

mental body. They argued that they could combine both the pure science of the academic world and product development of the drug industry; that they could excel as both scientists and inspired entrepreneurs; that armed with these powerful tools and their own inspiration, they could, like some romantic hero, transcend the realities of corporate life.

If biotechnology entrepreneurs, with the help of the press, were being manipulative, then it was Wall Street and ultimately investors who were being manipulated. Wall Street is not absent of malice in this story. Teitelman suggests that Wall Street got caught up in and even fueled the mania because it was ignorant and perhaps too greedy to learn more about the limits of the technology. The later chapters of the book focus on how the "revolution" began to unravel in the mid-1980s as technical and commercial hurdles (which were not part of the mythos) became too compelling to ignore any longer.

The principal strength of *Gene Dreams* lies in its exploration of the process by which beliefs about technology and its commercial potential are formed and transformed. The book reminds us that these beliefs, whether or not they ultimately turn out to be sound, sway billions of investment dollars. Thus it is useful to think about where they come from and how specific groups and institutions shape them. Teitelman's detailed exploration of Genetic Systems and his gifts as a writer enable *Gene Dreams* to tell a graphic story about the interaction of entrepreneurs, the press, and Wall Street.

At the same time, the book's focus on the experience of Genetic Systems is also one of its principal weaknesses. While the story of Genetic Systems may be very accurately told, we do not know (from this book) how typical it is. Teitelman says that he chose Genetic Systems as the central case "because it seemed to illuminate more aspects of the industry than any other." However, one is left wondering whether the Genetic Systems case may not be somewhat extreme. The book places strong emphasis on the personalities of Genetic Systems' founders, David and Isaac Blech and Bob Nowinski. It does an outstanding job illustrating how founders' backgrounds, styles, and personalities shape a start-up firm's strategy and affect its fate. However, if founders' personalities play such an important role, then it is natural to wonder the extent to which Genetic Systems' founders were typical biotechnology entrepreneurs. This question is difficult to answer, and the book provides little relevant evidence. The fact that Genetic Systems has been one of the relatively few biotechnology firms to be fully acquired by a major pharmaceutical company suggests

that its experience has not been typical. Skeptics will question whether the case of Genetic Systems fairly represents the biotechnology entrepreneur and the financial community.

Diversity is a fundamental and important characteristic of the biotechnology industry. There are several hundred firms around the world engaged in various aspects of biotechnology. These firms represent a highly heterogeneous group in terms of founders' backgrounds, financial resources, R&D focus, manufacturing capabilities, and commercialization strategies. *Gene Dreams* filters out much of this diversity by compressing the story of the biotechnology industry into the case of Genetic Systems.

*Gene Dreams* is not for someone looking for a rigorous, scholarly, and comprehensive examination of the development of the biotechnology industry. However, if one is looking for a concrete, exciting, and eloquently written story about the rise of biotechnology mania and its fall back to reality *Gene Dreams* is a good choice.

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## Metrology Institutionalized

**An Institute for an Empire.** The Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt, 1871–1918. DAVID CAHAN. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989. xx, 315 pp., illus. \$49.50.

In subtle ways measurement ties industry, research, government, and consumers together. It forms a basis for making work in laboratories usable elsewhere and, perhaps more obviously, it makes possible mass production, consumption, and regulation. The benefits of national and even international systems of measurement became increasingly evident in the latter part of the 19th century. As a result, several nations followed the lead of the newly unified Germany in creating new institutions to establish standards for measurement. In 1887 Germany founded the Imperial Physical-Technical Institute (PTR)—a translation of the subtitle given above. The British opened the National Physical Laboratory in 1899, and two years later the United States formed the Bureau of Standards.

David Cahan describes the origins and development of the PTR from 1871, when Germany was unified, until the end of World War I. He notes the crucial collaboration between the electrical manufacturer Werner von Siemens and Germany's leading physicist, Hermann von Helmholtz, in establishing an institution to control standards

and to provide a research site superior to those then found in German universities and free of teaching duties. Both Siemens and Helmholtz argued that "pure" scientific research benefited technological development in unpredictable ways and thus had to be supported. By the 1880s Siemens had marshaled enough interest to persuade the state to establish the PTR and make Helmholtz its first president. Helmholtz built facilities for the Scientific Section before starting work on the Technical Section. After 1895, his successor, Friedrich Kohlrausch, a physicist known for his work in measurement, built the PTR into a leading research institute. The third president, Emil Warburg, sought to reorganize the PTR when he took over in 1905, but World War I interfered with his reforms.

Helmholtz, Kohlrausch, and Warburg hoped to do research. But Cahan's survey of activities in the Scientific and Technical Sections in the years 1892, 1903, and 1913 demonstrates that testing equipment for the electrical and precision instrument industries, a major rationale for the PTR, left little time for research. Electrical companies needed a variety of properly calibrated meters and viable mechanisms for measuring luminosity. In developing instruments necessary to carry out routine testing, physicists at the PTR sometimes worked at the cutting edge of physical research. In their work on luminosity, for instance, they contributed significantly to research on black-body radiation. Success meant, however, that physicists at the PTR were offered positions in universities that were increasingly supporting research. After 1900 the PTR faced personnel problems resulting from inadequacies in state financing.

Cahan does not analyze Helmholtz's ideology of "pure" science so much as use it in his analysis. Whether a hierarchical relationship exists in which technology merely derives from science is an important issue with policy ramifications. Some scholars argue that technology, a body of knowledge in its own right, sets the agenda for science through, for instance, instrumentation or by solving engineering problems prior to the development of a science that could explain or even predict the solutions. Cahan himself notes the contributions that work on a technological problem, luminosity, contributed to research on black-body radiation. The claim that "pure" science should be supported because it might in the future produce economic benefits is now widely recognized as a rhetorical device used to generate funding and legitimize research agendas. The relationships between science and technology are more complex, but Cahan sets up two categories—"pure" sci-

tists and "technologists," which he reduces to research and testing.

These categories fail to capture the complex historical process that he describes. Cahan shows that Siemens and Helmholtz tied together technical, scientific, financial, and political resources in building an institute to carry out research and testing in electrical technology and fine mechanics. They had opponents. Industrial and engineering groups represented in the German Engineering Association wanted an institute to carry out research in "engineering sciences," but Cahan dismisses them as technologists. These competing programs would have connected German science, technology, and society in different ways, hence the heated debate. Cahan recognizes the key role that mensuration played in tying together the new Reich, but the ideology of "pure" science was meant to insulate science, and it does not allow Cahan fully to analyze one program for binding the nation together. Nor, as Cahan shows, did the ideology allow the PTR's first three directors adequately to accommodate science and testing in one institute. Despite its conceptual problems, Cahan's study is a valuable introduction to the institutionalization of measurement.

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