

Title: **Legislators uphold less than \$200K of Haley's budget vetoes**
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Legislators uphold less than \$200K of Haley's budget vetoes

BY SEANNA ADCOX
 Associated Press

COLUMBIA

South Carolina lawmakers on Wednesday restored most of the money struck by Gov. Nikki Haley's budget vetoes, though they agreed with her on nixing a study about moving the Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum to Charleston.

The Republican governor vetoed \$41 million worth of spending last week from the \$7.5 billion state spending plan that takes effect July 1. The Legislature sustained a dozen of her line-item vetoes during Wednesday's special, one-

day session. But most of those struck mandates, not money.

For example, legislators agreed to eliminate a clause directing how grass should be mowed at welcome centers.

They upheld vetoes striking \$100,000 for a swimming pool in Richland County and \$75,000 to the Human Affairs Commission for community relations councils. They restored funding for various museums, parks and historical sites.

Legislators put the Relic Room study in the budget instead of spending any money to display the Confederate flag that was removed from Statehouse

grounds and sent to the Columbia museum last summer following the massacre at Emanuel AME Church.

House budget writers, who balked at a proposed \$3.6 million price tag for the flag display and museum expansion, argued the Confederate Relic Room's current, "hidden" location doesn't attract enough visitors.

The budget clause had required an analysis of available museum space in Charleston and, if sufficient space exists, a cost estimate for moving the Relic Room's collections there. A report was due by January, when the next legislative session begins.

In her veto message, Haley argued the study was a "veiled attempt to justify" combining the Relic Room and the Confederate submarine H.L. Hunley. Haley called it nothing more than a legislative pet project.

Title: **Legislaturesending 2ethicsbills to Haley**
 Author: BY SEANNA ADCOX Associated Press
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Legislature sending 2 ethics bills to Haley

Measures involve reporting income and independent investigations into complaints

Lawmakers say bills are not perfect, but they are a step forward

BY SEANNA ADCOX

Associated Press
COLUMBIA

Legislators gave final approval late Wednesday to bills on officerholder income disclosure and legislative investigations, sending Gov. Nikki Haley the two ethics bills she wanted.

The measures require all officeholders to report their private sources of income and mandate that complaints against South Carolina's legislators be independently investigated.

The measures had appeared dead — yet again. But legislators didn't want to go home a fourth consecutive year without passing changes they've repeatedly called a top priority.

Legislators in both chambers said the bills are far from perfect, but they're progress.

"It's really as much reform as we can get out

of this Legislature, out of four years of trying and trying again," said Sen. Chip Campsen, R-Isle of Palms.

Haley has insisted that independent investigations and income disclosure be part of ethics

reform since the House Ethics Committee cleared her of allegations in 2012 that she lobbied for employers while in the House. Agreeing with her former colleagues that the state's ethics laws are too vague, she has pushed ever since to strengthen and clarify them.

Legislation has repeatedly stalled in the Senate.

But the Senate passed both unanimously Wednesday after the one senator ousted by Haley's campaigns to unseat several long-time Republican incumbents asked his colleagues to disregard the politics and pass the bills.

Senators gave GOP Wes Hayes of Rock Hill two standing ovations in his farewell speech.

"You do what you think is right and let the chips

SEE ETHICS, 4A

SC justices to decide prosecutor dispute in corruption case

South Carolina's highest court is now considering whether a prosecutor other than the attorney general can open a state grand jury investigation.

For an hour Thursday, the state Supreme Court heard arguments from Solicitor David Pascoe and an attorney representing Attorney General Alan Wilson. Pascoe is suing Wilson, saying Pascoe had the authority to open a state grand jury probe into legislative corruption because Wilson had turned the case over to him because of a possible conflict.

Wilson says state law allows only him to start a grand jury investigation and Pascoe overstepped his authority and tainted the case by leaking information to reporters. Wilson picked Pascoe to handle the investigation into former House Speaker Bobby Harrell, but their working relationship has become a public feud.



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FROM PAGE 3A

ETHICS

fall,” said Hayes, first elected to the House in 1984 and the Senate in 1991. “We need to do what’s right. Pass ethics reform.”

Hayes, who has long supported the ethics changes Haley’s pushed, lost his primary Tuesday to a challenger she backed. Other incumbents survived Haley’s opposition.

“Your example has been good for all of us,” Sen. Gerald Malloy, D-Hartsville, said of Hayes, who asked his colleagues to welcome his opponent.

Currently, House and Senate ethics committees oversee campaign finance filings and handle com-

plaints against their colleagues, while the State Ethics Commission oversees all other public officials. Critics, including Haley, equate the arrangement to “the fox guarding the henhouse.”

The legislation would revamp the State Ethics Commission — whose members will be appointed by the governor and legislators — and expand its duties to legislators. The commission would decide whether a legislator likely violated the law. However, House and Senate ethics panels would still get the final say over their members.

“This will begin to restore the public’s trust,”

said House Speaker Pro Tem Tommy Pope, the initial bill’s sponsor. “I think when citizens see the system work, it will restore confidence.”

