

“Muskrat French”: Origins of a Culture, a Language, and a People

by
James LaForest

Nearly every year, usually in late winter or early spring, the media pick up on a story about a Detroit River region culinary tradition: the eating of muskrat as a Lenten custom. Generally the stories focus on the area of Monroe (part of an area known as Frenchtown) and other downriver Detroit communities that observe the custom. The tradition is explained in two ways: either that the early French Canadian trappers lived off muskrat, learning from the Indians that it was edible, or that Father Gabriel Richard, pastor of St. Anne’s parish in Detroit from 1802-1832, granted a special dispensation to the local habitants to eat muskrat during Lent. The media stories then continue with a description of the meal itself, the taste of the meat, and assurances that it is both safe and legal.¹

Historians of the Detroit River region have provided more in-depth research on the topic. Ralph Naveaux, former director of the Monroe County Historical Museums and member of the Michigan Commission for the Bicentennial of the War of 1812, described the eating of muskrat in the context of a much broader regional French Canadian cuisine that emanated from the *métis* (mixed aboriginal American and European French) culture of the fur trade areas.² Dennis Au, Historic Preservation Officer of the city of Evansville, Indiana, has also written extensively on Michigan’s French Canadian culture. According to Au, it was media coverage of the annual muskrat dinners in 1988 that precipitated a ban on the public sale of muskrat meat once it reached officials at the Archdiocese of Detroit and the Department of Agriculture. The Archbishop, appalled by the thought of muskrat as meat, declared the

¹ John Holusha, “Wyandotte Journal; Where the Muskrat is a Delicacy for Lent,” *New York Times*, April 1, 1988; “What’s for Dinner? In Michigan, it’s Muskrat,” *USA Today*, March 1, 2013; “Muskrat Love: A Lenten Friday Night for Some Michiganders,” *Catholic News Service*, March 8, 2007; “You Haven’t Lived Here Until . . . You Eat Muskrat,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 25, 2012.

² Ralph Naveaux, “Remnants of ‘Mushrat French’ Cuisine in Monroe County, Michigan,” *Repast* (Spring 2007): 3-6.

legendary dispensation void. What followed these actions was a groundswell of support for the local custom and ultimately a reversal of the decisions.³ These Lenten muskrat dinners are part of a much broader regional culture, the “Muskrat French,” also known as “Mushrat French.” This term, as Marcel Beneteau notes, refers both to a living culture and to the French dialect that was widespread in the area from the eighteenth century onward and is still spoken in areas around Lake St. Clair.⁴

Though these accounts point to *who* the Muskrat French were (Detroit River region French Canadians), it is less established when this term came into being, and why, and how it has been used over time. They forged a unique regional culture better understood by its origins, development, and experience rather than by just one element of its cuisine, albeit unique.

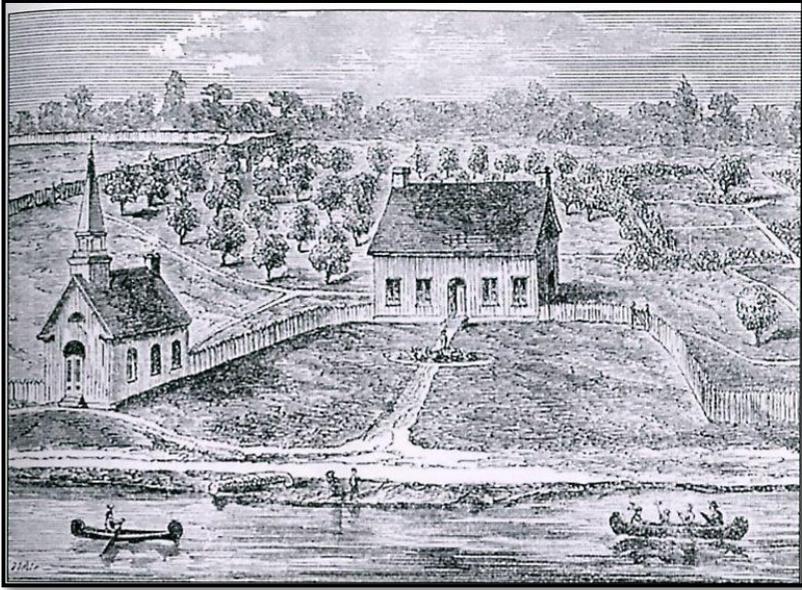
In order to better understand the development of the term “Muskrat French” and their culture, it is necessary to examine how the early French Canadians of Detroit and the *Pays d'en Haut* (Great Lakes Upper Country) were viewed by the British and Anglo American officials who began dominating the region in the late eighteenth century. In 1764 British General Thomas Gage referred to the French of Detroit as “a People . . . as wild as the Country they go in, or the (Indian) People they deal with, and are far more vicious and wicked.” He wrote that the French were “vagabonds” and “a terrible set of people who stick at nothing true or false . . . roving in the Desarts [sic] and seating themselves among the Indians,” living with “different Tribes, moving from one to another as fancy leads them.”⁵

