

In a nation enamored of the lowest common denominators, what intrigued him were the highest. He spent most of his long life, and a vast amount of money, about \$1 billion all in all, buying for the rest of us the sorts of private mental pleasures that he had come to value most—not just the big ones of great art, great buildings and great books, but the little ones of quietude, of just sitting in the sand amid the waving dune grass, looking out to sea.

He died Monday night at home at Oak Spring, his house near Upperville, Va. Cancer had weakened him. Mellon was 91.

Twenty-five years ago, while speaking at his daughter's high school graduation, that cheerful, thoughtful, courtly and unusual philanthropist delivered an assertion that could stand for his epitaph:

"What this country needs is a good five-cent reverie.

Mellon's money helped buy us the 28,625-acre Cape Hatteras National Seashore. He gave Virginia its Sky Meadows State Park. In refurbishing Lafayette Square, he put in chess tables, so that there's something to do there other than just stare at the White House. He gave \$500,000 for restoring Monticello. He gave Yale University his collection of ancient, arcane volumes of alchemy and magic. He published the *I Ching*, the Chinese "book of changes," a volume of oracles. And then there is the art.

I am deeply in his debt. You probably are, too.

If you've ever visited the National Gallery of Art, you have felt his hospitality. Its scholarship, its graciousness, its range and installations—all these are Mellonian.

It was Mellon, in the 1930s, who supervised the construction of its West Building, with its fountains and marble stairs and greenhouse for growing the most beautiful fresh flowers. After hiring I.M. Pei to design the East Building, Mellon supervised its construction, and then filled both buildings with art. Mellon gave the gallery 900 works, among them 40 by Degas, 15 by Cezanne, many Winslow Homers and five van Goghs—and this is just a part of his donations. His sporting pictures went to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, and his British ones to Yale University, where Louis I. Kahn designed the fine museum that holds them.

At home, he hung the art himself. He never used a measuring tape; he didn't need to. He had the most observant eye.

"I have a very strong feeling about seeing things," he said once. "I have, for example, a special feeling about how French pictures ought to be shown, and how English pictures ought to be shown. I think my interest in pictures is a bit the same as my interest in landscape or architecture, in looking at horses or enjoying the country. They all have to do with being pleased with what you see."

He would not have called himself an artist, but I would. It was not just his collecting, or the scholarship he paid for, or the museums that he built, all of which were remarkable. Nobody did more to broadcast to the rest of us the profound rewards of art.

He was fortunate, and knew it. He had comfortable homes in Paris, Antigua, Manhattan and Nantucket, and more money than he needed. His Choate-and-Yale-and-Cambridge education was distinguished. So were his friends. Queen Elizabeth II used to come for lunch. His horses were distinguished. He bred Quadrangle and Arts and Letters and a colt named Sea Hero, who won the Kentucky Derby. "A hundred years from now," said

Mellon, "the only place my name will turn up anywhere will be in the studbook, for I was the breeder of Mill Reef." His insistence on high quality might have marked him as elitist, but he was far too sound a character to seem any sort of snob.

His manners were impeccable. Just ask the gallery's older guards, or the guys who groomed his horses. When you met him, his eyes twinkled. He joked impishly and easily. Once, during an interview, he opened his wallet to show me a headline he had clipped from the Daily Telegraph: "Farmer, 84, Dies in Mole Vendetta." He liked the sound of it.

There was an if-it-ain't-broke-don't-fix-it spirit to his luxuries. They were well patinaed. His Mercedes was a '68. His jet wasn't new, and neither were his English suits or his handmade shoes. The martinis he served—half gin, half vodka—were 1920s killers. There was a butler, but he shook them himself. He said he'd always liked the sound of ice cubes against silver.

Nothing in his presence told you that Paul Mellon had been miserable when young.

His childhood might easily have crushed him. His father, Andrew W. Mellon—one of the nation's richest men and the secretary of the Treasury—had been grim and ice-cube cold.

Paul Mellon loved him. It could not have been easy. "I do not know, and I doubt anyone will ever know," he wrote, "why Father was so seemingly devoid of feeling and so tightly contained in his lifeless, hard shell."

His parents had warred quietly. Paul was still a boy when their marriage ended coldly, in a flurry of detectives. His sister, Ailsa, never quite recovered. Paul never quite forgot his own nervousness and nausea and feelings of inadequacy. It seems a stretch to use this term for someone born so wealthy, but Paul Mellon was a self-made man.

Most rich Americans, then as now, saw it as their duty to grow richer. Mellon didn't. When he found his inner compass, and abandoned thoughts of making more money, and said so to his father, he was 29 years old.

First he wrote himself a letter. "The years of habit have encased me in a lump of ice, like the people in my dreams," he wrote. "When I get into any personal conversation with Father, I become congealed and afraid to speak. . . . Business. What does he really expect me to do, or to be? Does he want me to be a great financier. . . ? The mass of accumulations, the responsibilities of great financial institutions, appall me. My mind is not attuned to it. . . . I have some very important things to do still in my life, although I am not sure what they are. . . . I want to do in the end things that I enjoy. . . . What does he think life is for? Why is business. . . more important than the acceptance and digestion of ideas? Than the academic life, say, or the artistic? What does it really matter in the end what you do, as long as you are being true to yourself?"