The other bill requires all elected and appointed officials to report the sources of income filed on their income tax returns — but not how much they are paid. They must also report income sources of their spouses and dependent children.

Currently, officeholders must report only public income sources, such as legislative pay, on their annual “statement of economic interest.” That requirement will continue.

Title: **Moped bill dies in Senate with no veto vote**
 Author: TIM SMITH TCSMITH@GREENVILLENEWS.COM
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Moped bill dies in Senate with no veto vote

TIM SMITH

TCSMITH@GREENVILLENEWS.COM

COLUMBIA - Legislation to regulate mopeds died in the Senate on Wednesday night as a senator's maneuver kept a veto by Gov. Nikki Haley from being considered as the clock ran out on this year's legislative session.

It's demise capped a roller-coaster day for the legislation, which seemed to die earlier in the day in the House, only to be revived that evening as lawmakers changed their minds and overrode Haley's veto.

Sen. Greg Hembree, an Horry County Republican and former prosecutor who guided the bill through the Senate, said he intends to re-file the legislation for next year's session.

"It's important enough to continue to work on," he said. "It was a bi-partisan bill, carefully vetted and amended, thoughtfully considered and worked on. It's a good piece of legislation."

The bill would have required operators to hold either a moped license or driver's license, obtain a license tag and decal and obey all traffic laws. Currently, mopeds are not classified as motor vehicles so operators cannot be charged with traffic violations, such as DUI, lawmakers said.

Haley argued that the bill's requirements for operators to wear reflective vests at night and for those under 21 to wear helmets amounted to "government overreach."

But Hembree told the Senate Wednesday night that Haley's veto was "premised on a fundamental misunderstanding" of the law. He said the governor mistakenly said the helmet provision required helmets for all moped riders when in fact the legislation only required them for those under 21, just as the law currently does for those riding motorcycles.

Sen. Gerald Malloy, a Darlington County Democrat, told the Senate he believed there seemed to be some things "a little bit wrong with this," namely the vest requirement.

"It seems to be cumbersome and a problem," he said of the requirement. "While I don't agree with the governor on everything, I actually do agree with her on part of the premise. I think it's time we adhere to what she was saying."

Malloy then moved to delay consideration of the veto, a motion that was tabled. He then took to the podium and asked that the Senate go to other matters with him holding the floor, effectively sealing the bill's fate. He later filibustered another bill on foster care reform as Democrats slowly left the chamber and leaders realized they no longer had a quorum.

"He just wore people out," Hembree said of Malloy.

Malloy's arguments mirrored those earlier of House Democrats.

Rep. Todd Rutherford, leader of House Democrats, portrayed the bill as complicated and burdensome to the working poor who use mopeds most and asked the House to sustain the veto.

'So complicated'

"We made it so complicated you can't understand it," he argued.

He also mentioned the vests, asking repeatedly how moped riders would know to go to find the correct reflective vest.

But proponents argued the bill was needed for safety and would not be prohibitively expensive for moped operators.

At 8 p.m., the House voted 69-33 to override the governor, sending the bill to the Senate, which was deliberating into the night on budget vetoes.

Earlier, several House lawmakers spoke against the bill.

Rutherford also questioned how moped riders would be able to know what type of helmets they should buy.

"I agree with the governor," he said. "This is government overreach."

Rep. Jonathan Hill, an Anderson County Republican, said the bill was the result of mopeds annoying some lawmakers.

But supporters said the bill was the result of six years of work and after hundreds of people have lost their lives in moped accidents.

Rep. Joseph Danning, a Berkeley County Republican and one of the bill's authors, said the vests would cost about \$9. He said the legislation had been vetted by numerous agencies and he disagreed with Haley's arguments.

'Simply wrong'

"The veto letter is simply wrong," he told the House.

Rep. Neal Collins, a Pickens County Republican, said a state trooper had asked him to pass the bill. He said he recently came upon a moped rider when he was out tending to campaign signs at 1 a.m. He said he did not see him until he came upon him because he did not have any lights.

Requiring a safety vest at night, he said, "is not too invasive."

The House voted 65-47 to override the veto but because an override takes a two-thirds vote, the vote sustained the governor's action.

The bill would require owners to purchase license tags, register their vehicle, obtain either a moped license or a driver's license and follow traffic laws, closing a current loophole for those caught driving drunk on the vehicles. Police now cannot charge a moped rider with DUI.

"I believe adults over the age of 18 — who are allowed to vote and serve our military — should decide for themselves what they should wear for their personal safety," Haley wrote in her veto message Monday.

The Senate on June 2 voted 41-1 to give the bill final approval without debate. The House concurred by a vote of 68-31.

The governor wrote that while she supports safety laws for children and requirements in the bill for working lights on mopeds at night, other provisions "go too far in regulating the behavior of adults."

"State moped laws should continue to allow for this kind of inexpensive, reliable transportation for citizens, but this bill goes too far," she wrote.

Haley said she would work with lawmakers next year in crafting a moped bill that defines mopeds, provides regulations and "balances public safety with personal responsibility."