Another opinion of Detroit’s French populace comes from the journals of Jonathan Carver, a Massachusetts-born writer and explorer who was in Detroit around 1766: “The land is very good, producing all the necessaries of life in abundance, but by reason of inactivity and idleness of the French inhabitants . . . they themselves (are) living little better than the Indians.” According to Carver, they “withdrew into Indian

³ Dennis Au, “Let Them Eat Muskrat: Marie Antoinette 1987,” *The Digest: A Review for the Interdisciplinary Study of Food and Foodways* (Spring 1988): 4-6.

⁴ Marcel Beneteau, “Detroit: A Special Place in French North American History,” *Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America*, <http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/en/article-453>.

⁵ Cited in Kerry Trask, “A Loose and Disorderly People: British Views of the French Canadians of the Upper Great Lakes, 1760-1774,” *Voyageur Magazine: The Historical Review of Brown County and Northeast Wisconsin* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1988/89).



Residence of M. Jacques Campau, Detroit (1757)

Source: Charles Richard Tuttle, *General History of the State of Michigan with Biographical Sketches, Portrait Engravings, and Numerous Illustrations* (Detroit: R.D.S. Tyler and Company, 1874), 677

Country where they intermarried with the natives and underwent voluntary banishment.”⁶ George Croghan, an Irish-born fur trader who lived in the region in the mid-eighteenth century, called the “inland French” a “parcel of renegades from Canada,” and “a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly upon the savages for their subsistence.”⁷ British official William Johnson visited Detroit in 1761. He later wrote of the Detroit French as a “Troblesome [sic] Set . . . of Lawless Disaffected People;” Major Robert Rogers, an American-born British soldier and commandant at Fort Michilimackinac from 1766-68, summed them up at the time as “an Indolent Slothful Set of Vagabonds,” and a people “lurking and walking up and down” the backcountry, “having great influence on the Savages . . . (and) exciting their Jealousys and Stirring up their hatred.”⁸ These

⁶ Turnbull to Thomas Gage, 1767, in Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 196, note 44.

⁷ Trask, “A Loose and Disorderly People.”

⁸ *Ibid.*

views did not see the French as at all subservient to the British by fate of war; instead the British explicitly arrogated to themselves a moral superiority over the Detroit French based partly on an understanding that the Detroit French were a creole people—métis relatives of the Indians. Major Henry Gladwin of Detroit and British loyalist George Turnbull, following the lead of William Johnson in 1763, called in 1767 for the forced removal of all the French inhabitants between Detroit and the Mississippi as a solution to this French problem. Though the plan never materialized, some French residents, such as the Chevalier family of St. Joseph, did face forced removal from their communities on military orders.⁹ Likewise, in 1810 American William Hull wrote:

French inhabitants who form much of the greater part of the settlements of this Territory appear friendly to our government. It is however necessary to consider their character . . . From their infancy they have been in the habit of friendship with the Indians. A great part of them, indeed, are allied [sic] to them by blood. The greatest part of them speak their language, and in a variety of respects there is a great similarity and connection between them. The Indians are as familiar and as much at home, in the homes of these people, as the people themselves The French people are indeed organized into a militi[a] . . . but considering their character and situation, I ask you what dependence could be placed on them, in the event of Indian War?¹⁰

Finally, Thomas Clark, an early immigrant, observed much later that “there were no white inhabitants west of ten miles of Monroe The few settlers were mostly French, and dressed more like Indians than white people.”¹¹

⁹ Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women*, 64-67.

