

Examiners' Report  
June 2018

GCE History 9HI0 33

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# Introduction

It was pleasing to see candidates able to engage effectively across the ability range with A Level paper 33 which deals with the Witchcraze in Britain, Europe and North America, c1580-c1750.

The paper is divided into three sections. Section A contains a compulsory question which is based on two enquiries linked to one source. It assesses source analysis and evaluation skills (AO2). Section B comprises a choice of essays that assess understanding of the period in depth (AO1) by targeting five second order concepts - cause, consequence, change and continuity, similarity and difference, and significance. Section C comprises a choice of essays that relate to aspects of the process of change over a period of at least 100 years (AO1). Most candidates appeared to organise their time effectively and there was little evidence of candidates being unable to attempt all three sections of the paper within the time allocated. Examiners continue to note that there are a number of scripts that pose problems with the legibility of handwriting. Examiners can only give credit for what they can read.

In Section A, the strongest answers demonstrated an ability to draw out and develop reasoned inferences from the source for both enquiries and to evaluate the source thoroughly in relation to the demands of the two enquiries on the basis of both contextual knowledge and the nature, origin and purpose of the source. It should be reiterated that weight is not necessarily established by a discussion of what is missing from a source. If the author of the source has omitted something intentionally in order to modify its meaning or to distort the message of the source, then it will be relevant to discuss that omission in reaching a conclusion regarding the use that a historian might make of the source. However, commentary on all the things that the source might have contained, but failed to do so is unlikely to contribute to establishing weight.

In Section B, examiners were impressed by the number of responses that clearly understood the importance of identifying the appropriate second order concept that was being targeted by the question. However, as was noted in last summer's report, weaker candidates often wanted to turn questions into a main factor/other factors approach, even where this was not appropriate to the focus of the question. The generic mark scheme clearly indicates the four bullet-pointed strands which are the focus for awarding marks and centres should note how these strands progress through the levels. Candidates should be aware of key dates, as identified in the specification, and ensure that they draw their evidence in responses from the appropriate time period.

In Section C, candidates were better prepared this year to engage with the elements of the process of change that are central in this section of the examination. This is a breadth question and the questions that are set encompass a minimum of 100 years. Candidates are reminded that, as pointed out in last summer's report, this has important implications for the higher levels in bullet point 2 of the mark scheme. To access bullet point 2 at Level 5 candidates are expected to have responded 'fully' to the demands of the question. The requirements of questions will vary and key developments relating to the question may be more specific to the entire chronological range in some questions and options than in others. However, it was judged not possible for candidates to have 'fully met' the demands of any section C question unless at least 75% of the chronological range of the question was addressed. To access bullet point 2 at Level 4 candidates need to meet most of the demands of the question. It was unlikely that most of the demands of the question would be met if the answer had a restricted range that covered less than 60% of its chronology.

In both Sections B and C when dealing with AO1, not all candidates demonstrated a secure understanding of what is meant by 'criteria' in terms of bullet point 3 of the mark scheme. Some candidates explicitly state in the introduction to the essay that they are naming the criteria that they plan to use, when in actual fact they are referring to the issues or the factors that will be discussed in the response. 'Criteria' in bullet point 3 of the mark scheme refers to the basis on

which candidates reach their judgement, not the issues that are discussed in the process of reaching that judgement.

Overall there continues to be challenging handwriting, poor spelling and errors in grammar and punctuation. Paragraphing was missing from some responses. The last bullet point in the mark scheme for sections B & C includes 'communicated with clarity' and 'well organised' so the structure of the response is key here. Very few answers included a plan and this was reflected in the unstructured way some questions were answered.

The candidates' performance on individual questions is considered in the next section.

## Question 1

Overall most candidates displayed a good understanding of the source and were able to provide some examples and inferences from the two enquiries. On the first aspect, many noted that the evidence against those accused was unreliable and a key component of the trials, that Phips introduced the Court of Oyer and Terminer to deal with the high number of prisoners, that spectral evidence was enough for a conviction, and that some trials and proceedings had been badly run, e.g. incorrect arrest warrants. On the second aspect, many noted that the source claims that there was increasing public dissatisfaction with the trials and the verdicts passed, that as the trials were not being conducted properly it was necessary to bring them to an end, and that Phips himself was responsible for bringing the trials to an end. A number of responses however said that the source was not useful in showing how Salem trials came to an end, showing a lack of comprehension of the source. Candidates were generally weaker when using historical context to support and develop inferences, with surprisingly few having much to say about the influence of William Stoughton, or about the numbers accused and killed during the trials, and many more were even weaker when it came to evaluating the source beyond mentioning that Phips was 'there at the time', or by making some reference to his position. For example, few noted that the intention of Phips' letter was to justify his actions to the Earl of Nottingham. Rather too many answers omitted any evaluation completely, or claimed that the source wasn't very useful on one or another aspect. Another common feature of lower scoring answers was the inclusion of own knowledge that was missing from the source as evidence that the source was deficient in some way. Candidates who identified that the author of the source deliberately missed out information because of his agenda were more likely to access the higher bands of the mark scheme. High scoring candidates were able to use specific knowledge of the Salem trials to give weight to the source, for example by referring to the roles of the children in providing spectral evidence in court and the role that Phips had played in instigating and ending the trials.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing how trials were conducted at Salem and the reasons why they came to an end.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(20)

The Salem witch trials took place in 1692 and claimed the lives of 20 people. Salem was a puritan theocracy where beliefs in witchcraft and demonic possession were very prevalent. This source is very useful for revealing both the conduct of the trials in the form of reliance on the 'possessed' girls' evidence and the court process. In addition, the source reveals the growing scepticism around spectral evidence as well as the pivotal role of Governor Phipps in bringing the trials to an end.