According to the state Office of Highway Safety, 55 people died in moped accidents in 2015, up from 35 in 2014, a 57 percent increase.

That compares to about a 16 percent increase in traffic deaths overall near the end of 2015.

Title: **Haley endorses challenger in closely watched Senate race**
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Haley endorses challenger in closely watched Senate race

RUDOLPH BELL

DBELL@GREENVILLENEWS.COM

DUNCAN - Gov. Nikki Haley jumped into another contest between Republicans Thursday, endorsing Spartanburg lawyer Scott Talley in his bid to oust controversial state Sen. Lee Bright.

Hoping to tilt the scales in one of the most closely watched races in South Carolina, Haley blasted Bright as an untrustworthy obstructionist while praising Talley as a true conservative reformer.

The Republican governor said her biggest problem with Bright was his opposition to ethics reform, a favorite cause of Haley's.

Bright worked with Democrats to kill ethics reform last year, Haley said, and only voted for it Wednesday night because he's up for re-election.

"No one in the Legislature feels like they can trust him," Haley said. "Because you never know what he's going to do. It's all about Lee."

In response, Bright said he voted for the latest version of ethics reform because it did not include a requirement that political groups trying to influence elections disclose their donors — something he believes would squelch free speech.

Bright said he voted exactly the way he told Haley staffers he would when they

asked him earlier this year whether he'd support an ethics reform bill if that provision was not included.

"That's been the point of contention for four years on the bill," he said.

Bright said the Conservation Voters of South Carolina have mailed five flyers to voters in his district trying to unseat him, but he doesn't need to know which individuals donate to the group.

"It's a Democrat group coming after a Republican in a Republican primary," Bright said. "I don't need to know each individual who donated."

The high-profile political rally took place at the North American headquarters of AFL, a manufacturer of fiber optic cable, in the heart of District 12. It came 12 days before a runoff on June 28 to decide who will represent the district for the next four years.

Most of the district is in Spartanburg County, but a small portion is in Greenville County and includes neighborhoods along Batesville, Woodruff and Roper Mountain roads.

Also endorsing Talley were two Republicans who had hoped to replace Bright but

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Talley

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were defeated in Tuesday's primary — Duncan Mayor Lisa Scott and Greenville businessman David McCraw. They got 12.8 percent and 22.9 percent of the vote respectively.

Bright led with 37.6 percent, and Talley took second with 26.5 percent, setting up a runoff between the two.

Bright has become a well-known and controversial figure in South Carolina politics since he won the Senate seat in 2008 after a stint on a school board.

Some see him as a champion of conservative values but others as a divisive obstructionist who loves to draw attention to himself.

Bright's controversial positions in-

clude unsuccessful support for keeping the Confederate flag flying on the Statehouse grounds.

Haley took the opposition position following the racially motivated shooting of nine members of a Charleston church last year, successfully calling for the flag's removal to a museum.

Earlier this year, Bright stirred up a firestorm when he proposed requiring that transgender people use bathrooms corresponding to their biological genders instead of the genders with which they identify. His proposal came amid a national controversy over the same issue in North Carolina.

Talley, who served eight years in the South Carolina House, told *The Greenville News* he and Bright would vote the

same way on some issues.

"We're both pro-Second Amendment. We're both pro-life. We both want to help the taxpayer," Talley said.

But Bright, he said, "does not have a seat at the table."

Haley, who served with Talley in the House, said she and he were among just 12 legislators named taxpayer heroes by former Gov. Mark Sanford.

Haley, who endorsed Bright four years ago, remains popular with South Carolina Republicans, but that doesn't mean they're taking her advice about who to put in the state Legislature.

She tried to unseat three state senators from her own party during Tuesday's primary and was successful in

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only one case.

Sens. Hugh Leatherman of Florence and Luke Rankin of Myrtle Beach won primary contests despite strong opposition from the governor and a Haley-affiliated political committee whose donors are mostly from out of state.

Sen. Wes Hayes of Rock Hill, however, fell to Haley-backed challenger Wes Climer.

A candidate Haley backed for an open House seat representing Charleston and Dorchester counties also lost.

It's the second time that Talley and Bright have tangled in a runoff.

Talley ran for the Senate 12 seat in 2008 and garnered 606 more votes than Bright in a three-way primary contest.

Talley, however, fell short of a majority and ultimately lost a runoff with

Bright by 198 votes.

In 2012, Bright won a primary contest with Spartanburg attorney John Hawkins by 848 votes.

That race was a rematch from 2004, when Hawkins edged Bright in the Republican primary by 31 votes.

In the crowd supporting Talley Thursday were former S.C. Rep. Joe

McHaffey of Spartanburg County, S.C. Rep. Bruce Bannister of Greenville and Spartanburg businessman Rick Beltram, a former chairman of the Spartanburg County Republican Party.

Outside, a handful of Bright supporters protested, some carrying Confederate flags.

One of them, Paul Huber, an 80-year-old retiree from Duncan, said he likes Bright because he's a "constitutional

conservative."

"Lee stands for supporting the Constitution and what he says he believes he does," Huber said.