¹⁰ Guillaume Teasdale, “Old Friends, New Foes: French Settlers in the Detroit River Border Region,” *The Michigan Historical Review* (Fall 2012): 56; Dennis M. Au, “Best Troops in the World?: The Michigan Territorial Militia in the Detroit River Theater during the War of 1812,” in Selected Papers for the 1991 and 1992 George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/gero/papers/1991-1992/.

¹¹ Thomas Clark to the Pioneer Society of Lenawee County, June 10, 1878, Michigan Pioneer Collections, II (1880), 423-424, Michigan State University; Russell E. Bidlack, *The Yankee Meets the Frenchman: River Raisin, 1817-1830* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Historical Society, 1965), 16-17.



Habitans at Detroit (circa 1780) depicted métissage of French and Indian cultures as reflected in clothing styles

Source: Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

These examples show that for many British and Americans, the character of the French was fundamentally suspect because it was formed in part through cultural and familial ties with the Indians. As Susan Sleeper-Smith notes, they were not seen as another, equally European, ethnic group but rather as a creole race composed of “worthless and abandoned Fellows.”¹² These views reflected a colonialist mentality that had no interest in the shades of grey that the Detroit French, Indian, and métis peoples represented. Furthermore, this foreign concept of race was imposed by the British and American authorities to divide communities and even families. Beliefs, such as those noted above, ultimately led to cultural fragmentation and a low socio-economic status among French Canadians that continues to reverberate today, affecting issues such as personal identity, health, and educational attainment.¹³

Was it in the aftermath of the French exit from the colonial scene in the eighteenth century where the roots of the term “Muskrat French”

¹² Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women*, 64.

¹³ Gregory Clark, “Your Ancestors, Your Fate,” *New York Times*, February 23, 2014.

are located? The French certainly saw themselves and their culture as differentiated from the British and Americans. The *Detroit Gazette* published a letter in 1817 from “Vieux Phillippe,” who exhorted his fellow French residents to increase their productivity and educate their children because their culture was in danger of disappearing due to the resourcefulness of the “Yankees.”¹⁴ Yet as early pioneer Marie Hamlin warned in an 1871 essay, such evidence of French thought too often depended largely on the “pen of the Englishman,” making the task of finding the true voice of the French all the more difficult.¹⁵ The French preferred life on their own terms. As Governor Lewis Cass (1813-31) noted, his attempt to force some form of government on them “made no headway against the intransigence of the habitants. . . . In fact they evinced no desire for self-government, spurning the establishment of a legislature and the higher taxes that would ensue.”¹⁶ This may have been unsustainable in the urban center of Detroit, but it continued in areas where French Canadians remained as American settlement increased—the waterways of the Detroit River region.

Evidence of the social, cultural, and political differentiation of the Detroit River French is not entirely negative nor is it limited to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Writing in 1891, Jacob Farrand reminisced about his youth, having relocated to Detroit with his family in 1825: “All the old inhabitants were people of a social nature, inviting to each other’s houses and living along in an enjoyable way. . . . It was one of the most social towns that I ever know of, or had any knowledge of personally or ever heard of.”¹⁷ Bela Hubbard, a nineteenth-century Detroit naturalist and surveyor whose studies provide extensive detail about the character and landscape of early Michigan, wrote in 1877 that even as the fur trade declined, the French of Detroit “retained . . . the practice of inhabiting only the banks of streams, accessible from the great lakes. I know of no original French settlement which is not so situated.”¹⁸ Hubbard also provides the first documented usage of the

¹⁴ James LaForest, “A Miscellany of Michigan’s French Newspapers,” *Voyageur Heritage*, October 29, 2013. <http://voyageurheritage.wordpress.com/2013/10/29/a-miscellany-of-michigans-french-newspapers-1817-1891/comment-page-1/>

¹⁵ M. Carolyn W. Hamlin, “Old French Traditions,” *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, IV (1879): 70-78, Michigan State University.

