the flag on a website with racist writings that he allegedly wrote.

Less than a week after the shooting, Haley gathered state officials at the Statehouse and, in a news conference, called for the Confederate flag's removal from its pole near the Confederate Soldier Monument on the State House grounds.

A symbol of the state's Confederate heritage to some, Haley said the banner had been hijacked and needed to be removed. The S.C. Senate agreed.

By early July, after hours of contentious debate, the state House delivered the flag a final blow, voting to remove the Confederate flag from the Statehouse grounds. It was removed

**SEE FLAG, 2C**

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## The nation reacts

### Proponents of removing the Confederate flag from Statehouse grounds, written in emails and letters to S.C. Gov. Nikki Haley

- "It is not just one evil man who committed one evil act in Charleston. It is the culture, including guns, racism, lack of education and all the rest. You are wrong to avoid and deny this reality. Start by (Reagan reference intended) 'Take down that flag, Ms. Haley.'" – **Marion from Rhode Island**
- "THIS IS YOUR HURRICANE KATRINA." – **A Roebuck man**
- "The anger, disrespect and stalemate models provided by our government (especially in Washington) sets the tone for breeding hatred in our society. Please move the Confederate flag to a less prominent (in your face location) with the explanation and back-story from 1961 which is not from the Civil War heritage, but from courage ... which I think you have." – **A woman from Salley**
- "While I hold the 1st Amendment dear, there are some symbols that do not represent anything good and decent to reasonable people." – **66-year-old Ohio man who said he would no longer come to South Carolina**

### Opponents of removing the Confederate flag from the Statehouse grounds

- "I hope you reconsider your stance on the flag issue and not let the politically correct crowd hijack the proud history of South Carolina and all of the South." – **Clay, lifetime member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans**
- "Until yesterday I have been a supporter of your agenda. Now I regret to inform you that I will NEVER cast another vote for you, or any legislator who votes to remove this symbol of heritage (not hate)." – **A Greer man**
- "That flag represents our home." – **S.C. resident, who also denounced "government overreach" and Mitt Romney and Jeb Bush, who called for the flag's removal**
- "Please let the population vote." – **N.C. resident**

### FROM PAGE 1C

## FLAG

from the capitol dome in 2000.

Before Haley's announcement, several of the emails, angry about the flag still flying, informed Haley of canceled plans to move to or vacation in South Carolina and threatened to boycott goods made in the Palmetto State.

Several compared the Confederate banner to the Nazi flag. Others called for Haley to back gun control measures and not

to blame the shooting on mental health issues.

Some said the Confederate flag — and the vestiges of Confederate culture in the South — helped shape Roof, who faces the death penalty in both state and federal court.

"Is it a surprise that a young man who was raised under this banner, and drives the streets named after Confederate generals, should turn out to uphold this violent and racist tradition?" an Illi-

nois man wrote.

"I believe that the perception is that a miscreant like Dylann Roof was created, and nurtured, in the arms of an intolerant, racist Southern tradition."

### FLAG 'SHOULD FLY PROUDLY'

Not all of the correspondence Haley received was against the flag.

A Florida man said he has read many accounts of the Civil War which have "struck a very deep and

emotional chord for me.

In my readings, I have never seen evidence that the Confederate flag represents a 'hatred of blacks,' as has been proclaimed by the press in the past two days."

The flag, he said, "is a symbol of historical significance and should fly proudly over all the state capitols that once belonged to the Confederate States of America."

A Greenwood man wrote in support of the flag, say-

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ing “any semi-reasonably intelligent people can research the history, origins and purpose of this emblem and rightfully (conclude) that it had nothing to do with the cause they assign to it.”

“To acquiesce to their cries is to throw away the integrity of those that died and fought,” he said.

#### **DESCENDENTS OF CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS, KLANSMAN WEIGH IN**

A long-time member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans from Aiken called for the flag’s removal.

“It’s the least we can do to show our respect and support and to demonstrate that the Republican Party, and most importantly, the state of South Carolina is not racist,” he wrote. “Unfortunately, since the flag has become a symbol of racism, just take away the symbol, and let’s move on.”

A man who said he is a grandson of a Ku Klux Klan leader in rural Alabama, living in Oregon, said he knew “how it became a symbol of bigotry, hatred and oppression, and I can imagine how hurtful it must seem to the descendants of slaves. ... I believe

your brave leadership will help move South Carolina and all of the South beyond the darkness of the past.”