Huber added that he campaigned for Haley when she first ran for governor in 2010. But he said Haley has turned out like some other state politicians.

"They all start as conservatives and then they legislate as liberals," Huber said.

In another development Thursday, a political action committee affiliated with the South Carolina Chamber of Commerce said it would continue targeting Bright in radio ads.

The Chamber's latest anti-Bright ad criticizes him for opposing road-funding bills the chamber supported and for proposing to regulate transgender bathroom use.

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HEIDI HEILBRUNN/STAFF

Gov. Nikki Haley endorses Scott Talley for the Senate District 12 Republican primary runoff during a campaign event in Duncan on Thursday.

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STAFF/HEIDI HEILBRUNN/STAFF

Gov. Nikki Haley endorses Scott Talley for the Senate District 12 Republican primary runoff during a campaign event in Duncan on Thursday.

Title: **Carolinas border redraw almost done as bill goes to governor**
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Carolinas border redraw almost done as bill goes to governor

RALEIGH, N.C. - North Carolina lawmakers have now followed their South Carolina counterparts and approved legislation to clean up complications stemming from the recent redrawing of the border between the two states. The North Carolina House voted 101-11 on Thursday to approve the bill, which also affirms the enforcement of the original Carolinas boundary starting next January. The Senate already approved the legislation, which goes to Gov. Pat McCrory's desk. South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley last week signed a similar bill. The two states dealt with education, taxes and other issues affecting several dozen people who believed they were in one state but actually are in the other Carolina. High-tech boundary work to trace the boundary began in the 1990s after determining the Colonial-era border was off because of old surveying techniques.

— AP

Title: **Lost opportunity on moped safety bill**
 Author: By The Herald Editorial Board
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OUR VIEW

Lost opportunity on moped safety bill

By The Herald Editorial Board

South Carolina has a tough time enacting sensible vehicle safety laws, especially regarding unconventional vehicles such as mopeds and all-terrain vehicles. And Gov. Nikki Haley blocked another such effort this year.

Until recently, just about anyone of any age could operate an ATV. And no protective gear was required. Even now, after the ATV regulations have been revamped, children as young as 6 can drive one as long as they are accompanied by a parent.

It took years and the impassioned lobbying by families whose children had died in ATV accidents to change the law. And advocates also have spent years pushing for stiffer laws governing the use of mopeds, but their efforts have failed.

Mopeds and their drivers have barely been regulated at all. Mopeds are not classified in the state as motorized vehicles or subject to DUI laws.

Anyone 14 or older can drive one without wearing any protective gear. Drivers whose licenses are suspended for six months or less can drive a moped in South Carolina, without a license, until the suspension is over.

They also can exceed the legal limit for intoxication and still drive a moped or similar two-wheeled vehicle with impunity.

Lawmakers finally decided this year to enact some practical rules regarding the use of mopeds. Under a bill passed during the recent session, mopeds would be registered with the S.C. Department of Motor Vehicles, and moped drivers who don't have a regular driver's license would have had to obtain a special moped operator's license.

Significantly, the bill also would have allowed officers to charge intoxicated moped drivers with drunken driving.

As an added safety measure, moped drivers would have had to wear reflective vests at night, and those 21 or younger would have been required to wear helmets. But Haley vetoed the bill because of the helmet provision.

People over 18 "should decide for themselves what they should wear for their personal safety," she wrote in her veto message.

Advocates for the bill said it was no more intrusive than the law requiring drivers and passengers in cars to wear seat belts.

They also pointed out that the helmet rule is supported by the motorcycle advocacy group ABATE – which stands for A Brotherhood Against Totalitarian Enactments.

"We supported them having the same regulations that we as motorcyclists have," said ABATE spokesman Chad Fuller.

In South Carolina, 50 people died in moped crashes last year, up from 32 deaths in 2013. So far this year, at least 16 people have died in moped accidents.

These small vehicles, which usually travel no faster than 35 mph, are especially vulnerable to being hit by cars and trucks. And the danger increases significantly at night.

Safety measures such as reflective vests could help reduce night-time accidents. And rules requiring registration and licensing, and allowing police to cite drivers for DUI would have gone a long way in helping officers regulate mopeds.

We think safety should have taken precedence over Haley's libertarian views on this issue. Unfortunately, the House vote failed to override her veto.

Once again the state fails to put safety first.

Title: **Don't talk about how she died.... alk about her legacy'**
 Author: BY JASON RYAN Special to The State
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EMANUEL: A YEAR LATER

'Don't talk about how she died. ... Talk about her legacy'

A 9-year-old grandchild asks: 'Will I be shot in church, too?'

A brother says: 'We have to talk about these issues, uncomfortable as they may be'

Families of the Emanuel Nine are united in one key respect: They do not define their relatives as victims

BY JASON RYAN
 Special to The State
 CHARLESTON

Nine-year-old Kennedy Singleton had a question.

"Why did that man shoot my granny?"

It was a tough question, but Kennedy's aunt, Denise Quarles, calmly told her niece that the man didn't understand her grandmother. Granny had done nothing wrong; the man just didn't like black people.