So Mellon changed his life. He gave up banking. He moved to Virginia. He started breeding horses. And then, in 1940, after having spent so many years at Cambridge and at Yale, Mellon went back to school. To St. John's College in Annapolis. To study the Great Books.

(Mellon later gave more than \$13 million to St. John's.)

His path had been determined. Though deflected by World War II—he joined the cavalry, then the OSS—Mellon would continue on it for the rest of his long life. As his friend the mythologist Joseph Campbell might have put it (it was Mellon who published Campbell's "The Hero With a Thou-

sand Faces"), Paul Mellon had determined to follow his own bliss.

He was curious about mysticism, so he studied with Carl Jung. He liked deep, expansive books, so he began to publish the best he could discover. Bollingen Series, his book venture, eventually put out 275 well-made volumes, among them the *I Ching*, Andre Malraux's "Museum Without Walls," Ibn Khaldun's "The Muqadimah," Vladimir Nabokov's translations from Pushkin, and Kenneth Clark's "The Nude."

Because Mellon liked high scholarship, he started giving scholars money. Elias Caetti, who received his Nobel prize for literature in 1981, got his first Bollingen grant in 1985. Others—there were more than 300 in all—went to such thinkers as the sculptor Isamu Noguchi (who was paid to study leisure), the poet Marianne Moore, and the art historian Meyer Schapiro.

Because Mellon liked poetry, he established the Bollingen Prize for poetry. The first went to Ezra Pound, the second to Wallace Stevens.

Mellon loved horses. So he started buying horse pictures. He had had a great time at Cambridge—"I loved," he wrote, "its gray walls, its grassy quadrangles, its busy, narrow streets full of men in black gowns . . . the candlelight, the coal-fire smell, and walking across the Quadrangle in a dressing gown in the rain to take a bath."

Though America's libraries were full of English books, America's museums were not full of English art. It didn't really count. What mattered was French painting and Italian painting. Mellon didn't care. He thought that if you were reading Chaucer or Dickens or Jane Austen, you ought to have a chance to see what England really looked like. Mellon knew. He remembered. He remembered "huge dark trees in rolling parks, herds of small friendly deer . . . soldiers in scarlet and bright metal, drums and bugles, troops of gray horses, laughing ladies in white, and always behind them and behind everything the grass was green, green, green." So Mellon formed (surprisingly inexpensively) and then gave away (characteristically generously) the world's best private collection of depictive English art.

He knew what he was doing. As he knew what he was doing when he took up fox hunting, competitive trail riding and the 20th-century abstract paintings of Mark Rothko and Richard Diebenkorn.

He was following his bliss.

He didn't really plan it that way. He just went for it. "Most of my decisions," he said, "in every department of my life, whether philanthropy, business or human relations, and perhaps even racing and breeding, are the results of intuition. . . . My father once described himself as a 'slow thinker.' It applies to me as well. The hunches or impulses that I act upon, whether good or bad, just seem to rise out of my head like one of those thought balloons in the comic strips."

That wasn't bragging. Mellon wasn't a braggart. He wasn't being falsely modest, either. Mellon knew the value of what it was he'd done.

Mellon was a patriot, a good guy and a gentleman. He had a healthy soul. What he did was this:

With wit and taste and gentleness, with the highest self-indulgence and the highest generosity, he made the lives of all of us a little bit like his.●

NUCLEAR WASTE STORAGE

● Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I rise today to express my commitment to

make the Nuclear Waste Storage Bill an early priority during the 106th Congress. More than 15 years ago, Congress directed the Department of Energy (DOE) to take responsibility for the disposal of nuclear waste created by commercial nuclear power plants and our nation's defense programs.

Today there are more than 100,000 tons of spent nuclear fuel that must be dealt with. One year has now passed since the DOE was absolutely obligated under the NWPA of 1982 to begin accepting spent nuclear fuel from utility sites, and DOE is no closer today in coming up with a solution. This is unacceptable. The law is clear, and DOE must meet its obligation. If the Department of Energy does not live up to its responsibility, Congress will act.

I am encouraged that the House of Representatives has begun to address this issue. A bill introduced by Representatives FRED UPTON and ED TOWNS of the House's Commerce Committee would set up a temporary storage site at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, for this waste until a permanent repository is approved and built. It is good to see bipartisan cosponsors for a safe, practical and workable solution for America's spent fuel storage needs. This solution is certainly more responsible than leaving waste at 105 separate power plants in 34 states across the nation. There are 29 sites which will reach capacity by the end of 1999. All of America's experience in waste management over the last twenty-five years of improving environmental protection has taught Congress that safe, effective waste handling practices entail centralized, permitted, and controlled facilities to gather and manage accumulated waste.