¹⁶ Willard Carl Klunder, *Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation* (Kent State University Press, 1996), 41.

¹⁷ Jacob S. Farrand, *Detroit in History and Commerce* (Detroit: Rogers and Thorpe, 1891), 12-14.

¹⁸ Bela Hubbard, “The Early Colonization of Detroit,” *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, I (1877): 352, Michigan State University.



**The family of Victor Marentee at their residence, 1905.
The first Belle River mass was said here in 1834.**

Source: Ray Marentette

term “Muskrat Frenchmen.” In the same 1877 essay he wrote:

Like the beaver and the muskrat, the [French] Canadian not unfrequently [sic] lived almost in the water of his favorite streams and marshes, and built his cabin in a spot which could be approached only by canoe. The dwellers in habitations so little superior in architecture and site to the houses which these ingenious little architects [muskrats] contrive for their accommodation in their native marshes, deserved the sobriquet, bestowed upon them by the contemptuous Yankee, of “Muskrat Frenchmen.”¹⁹

Hubbard’s use of the term in quotation marks makes it unclear if he was actually quoting another document or setting the term off as one might any other nickname. Regardless, it is sufficiently clear that the name was not invented by him in 1877 but rather must have been known in Michigan’s nineteenth-century vernacular. Hubbard indicated

¹⁹ Ibid.

that the term was used in a pejorative manner, yet he did not appear to hold a similar view; in fact, he went on to describe Detroit's French culture in detail and concluded with a lament for the passing of "French gaiety" and "many joyous hours" as "the careless, laughter-loving Frenchman's day is over."²⁰

In more recent narratives of the Muskrat French, such as Philip Marchand's 2007 *Ghost Empire: How the French Almost Conquered North America*, this mourning for the "old culture" of French Detroit continues. Marchand attributes the nickname "Muskrat French" to an outgrowth of the culinary use of the animal.²¹ However, though this may be a common analysis, it is clearly incomplete. Hubbard's use of "Muskrat French" in the nineteenth century is a far more compelling look at ethnicity rather than a mere culinary folkway, a claim bolstered by the existence of a unique Muskrat French dialect.²² Just as the Detroit French faced both negative and positive appraisals from British and American officials and residents, the term "Muskrat French" was employed with a similar dichotomy. As Hubbard noted, a "contemptuous Yankee" used it to describe a French populace viewed by officials as inferior and untrustworthy. In the late nineteenth century other examples underscored these negative connotations. In the 1890s a syndicated newspaper story portrayed the "Mushrat French" of Detroit as an exotic, marsh-dwelling tribe whose language was unintelligible both in English or French. The articles were written from the perspective of a "guileless" Easterner who described the "mushrat Frenchman" as small in stature, "in complexion like to his native mud, in habits simple and—uncleanly" with a wild imagination fueled by "whiskey little better than raw alcohol."²³ These descriptions were followed by a parody of a Muskrat Frenchman telling a story in pidgin English meant to echo the local French dialect. The article, first published in New York, Montana, and Oregon, was picked up again 20 years later, in 1918, in Pennsylvania's *Reading Eagle*.²⁴ These were not