Then, Kennedy asked another tough question.

"Will I be shot in a church, too?"

So go the family conversations in the wake of one of South Carolina's most horrific crimes, when a basement Bible study became a bloodbath a year

ago.

On the evening of June 17, 2015, a 21-year-old white man from the Midlands joined a Bible study at Emanuel AME Church in downtown Charleston. An hour later, Dylann Roof is charged with starting a racism-inspired rampage, interrupting the discussion by shooting nine African-American churchgoers dead.

Among those killed was Myra Thompson, nine-year-old Kennedy's grandmother and Quarles' mother.

As they prepare to mark the first anniversary of the shootings, Kennedy, Quarles and other grieving relatives have mourned their lost kin in different ways.

Some cannot speak of

the departed without crying; others can.

Some have strong feelings about the justice that should occur in the coming months or years; others are less opinionated, content to let God have the final word.

Yet the families are united in one key respect: They do not define their relatives as victims.

Rather, the families associated with the Charleston church shooting remember their lost relatives as the many things they were before they took their last breath: mothers and fathers, grandparents, children, siblings, friends, spiritual leaders, teacher, barber, librarian, politician, custodian, coach, college counselor and more.

They remember their senses of humor, their quirks, thoughtfulness and favorite sayings. They re-

member their presence during so many pivotal parts of their family's existence, long before they were taken away during a few moments of gunfire.

'SHE WASN'T JUST A VICTIM'

Quarles' mother, Thompson, had been a teacher in North Charleston for many years, helping shepherd rambunctious middle school students.

Thompson also was the matriarch of her family, keeping tabs on relatives and organizing family functions. Quarles talked to her mother a few times

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each day. She also received plenty of texts, emails, FaceTime requests and recommended articles from her mother.

Now, she receives no messages, and Quarles is left to fill her shoes.

"I never thought I would have to do it this soon," she said.

Quarles' brother, Kevin Singleton, who is Kennedy's father, has responded to the tragedy by creating a nonprofit, Passion to Forgive, that helps students.

During the holidays, the nonprofit distributed toys to children. This month, it awarded five scholarships to high school students.

Singleton said the nonprofit honors the struggles and successes of his mother, who became pregnant with Singleton as a teenager but still completed a college education.

At Thompson's funeral last year, the church was filled by mourners. Until that moment, Quarles said, she did not fully appreciate the network of love and friendship her mother had enjoyed.

"She wasn't just a victim. She was a person. She had a family. She loved people. Always wanted to help," said Quarles, who lives in Atlanta.

Malcolm Graham feels similarly about his sister, Cynthia Graham Hurd, who also perished in the church shooting.

"We don't talk about how she died. ... We talk about her legacy, we celebrate her life," said Graham, a former City Councilman in Charlotte.

Hurd was a wife, an aunt, a friend and a sorority sister for many of her 54 years of life, as well as a longtime Charleston County librarian, he says.

Since her passing, college scholarships and a literacy foundation have been created in her honor.

"She was so many other things than a victim," said Graham,

It is the same for those remembering Depayne Middleton.

Middleton's death is considered an ugly punctuation to an otherwise full and beautiful life.

Ten years separated Middleton from her cousin, Waltrina Middleton, yet Waltrina remembers her cousin like a beloved big sister.

It was Depayne who helped Waltrina buy her first bra as she came of age in rural Hollywood, about 20 miles west of Charleston. It was Depayne who helped fashion Waltrina's hair for her first day of high school.

Years later, Depayne had become a mother. Waltrina watched her cousin lavish that same sweet affection on her four daughters.

"People loved her because she was very attentive and was very present with you. ... She gave our family so much life and energy," said Waltrina Middleton, who lives in Cleveland, Ohio, and is a minister at United Church of Christ.

Altogether, the families of those who perished at Emanuel AME are unwilling to permit a moment of violence to hijack the previously established narratives of their loved one's lives.

"I do miss her dearly. Every day and every hour," Nadine Collier of North Charleston said of her late mother, Ethel Lance.

"(But) I don't have no

regrets with my mom," Collier continued. "I treated her like a queen while she was alive, and I will continue treating her like a queen while she's dead."

'WE HAVE TO TALK ABOUT THESE ISSUES'

Much has occurred since the tragedy at Emanuel AME, both locally and nationally:

- A nation fatigued of mass shootings winced again, appalled by the suspect's racial hatred and the perversity of the massacre's setting – within a holy house. The crime struck a nerve nationally, enough to warrant the appearance of President Barack Obama at the funeral of the Rev. Clementa Pinckney, a state senator and the slain leader of Emanuel AME.

- In a reaction to Roof's allegedly racist motives, S.C. leaders removed the Confederate flag, long a

divisive symbol, from the grounds of the State House and relocated it to a museum.

- The nation's gun laws were given fresh scrutiny, as many wondered how Roof, who previously had been arrested on drug charges, legally could obtain the firearm allegedly used in the killings.