But descendants of Confederate soldiers also criticized Haley’s decision. One whose ancestors fought with the Tennessee 25th Infantry urged Haley to keep the flag flying.

“I know that there has been many people who would like nothing better than to see the ‘Battle Flag’ removed from in front of the Statehouse grounds and are using this tragic incident to help their cause and to stir up the media,” said Mark (no last name) of Indian Land.

He added: “I honor the Confederate Battle Flag as a symbol of the war that my ancestor fought and died for and not a symbol of hatred and racism.”

#### **HOSTILITIES, POLITICAL WARNINGS IN SOME NOTES**

Other emails warned Haley of the political fallout.

A North Augusta man warned that removing the flag would “destroy your political career” and “hurt the Republican Party dearly. ... The Confederate Flag had nothing to do

with what one crazy person did.”

Some called her a traitor: “(I)s there a connection of races here? She is surrounded by blacks making the announcement — where are the whites?” said a man from Winston-Salem.

Several emails were racist and sexist in nature, criticizing Haley’s Indian-American heritage. Some included racial slurs against African-Americans.

Sometimes the tone of the emails grew threatening.

For example, one writer damned Haley to hell for pushing for the flag’s removal.

Another called Haley “a pawn in the black race’s hands” and said her position was an “all-out attack on our Southern heritage.” The writer added, “If this were the Civil War Era, I would have you executed!”

A Seattle man, meanwhile, accused Haley of shifting blame for the shooting and said the governor is partly responsible. “You, Governor, helped put the shooter in that church. You ... fly that Confederate battle flag over the capitol. You ...

promote legislation that puts guns in the hands of racists and murderers. You ... are responsible. Not as responsible as he who pulled the trigger.”

But Haley also received much praise for pushing for the flag’s removal.

#### **‘ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF HISTORY’**

A Texas woman, and “lifelong Democrat,” said she’s “walking around saying great stuff about a Republican governor right now. If I were in your state. I’d consider voting for you! Go, Go, Awesome Governor!”

Mary, a 65-year-old woman from the town of Cross, thanked Haley from “the bottom of (her) heart. ... God Bless You! You are standing now on the right side of history and on the right side of human rights. ... (A)s a woman, a woman of color and a woman of God you have let the light of love shine on all South Carolinians.”



Title: **Emails show nationwide praise, criticism for Haley**  
Author: BY JAMIESELF, CASSIE COPE, BRISTOW MARCHANT  
Size: 208.78 column inches  
Hilton Head Island, SC Circulation: 20015



TIM DOMINICK tdominick@thestate.com

The South Carolina Highway Patrol Honor Guard removed the Confederate Battle Flag from the Statehouse grounds during a ceremony on July 10, 2015.



Title: **Haley order addresses hidden budget earmarks**  
Author:  
Size: 4.49 column inches  
Greenwood, SC Circulation: 16494



### **Haley order addresses hidden budget earmarks**

COLUMBIA — Gov. Nikki Haley is hoping to force South Carolina legislators to be more forthright about budget earmarks.

The Republican governor issued an executive order Thursday aimed at stemming so-called “pass-throughs.” That’s when legislators send money to an agency without its request, to be spent on local projects.

Her order requires Cabinet agencies to verify such projects benefit the public and fit the agency’s mission before they’re funded.

Title: **A year later, Rebel flag's political impact muted**  
 Author: NATHANIEL CARY NCARY@GREENVILLENEWS.COM  
 Size: 63.70 column inches  
 Greenville, SC Circulation: 113473



# A year later, Rebel flag's political impact muted

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One year ago, as sides argued outside and inside the Statehouse in Columbia over whether the Confederate battle flag should be permanently lowered and removed from the grounds of the state's capitol building, political threats could be heard loudly as the nation's attention and its accompanying media scrum descended on Columbia.

Some came from the business community urging the flags removal. Higher education institutions like Clemson, Furman and Bob Jones universities said it was time for the

## Flag

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themselves out to be," said Dave Woodard, Thurmond professor of political science at Clemson.

Even in districts where it may have made sense to point out incumbent's vote on the flag — like in Greenville's District 22 race between Jason Elliott and Wendy Nanney, who voted for the flag to remain, or for challengers running to unseat Sen. Lee Bright — it was nearly a non-issue over the course of the campaign.