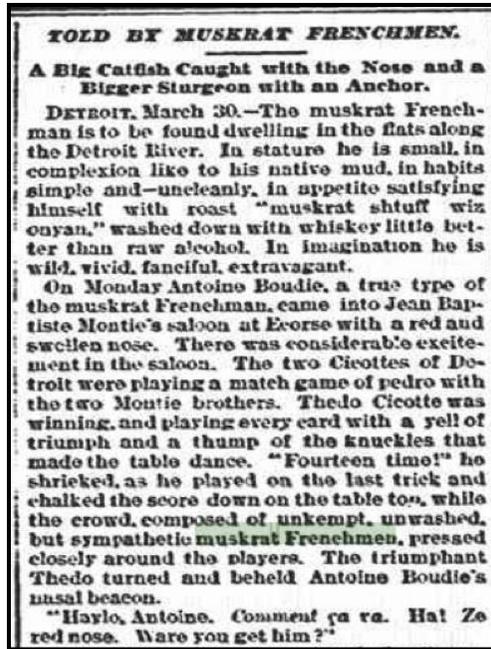
²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Phillip Marchand, *Ghost Empire: How the French Almost Conquered North America* (Praeger, 2007), 207-213.

²² See for example Marcel Beneteau and Peter W. Halford, *Mots choisis: Trois cents ans de francophonie au Détroit du lac Érié* (Presses Université d'Ottawa, 2008).

²³ "Told be Muskrat Frenchmen," *New York Sun*, April 2, 1899.

²⁴ See "They Live Near Detroit and Represent a Past Century," *Philipsburg Mail* (Montana), May 7, 1896; "They Live Near Detroit and Represent a Past Century," *The Dalles Weekly Chronicle* (Oregon), January 26, 1898; "Muskrat Hunter Traps Fish with His Nose," *Reading Eagle* (Pennsylvania), January 20, 1918.



New York Sun (April 2, 1899)

simply "human-interest" stories; they were part of the wider racial and ethnic conflicts and virulent racism of 1890s America. And they also reflected a legacy of intergroup relations that began in the eighteenth century. Though not as extreme as some of the newspaper parodies, comments by some non-French Detroit residents described the Muskrat French as, at best, "local color" but even more likely as social inferiors meant to be "sporting with" and regarded as entertainment. A friend wrote a letter to Henry Ford in 1897 recounting how he and some other local young men would buy whiskey in Walkerville, Ontario, then "catch fish and take them where a fine French lady cooked them free if we would buy her beer for ten cents a bottle. . . . We sported around with the Muskrat Frenchmen seeking furs and froglegs . . . in the morning I had to swim across the Detroit River to Cicottes for my cup of coffee The Cicottes were famous river folk."²⁵ These descriptions, along with the earlier documented examples, suggest a culture clash that began

²⁵ Sidney Olson, *Young Henry Ford: A Picture History of the First Forty Years* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), 91-93.

in the eighteenth century, a view of the Detroit River French as second-class citizens, dwelling in places no civilized person would approach except for a laugh. But this is not how the Muskrat French saw themselves nor how they were regarded by at least some of their neighbors from the East. Through the pens of “Vieux Philippe,” Hubbard, Hamlin, and Farrand, a different image emerged, one of a proud people, full of laughter, joy, and gaiety, with a strong attachment to their way of life and their ancestral lands.

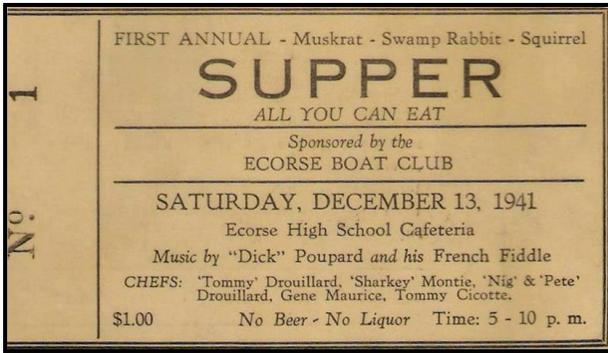
Beginning in the early twentieth century, the French Canadian community began to display their local culture in more visible ways. At a 1906 carnival sponsored by the Monroe Yacht Club, muskrat was served and proved to be popular with the local population.²⁶ Public muskrat dinners were held throughout the following century to great fanfare. They became events that attracted “Old Frenchmen” from throughout the Midwest, who journeyed to take part in cultural celebrations. Unlike the stories from the 1890s, by 1924 newspapers were publishing largely straightforward accounts of muskrat feasts. Some of the festivities included up to 4000 guests, “high-class barkeepers of Detroit,” and a vaudeville show as entertainment.²⁷ Ethnic descriptions in these later articles were limited to a few lines of an “Old Frenchman” speaking in pidgin, French-accented English.²⁸ In 1941, the Ecorse Boat Club Supper included muskrat (or “swamp rabbit,” as it was also known) prepared by chefs “Drouillard” and “Cicotte” (names common to the local French Canadian population), and French Canadian entertainment in the form of fiddle music. While the name “Cicotte” in the 1899 newspaper parody was a dirty, unkempt, semi-literate (but sympathetic) Muskrat Frenchman, this Cicotte of 1941 was an integral part of the celebration of a proud local culture.