- Several relatives of the shooting victims astonished onlookers at a bond hearing for Roof, offering the suspect forgiveness for the slayings, which had occurred less than two days earlier. Such sentiments were credited with helping avoid additional violence following the shooting and contributed to Emanuel AME being nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

- Roof, meanwhile, is

facing the death penalty in both state and federal courts for charges stemming from the church slayings.

The families of those killed in the church basement pay Roof little attention. Most relatives won't even speak his name.

By and large, they do not view Roof's actions as those of an unhinged and delusional loner, but as a product of the racism that stubbornly lingers in the United States, a century and a half after slavery was abolished and half a century after the U.S. civil rights movement was in its throes.

"Racism is taught, it's not the way you were born," said Quarles, who thinks racial violence can be stemmed by encouraging children to interact with all races and to look beyond differences that are only skin deep.

As a child, Quarles attended Buist Academy for Advanced Studies, a magnet school in downtown Charleston, across the street from Emanuel AME.

"I went to integrated schools," said Quarles, who reconnected with some of her schoolmates after the tragedy. "Those classmates who don't look like me were some of the first ones to reach out to comfort me."

But many school populations in South Carolina remain racially skewed, and other victims' relatives bemoan the limited support they perceive is received by predominantly black schools, citing, for example, recent closures of rural black schools.

The school problems reflect a wider lack of concern for blacks in so-

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ciety, some family members say.

Graham wonders when S.C. legislators will follow up on the removal of the Confederate flag and address other social issues that deeply affect blacks, including the expansion of Medicaid, inadequate public-school funding and a criminal-justice system that disproportionately imprisons black males.

"We have to talk about these issues, uncomfortable as they may be," said Graham.

In Waltrina Middleton's opinion, racist public policies and attitudes persist, too, even if they are not as blatant as they once were.

As a teenager, Middleton remembers the suspicious stares she received from store employees when making a trip to a Charleston mall, as if she was sure to shoplift.

"You're conditioned from birth, childhood at least, to be afraid, to behave a certain way," says Middleton. "No one should live like that."

More recently, she noted how state leaders, including Gov. Nikki Haley, responded to longstanding calls for the removal of the Confederate flag only after the slaying of nine black men and women.

"Now, we have the removal of the flag when the world is watching," says Middleton, who thinks Haley addresses inequality only "when it is politically expedient for her."

And while Haley and other leaders, including a former leader of Emanuel AME, praised South Carolinians for responding to the tragedy with grace and

not additional violence, Middleton, Graham and others worry that response can be interpreted as too passive.

"Too often, we skip ahead to a narrative of forgiveness," said Middleton, with everyone holding hands and singing "We Shall Overcome."

It's important, she said, to "hold the evil to the light."

'I DON'T BELIEVE IN ... HATRED'

When Collier, who lost her mother, addressed Roof at his bond hearing last June, the world was shocked by the compassion she and others exhibited.

"I forgive you," Collier said in court. "You took something very precious from me. I will never talk to her again. I will never, ever hold her again. But I forgive you. And have mercy on your soul."

Collier says she was surprised by the attention paid to her remarks. She knew no other way to react.

"I don't believe in having hatred in my heart," she said recently, before reciting a lesson from her mother: "Don't do what people do to you. You're bigger than that. You're better than that."

Collier is fond of saying "forgiveness is power." But, a year after the shooting, she still occasionally is powerless to control her grieving.

She has good days and bad days, the bad days occurring more often than she would like.

On bad days, she said, her appetite goes missing, she doesn't want to talk to anyone, and she cries. She

cries a lot, she says, and sometimes cannot stop.

Collier does not sugarcoat the fact that Roof's alleged actions deeply hurt her family and others. She does not understand what Roof was hoping to accomplish by shooting nine people dead.

Still, despite her pain and lack of understanding, Collier expresses sympathy for her mother's alleged killer.

"He's not a man. This is a child - still learning life. Now, all his life is gone," says Collier. "I'm not saying what he did was right, but I feel bad for him, too."

Collier notes Roof never likely will attend college, never marry, never have children. At age 21, his life was just beginning. Now, the government is trying to end it through the death penalty.

'HATE HAS TO BE SENTENCED'

While some family members of those slain declined to comment on the death penalty, Charlotte's Graham says he thinks Roof should be executed if he is found guilty of the charges, which Graham described as a "premeditated, calculated, sinister" attack on a race of people, a church and "humanity itself."

"He has showed no signs of remorse. He has not asked for forgiveness," said Graham. "Hate has to be put on trial. Hate has to be prosecuted. Hate has to be sentenced publicly."

Quarles, too, supports the death penalty for her mother's alleged killer.

She refuses, too, to be

held hostage by his actions and let his actions dictate the story of her own life.

As she gently told her niece, Kennedy, no, she could not promise she would not be shot in a church. But that doesn't mean she or anyone else should expect to encounter the same violence Kennedy's grandmother suffered.

"I'm not going to live life in fear," said Quarles, "thinking that's going to happen to me."

“

'SHE WASN'T JUST A VICTIM. SHE WAS A PERSON. SHE HAD A FAMILY. SHE LOVED PEOPLE.'

