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**Analysis of Source 10: Policing Excerpt of Testimony by Mrs. Lupe Marshall to the La Follette Committee Investigating the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre, 1937.**

The testimony of Mrs. Lupe Marshall accounts her experiences and feelings during the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre where police committed acts of politicized violence against striking steelworkers and their families outside the Republic Steel plant. During the testimony she highlights the excessive and indiscriminate violence the police used to suppress economic dissent during the Great Depression. The actions and violence demonstrated by the police represent the states capacity for force against challenging social groups, a demonstration of the punitive control seen in the "sovereign state strategy"<sup>1</sup> that would later dominate American criminal justice. This account comes from Mrs. Lupe Marshall, an eyewitness, victim and "social worker at Chicago's Hull House Settlement House"<sup>2</sup> experiencing the horrors of the event, giving her experience to the U.S. Senate's La Follette Civil Liberties Committee under oath. The official transcript (the source) was produced as

<sup>1</sup> David Garland, *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas A. Gormsen, "Lupe's Story: Lupe Gallardo Marshall at the Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel, South Chicago, 1937", ResearchGate, May 2019 [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333295356\\_Lupe's\\_Story\\_Lupe\\_Gallardo\\_Marshall\\_at\\_the\\_Memorial\\_Day\\_Massacre\\_at\\_Republic\\_Steel\\_South\\_Chicago\\_1937](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333295356_Lupe's_Story_Lupe_Gallardo_Marshall_at_the_Memorial_Day_Massacre_at_Republic_Steel_South_Chicago_1937) [accessed 5 November 2025].