Today newspaper coverage of the annual muskrat dinners continues to feature human interest stories that generally convey an unbiased attitude toward the custom. Aside from local scholars whose work on Muskrat French culture provides the most comprehensive background, very few have published on this regional culture in any depth or on its own terms. Philip Perlmutter loosely ties the anti-French sentiment of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Detroit to a broader coupling of

²⁶ Elaine Raymo, *Detroit's Holy Cross Cemetery* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 35-36.

²⁷ “Marsh Muskrats Provide a Feast for Odd Fellows,” *Buffalo Courier*, January 20, 1924; “French Settlers Gather to Dine on Muskrats,” *Milwaukee Journal*, January 18, 1924.

²⁸ *Ibid.*



1941 ticket for a supper in Ecorse, Michigan, featuring muskrat and other game

Source: Author’s personal collection

American expansionism and prejudice after the Revolutionary War.²⁹ And according to Melvin G. Holli, the “feudal values” of the seigneurial system found in pre-American Detroit were to blame for the culture clash that doomed the French from the start, as they simply did not have the tools or “economic ethic” to compete in the new age of American industry.³⁰

One element of this subject that is often wrongly conveyed is the geographic distribution of the Muskrat French. While Monroe, Michigan (downriver from Detroit on the far western shore of Lake Erie) is strongly identified with the Muskrat French, there is a much more widespread articulation of the culture. Hubbard’s 1877 essay, for example, did not place the “Muskrat Frenchmen” in a particular locale but rather located them throughout the area, along any river that flowed into larger bodies of water. The newspaper “folk stories” of the 1890s mentioned the “Mushrats” living on the St. Clair Flats, found on the northeast corner of Lake St. Clair on Anchor Bay. And one prohibition-era rumrunner from the Windsor area, Arthur “Muskrat” Laframboise, undoubtedly tied his nickname to his ethnic background. Family

²⁹ Philip Perlmutter, *Legacy of Hate: A Short History of Ethnic, Religious, and Racial Prejudice in America* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 78-80.

³⁰ Marvin G. Holli, “French Detroit: The Clash of Feudal and Yankee Values,” in Peter Jones and Marvin G. Holli (eds.), *The Ethnic Frontier: Essays in the History of Group Survival in Chicago and the Midwest* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1977), 75-76.



Muskrat Hunting in 1943, Belle River, Ontario. Far left is Moise Marentette, father of Ray Marentette

Source: Ray Marentette

traditions and oral accounts from people throughout the Detroit and Windsor area up to and including the present day place the Muskrat French culture throughout the Detroit River region and along the shores of Lake St. Clair in its entirety.