Denise Quarles on her mother, Myra Thompson, one of nine parishioners slain last June at Emanuel AME Church

“

TOO OFTEN, WE SKIP AHEAD TO A NARRATIVE OF FORGIVENESS ... (IT'S IMPORTANT TO) HOLD THE EVIL TO THE LIGHT.'

Waltrina Middleton, whose cousin, Depayne Middleton, was among those slain at Emanuel

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Agriculture has deep roots in Western York County

LONGTIMERS AND MORE RECENT ARRIVALS, TOO, KEEP TRADITION ALIVE

By JENNIFER BECKNELL
 jbecknell@heraldonline.com

Farming was a way of life for settlers who began to arrive in Western York County in the 1700s. Though its economy today includes a range of business and industry, agriculture still plays a key role in the local scene.

Farmers include longtimers like Clover's Evelyn Edmunds, 87, who still roams her 300-acre property in a little red pickup truck, checking daily on a herd of about 55 Angus cattle that come running when she calls.

"You're outside, you're close to God and you don't have anybody hollering at you," Edmunds said. "But it's hard work, and you're always dirty. You're never nice and clean."

Edmunds has spent most of her life running the family's Circle E Farm on U.S. 321 south of

Clover, where turkeys and black Angus cattle are raised and hay is cultivated.

She and her husband, John Edmunds, began farming in 1950. He died of a heart attack in 1978, at 48, when three of the couple's six children were still at home.

Edmunds took over management of Circle E Farm with matter-of-fact efficiency. Those who know her call her a "trailblazer" for women in farming.

Edmunds has been a mentor for women in agriculture, and encouraged youths to pursue careers in agriculture through 4-H, Scouting and Angus associations.

Gov. Nikki Haley last year awarded Edmunds the Order of the Palmetto, the highest civilian honor in South Carolina.

Edmunds said farming has been a good life. "I wouldn't trade it," she said. "I thought,

when I lost my husband, what would I do? You think you can't make it, but with the Lord helping and working, you can."

'Doing it the way grandman used to'

The region's farming community includes many more recent arrivals, too, like Dave and Bonita Horne, who grew up in Charlotte and moved to York in 1993, then later to the Clover area.

About a year ago, the couple opened The Cabin at Rick Ridge Farm, a roadside market next to their Ridge Road home outside Clover.

They sell grass-fed beef, pork, chicken and fresh eggs that they raise on the 3.5-acre farm, as well as a limited amount of fresh produce.

The livestock is raised without growth hormones and antibiotics, Horne said, in keeping

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FARMING

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with their goal to raise their own food as naturally as possible.

"That was really the reason we started raising our own meat," Bonita said, referring to the livestock. "We wanted to get back to doing it the way grandma used to do it."

The couple say they cultivate about 80 percent of their own food, from vegetable beds and fruit trees

where they grow produce and from livestock they raise.

When friends and others began showing an interest in the natural, home-grown products the Hornes raised for their own food, they began to consider a business venture.

Meat, honey and eggs are their most popular products, Dave said. "When we started this, I said I'd

rather do a few things really good than a whole bunch of things mediocre," he said.

'Come a long way'

The region that attracts visitors far and wide for its summer peach crop has several large family-owned farms and roadside produce markets.

They include Black's Peaches,

owned by Arthur Black; Ben Smith's The Peach Tree; and Bush-n-Vine, owned by Bob and Susan Hall, among others.

Sam Hall, son of Bob Hall, said Bush-N-Vine is unusual among strawberry growers in that it has successfully employed growing techniques to extend the berry season from six or eight weeks out

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of the year to 36 to 38 weeks.

"We've come a long way," Hall said.

"When my dad first started, we grew strawberries for three or four weeks out of the year," Hall said. "And that is typically the spring strawberry season."

But Hall said planting the berries with their roots covered by plastic helps them come in earlier.

Row covers and covered tunnel growing areas also are employed to grow berries later in the summer and in the fall and winter.

Hall said the farm on U.S. 321 north of York hosted a visit last year by produce growers from across the Carolinas to share what they've learned.

"Most people are done with strawberries by the middle of

June, and we try to carry them over to the Fourth of July," he said. In the fall, Hall said, the farm aims to pick fresh strawberries from October until January.

"We pride ourselves in having a lot of different fruits and vegetables that we grow ourselves," Hall said. "But strawberries in particular, we try to grow them as many weeks out of the year as possible."

**'You're outside,
you're close to
God and you don't
have anybody
hollering at you.'**

EVELYN EDMUNDS, CLOVER FARMER



ANDY BURRISS aburriess@heraldonline.com

Clover farmer Evelyn Edmunds was honored last year with the S.C. Order of the Palmetto.

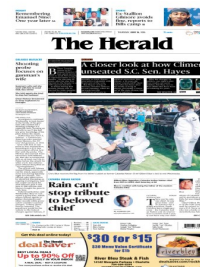
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Herald file photo

Dave Horne, owner of Rock Ridge Farm near Clover with his wife, Bonita, tends produce beds. The farm raises and sells grass-fed beef, pork and chicken.