Mr. President, the management of used nuclear fuel should capitalize on this knowledge and experience. Nearly 100 communities have spent fuel sitting in their "backyard," and it needs to be moved. This lack of storage capacity could very possibly cause the closing of several nuclear power plants. These affected plants produce nearly 20% of the United States' electricity. Closing these plants just does not make sense.

Nuclear energy is a significant part of America's energy future, and must remain part of the energy mix. America needs nuclear power to maintain our secure, reliable, and affordable supplies of electricity at the same time the nation addresses increasingly stringent air quality requirements. Nuclear power is one of the best ways America can address those who say global warming is a problem—a subject I'll leave for another day.

Both the House and the Senate passed a bill in the 105th Congress to require the DOE to build this interim storage site in Nevada, but unfortunately this bill never completed the legislative process. I challenge my colleagues in both chambers of the 106th

Congress to get this environmental bill done. The citizens, in some 100 communities where fuel is stored today, challenge the Congress to act and get this bill done. This nuclear industry has already committed to the federal government about \$15 billion toward building the facility. In fact, the nuclear industry continues to pay about \$650 million a year in fees for storage of spent fuel. It is time for the federal government to live up to its commitment. It is time for the federal government to protect those 100 communities.

To ensure that the federal government meets its commitment to states and electricity consumers, the 106th Congress must mandate completion of this program—a program that includes temporary storage, a site for permanent disposal, and a transportation infrastructure to safely move used fuel from plants to the storage facility.

Mr. President, this federal foot dragging is unfortunate and unacceptable, so clearly the only remedy to stopping these continued delays is timely action in the 106th Congress on this legislation.●

RECOGNITION OF NATHAN SCHACHT

● Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I rise today to commend and congratulate Nathan Schacht of Walla Walla, Washington, who was awarded the rank of Eagle Scout rank, the Boy Scout of America's highest honor, on January 19, 1999.

Nathan is the son of Don and Margaret Schacht and a sophomore at DeSales Catholic High School. He began scouting five years ago with the Eastgate Lions Troop 305 and moved onto the Cub Scout program with Pack 309.

Nathan and I share a common love for the outdoors. During his tenure with the Boy Scouts he logged over 70 miles of hiking and 70 miles of canoeing; earned the 50 Miler Afloat award; camped 63 nights and earned 31 merit badges. He recently completed his term as Senior Patrol Leader for Troop 305. He has been a member of the Order of the Arrow since 1996 and was awarded his Eagle Cap Credentials in 1997.

His Eagle project involved building a recycling center for Assumption Elementary School. He spent over 115 hours planning and carrying out this project which included contacting donors for the materials and working with the volunteers in all phases of the project. He secured over \$700 in donated materials and 261 hours of volunteer time.

Nathan also participates in other activities in his school and community. He participates in the football, basketball, and golf programs at DeSales High School, as well as band, drama and National Honor Society. He has served as a page in the Washington

State House of Representatives and as an altar server for the past seven years at Assumption Catholic Church.

I am confident that Nathan will continue to be a positive role model among his peers, a leader in his community and a friend to those in need. I extend my sincerest congratulations and best wishes to him. His achievement of Eagle Scout and significant contributions to the Walla Walla community are truly outstanding.●

ON THE MOTIONS TO OPEN TO THE PUBLIC THE FINAL DELIBERATIONS ON THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT

● Mr. LEAHY. In relation to the earlier vote, I have these thoughts. Accustomed as we and the American people are to having our proceedings in the Senate open to the public and subject to press coverage, the most striking prescription in the "Rules of Procedure and Practice in the Senate when Sitting on Impeachment Trials" has been the closed deliberations required on any question, motion and now on the final vote on the Articles of Impeachment.

The requirement of closed deliberation more than any other rule reflects the age in which the rules were originally adopted in 1868. Even in 1868, however, not everyone favored secrecy. During the trial of President Johnson, the senior Senator from Vermont, George F. Edmunds, moved to have the closed deliberations on the Articles transcribed and officially reported "in order that the world might know, without diminution or exaggeration, the reasons and views upon which we proceed to our judgment." [Cong. Globe Supp'l, Impeachment Trial of President Andrew Johnson, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., vol. 4, p. 424.] The motion was tabled.

In the 130 years that have passed since that time, the Senate has seen the advent of television in the Senate Chamber, instant communication and rapid news cycles, distribution of Senate documents over the Internet, the addition of 46 Senators representing 23 additional States, and the direct election of Senators by the people in our States.

Opening deliberations would help further the dual purposes of our rules to promote fairness and political accountability in the impeachment process. I supported the motion by Senators HARKIN, WELLSTONE and others to suspend this rule requiring closed deliberations and to open our deliberations on Senator BYRD's motion to dismiss and at other points earlier in this trial. We were unsuccessful. Now that we are approaching our final deliberations on the Articles of Impeachment, themselves, I hope that this secrecy rule will be suspended so that the Senate's deliberations are open and the American people can see them. In a matter