There are even suggestions that this is too narrow. In a 1948 article published by the State of Wisconsin, Edgar Doudna drew from Hubbard's 1877 essay in identifying the French Canadian *métis* of Green Bay as "Muskrat Frenchmen."³¹ Historian M. J. Morgan also uses the term in reference to Detroit French, writing that it was a "sense of the French that would cling to them, reinforced by settlement patterns in watery areas like Cahokia (Illinois)."³² Morgan made this association again in a 2012 address at the Waterloo Museum Society entitled "Muskrat Frenchmen and Their Livelihood: The Riverine Economy of the Southern Illinois French" as a way to emphasize the French way of life along rivers that was characteristic of the Detroit French.³³ These rare associations of the Muskrat French to areas outside the Detroit

³¹ Edgar Doudna, "Wisconsin—The Thirtieth Star," *Wisconsin Blue Book, 1948* (Wisconsin: State of Wisconsin, 1948), 157.

³² M.J. Morgan, *Land of Big Rivers: French and Indian Illinois, 1699-1778* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), 58-59.

³³ M.J. Morgan, author correspondence, January 23, 2014.

River region and Lake St. Clair connect the Detroit French to places and peoples identified as having creole (Cahokia) and métis (Green Bay) cultures and populations. Alone these references do not serve to define the Muskrat French, but in the context of a broader study of the culture, these examples reinforce the view that the Muskrat French constitute something other than a largely faded, local, and purely French culture.

From the late eighteenth century onward, accounts of the French of the Detroit River region are imbued with ethnic and racial qualities and stereotypes based on assumed or actual intermarriage with indigenous peoples. Derogatory terminology referring to characteristics such as tribe, color, intelligence, moral qualities, work habits, and reliability as middlemen served to distinguish an extant population of French-speaking people living on the wide periphery of Detroit and its rural shore lands. While a few later writers countered with more positive portrayals, by 1877 (at the latest) these negative qualities and stereotypes were frequently used to describe the French-speaking people and culture of the Detroit River region as "Muskrat French." These negative portrayals persisted at least through the 1920s in the popular press. Despite numerous indications that the Detroit River French are culturally similar, if not indistinct, from the métis and creole cultures found in other areas of the "French River World," little scholarly research has been conducted to fully understand the development of this culture or its legacy. On the contrary, most modern commentary denies it any significant continuity at all with the exception of one culinary tradition. However, Muskrat French culture is linked to a métis or creole worldview. This formulation seemed self-evident to observers from the eighteenth century on but is denied by modern scholars, who claim that elements of "ethno-genesis" are missing and therefore the community of French Canadian families in the old Detroit River region are not a distinct métis people or culture. Most contemporary scholars appear ignorant of the term "Muskrat French," as evidenced by its near universal absence in the most important discussions of Great Lakes métis or French Canadian communities in scholarly literature.³⁴

There are still many issues that warrant a deeper scholarly engagement with this culture: the nature of the initial contact between the Detroit French, the British, and the Anglo-Americans, the terms by which the Detroit French came to be known, how colonial officials and

³⁴ For example, see Jacqueline Peterson, "Red River Redux: Métis Ethnogenesis and the Great Lakes Region," in Nichol St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, Brenda Macdougall, and Maria Campbell (eds.), *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 22-58.

later writers described them, how they understood themselves, the longevity of this local culture, the presence of racial and ethnic characteristics central to the discussion, the continued existence of pockets of Muskrat French speakers on the Ontario side of the Detroit River, the ongoing debate over métis identity in Canada and the United States, and advances in decoding the human genome—all provide ample rationale and compelling contexts for further study.³⁵ It is a culture that continues to exist today not only throughout the historic region of its origins, but also among a diaspora who continue to identify themselves and their ancestors with the term “Muskrat French.”

³⁵ New DNA evidence suggests a much greater métissage in the Great Lakes area than has previously been described. See for example, “Les détails du patrimoine génétique métissé des Québécois,” www.lapresse.ca/le-soleil/actualites/societe/201306/29/01-4666372-les-details-du-patrimoine-genetique-metisse-des-quebecois.php; “Native American Admixture in the Quebec Founder Population,” www.plosone.org/article/authors/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0065507; “French Canadians are Genetically Special (Not That That’s A Good Thing),” www.blogs.discovermagazine.com/gnxp/2013/09/exome/#.UvzXFPb7V-U.