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POLITICS

A closer look at how Climer unseated S.C. Sen. Hayes

BY BRISTOW MARCHANT

bmarchant@heraldonline.com

ROCK HILL

Before Tuesday, voters in S.C. Senate District 17 had opted seven times to send Wes Hayes to represent them in Columbia – for the past 25 years, after he was first elected to the Senate in a

1991 special election.

At times during that stretch, Hayes was re-elected by wide margins or ran unopposed. As recently as 2012, Hayes returned to Columbia with 74 percent of the vote.

But Hayes' string of election victories came to

an end Tuesday, when he narrowly lost the Republican primary to

political newcomer Wes Climer, a 33-year-old former county GOP chairman who has been alive for nearly as long as Hayes, previously a member of the state House, has

been a legislator.

Why the change? In politics, one night's election results can seem sudden, but they can reflect shifts that have been percolating for years.

SEE SENATOR, 6A

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SENATOR

FROM PAGE 1A

Hayes may be the latest victim of an anti-incumbent wave that's shaken up politics in recent years. Climer was endorsed by Gov. Nikki Haley, who clashed with several other senior Republican senators over her legislative agenda.

"I wouldn't say Haley has that kind of impact here, but her political philosophy does," said Rick Whisonant, political science professor at York Technical College. Whisonant characterizes that philosophy as a carryover from the tea party movement that had such an impact on the 2010 elections.

Scott Huffmon, a Winthrop University professor and director of the Winthrop Poll, thinks Haley's endorsement was less consequential than the money and advertising that poured into the race on Climer's behalf by the Haley-affiliated Great Day SC PAC and the Club for Growth.

"Those same ads were used in other races, but they were not as effective," Huffmon said, "but here they fell on fertile ground."

Climer said he regularly encountered frustrated

voters leading up to his narrow victory in the primary. Climer won with 51 percent of the vote, over Hayes' 48 percent.

"I must have knocked on thousands of doors, and what I heard were people frustrated with legislative failure, who want to pave roads, fix our schools and pass ethics laws," Climer said. "It is part of a broad national trend of people who are dissatisfied with government that is incompetent and ineffective."

More recently than the tea party movement, that trend became the wave of support for Donald Trump in February's South Carolina presidential primary.

"The Trump vote was about an outsider bashing the insiders," Huffmon said. "So they would be open to the same argument."

Some of the precincts that supported Hayes on Tuesday were holdouts against Trump's insurgent wave that carried all 46 South Carolina counties: Fewell Park, Northwestern and Rock Hill 5 preferred Marco Rubio, while Ebenezer, Friendship and Rock Hill 7 voted for Ted Cruz.

In that environment, even Hayes concedes long

experience in government office can be more of a negative than a positive in voters' eyes.

"It can be hindrance," the senator said the day after the results came in. "You can debate whether or not it should be, but the perception is that it was time for a change."

It didn't help that the district's demographics changed at the same time as politics did. As York County has grown in recent years, the voter rolls added many conservative-leaning residents who don't have long-term knowledge of the longtime senator. In River Hills, one of the fastest-growing parts of the district along Lake Wylie, voters opted for Climer over Hayes by 357 to 129.

"It's not so nice for me, but it's a nice problem for the area to have," Hayes said. "I take a lot of pride in our growth, but it is an issue in politics."

Whisonant sees new voters without a longtime familiarity with local conditions as more apt to take a reflexively anti-incumbent position.

"They don't really understand the culture of South Carolina politics, so they can pin Hayes as part of the establishment,"

Whisonant said. "Hayes is not a liberal by any means, but he's also not representative of where the Republican Party has gone in the last 10 years."

Whereas Hayes was often a compromising figure in the Legislature, conservative voters today "are in no mood for compromise," Whisonant said, and Climer was well-positioned to take advantage of that.

"It required somebody who had the inside track on the Republican Party and the conservative movement," he said. "It's not that anybody could run and beat Wes Hayes."

In fact, I think Climer's the only one who could have done it."

The winning candidate said it was a positive, forward-looking vision that did more to carry the day than a negative voter mood.

"It would be a mistake to conclude this is all about frustration," Climer said. "At the end of the day, people want their government to work, and we ran a hard campaign on fixing it."

Bristow Marchant:
 803-329-4062,
 @BristowatHome



Climer

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Hayes

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NC nearing approval of border adjustment

ASSOCIATED PRESS

RALEIGH, N.C. - The North Carolina legislature is now one vote away from agreeing to details associated with a more exact drawing of the state's original border with South Carolina.

The House gave tentative approval Wednesday to a bill affirming the boundary redrawn using GPS technology. The bill also addresses people who believed they lived or ran businesses in North Carolina but actually are in South Carolina. For example, students can keep attending their North Carolina public school and receive in-state tuition.

The House must complete one more vote before the bill goes to Gov. Pat McCrory. The Senate already approved it.

South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley signed a similar bill June 10.

Boundary work began in the 1990s after it was determined the 18th-century boundary was off due to old surveying techniques.