"My sense is it probably had less to do with the way people voted in the recent primaries, but it may have encouraged some of the people that chose to run in the primaries," said Danielle Vinson, a Furman political science professor who closely followed many of the Upstate races.

In pro-flag Pickens County, incumbent Sen. Larry Martin and Rep. Neal Collins each voted for the flag to come down. Martin was defeated, but for other reasons, including an anti-incumbent the primaries took, while Collins sailed through to the general election, Vinson said.

flag to come down.

Others, particularly members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and League of the South, said they would go all-out in a campaign to unseat those who voted to take the flag down.

A year later, after a contentious primary season that saw much turnover in the House and Senate, the political ramifications of legislators eventual votes on the flag have been mixed.

Some outspoken Upstate legislators, even in ultra-conservative districts, who voted for the

flag to come down, survived primary contests. Others didn't. Some who voted for the flag to remain lost their seats.

But in the end, the flag wasn't the firebrand campaign issue many thought it would become, said local political experts.

"I think the people who threatened reprisal and everything, just weren't as big as they thought they were or made

**See FLAG, Page 9A**

That's a far cry from what Collins thought would happen a year ago when he made his decision to support the flag's removal.

"Been nice knowing you," Collins wrote as he released a statement listing his reasons for wanting the flag to come down.

"And this is the turning point for me — any symbol endorsed by a state should unify her people. The Confederate Battle Flag certainly does not," he wrote at the time. "Rather, it divides in unimaginable ways as evidenced last week."

Collins spoke passionately from the House floor during the day-long debate that preceded the flag vote. He even left at one point to catch a flight but then returned, skipping his flight, in order to cast his vote.

"I do think that vote was probably why he had a primary challenger," Vinson said. "But he was able to fend it off."

Gov. Nikki Haley's leadership in calling for the flag's removal was her finest moment in office, said Woodard, who said he is not normally a Haley proponent and worked on campaigns for her opponents in the past.

"I thought this was something that

needed to be done, and she did it all," Woodard said. "A lot of political success depends on what you do and when you do it. She knew there would be a lot of sentiment and she didn't do it halfway."

In the most recent Winthrop Poll, which focused in part on race and Confederate flag sentiments, a majority of South Carolina residents continued to believe it was the right decision to remove the Confederate battle flag — 57 percent of whites and 87 percent of blacks polled were in favor of the decision.

Haley's support also remained strong in-state with a majority of blacks and whites approving of her performance.

And the majority of both blacks and whites believed South Carolina was on the right track.

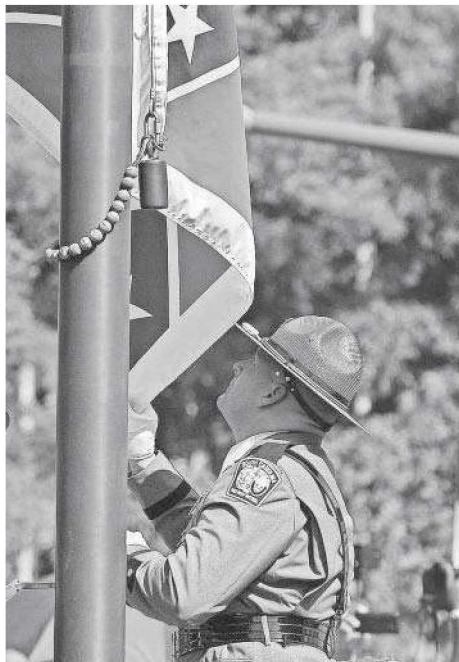
"You have, on the ground, seen more people sporting Confederate flags," Vinson said. "I have seen more vehicles flying Confederate flags this year than I have in the previous several (years), but I don't know that that translated into the kind of political action that had been suggested at the time."

Haley removed a problem that had

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been holding South Carolina back for a long time, and removed the state from a negative political spotlight that would have continued to crop up, Woodard said.

"If you think of the events, of what happened in Dallas (Thursday), if you had that flag still up today, you'd be a national news story again," Woodard said.



MYKAL MCELDFOWNEY/STAFF

**The South Carolina Highway Patrol Honor Guard removes the Confederate flag last year.**