Firstly, the source provides very valid evidence for how the trials were conducted. First of all, there is evidence of the reliance 'on the evidence of the victims', in this case the young girls in Salem who drove the trials. Most of the accusations of 'possessed' girls who 'fell motionless to the ground' when approached by the accused. This use of spectral evidence was what made the trials so notorious and, ~~that~~ consequently caused increased scepticism that contributed to the end of the trials.

However, during the trials spectral evidence ~~was~~ and the outlandish claims of the girls were taken to be 'undoubted proof' of guilt. Phipps was sceptical of the use of this evidence, though this was perhaps influenced by the scepticism of Increase Mather and initially Phipps was wholeheartedly ~~of~~ supportive of the trials - mentioning when he states that he 'was certain that some of those who were accused were innocent' he <sup>could be</sup> ~~is~~ playing down his role ~~so as not~~ so as not to jeopardise his position in the eyes of his senior, the Earl of Nottingham. However, apart from this, his writing to the Earl of Nottingham who was concerned with the colonies does little to decrease the validity of the source as he provides a largely accurate report of the goings on in the English colony in Massachusetts. ~~Secondly~~

Secondly, the source provides valuable information of the legal proceedings. ~~A court~~ Oyer and Terminer was set up 'to try suspected witches' in 1692 - demonstrating the severity of witchcraft accusations in Salem - a specialist court had to be set up in order to condemn those in league with the devil. This is not surprising considering Salem's status as a theocracy where there was a very genuine fear of the devil. The source also reveals how many some witches were allowed to have neighbours to testify for their good character. Witches were executed 'of which

Some were thought to be innocent', this was true of Rebecca West, whose friends and neighbours testified to her good character which initially secured her a verdict of not guilty - which was later reversed. ★★  
Overall the source is of some value for revealing how the trials took place and the centrality of the specialist Court in this process. ★

The source is arguably more useful for revealing why the trials came to an end. Firstly, there is evidence of the increased scepticism regarding the use of spectral evidence, harboured by William Phipps and Increase Mather. Phipps declares that most victims 'having only spectral evidence against them' were set free, therefore revealing his ~~the~~ attitude towards the dubious convictions. Phipps was also influenced by Increase Mather who was very sceptical about spectral evidence. These two influential figures were driven by their scepticism to ~~that~~ shut down the process due to the questionable convictions. This source was written at the time of the General Pardon when Salem authorities admitted their mistake. Therefore the admission that convictions 'were not based on the legal foundation' reflects the realisation of the foolish reliance on spectral evidence to convict witches - influenced by the scepticism of Increase Mather and

William Phipps who then wielded a lot of influence in the Salem community. The source, therefore is very useful for ~~illustration~~, providing evidence into the role of scepticism surrounding spectral evidence in ending the witch trials.

Secondly, the source plainly states the role of William Phipps himself in stopping the trials. He says 'I put an end to the Court and stopped the proceedings' which is clear evidence of his role. ~~Indeed indeed~~ indeed, it was he who ended the trials although he was heavily influenced by Increase Mather, with whom it is likely he wanted to gain influence, ~~and he~~ who was ~~doubtful~~ sceptical about the trials from early on. A significant reason behind Phipps' change in attitude towards the trials which is not mentioned here was the ~~accusation~~ <sup>implication</sup> of Phipps' own wife. As the trial got too close to home Phipps ~~was~~ <sup>compelled</sup> ~~felt the need~~ to put a stop to the accusations. The omission of this does not necessarily affect the value of the source, though it perhaps undermines the questionable legitimacy of the accusations as Phipps suddenly stopped the process when the trials began to affect him. It is unlikely that he would have intermeddled the Court of Nottingham this, for ~~he would~~ it was in his interests to present ~~himself~~ as the mediator <sup>in ending</sup> ~~of the~~ the trials for the benefit of all the innocent sufferers rather than for his own interests.

\* Furthermore, the source reveals the control that the overzealous judges had over the process as Phipps left them to their own devices. Phipps 'depended on the court' in his absence but he returned to find citizens 'much dissatisfied'. The judges were indeed suspected of condemning innocents on the word of the girls, and the head judge was responsible for changing Rebecca News conviction of 'not guilty' to 'guilty' despite testimonies of her good character.

To conclude the source is of great use for revealing both the conclusion of the trials and the reasons why the trials ended though perhaps more so for the latter factor. The reliance of the evidence of the girls is described in detail and the legal process is also described to some extent. Nevertheless the overall scepticism of Phipps and other officials is very evident as well as the pivotal role of Governor Phipps despite his ~~previous~~ ~~best~~ stance being perhaps strongly effected by the purpose of this letter, but overall the evidence provided is of considerable use.



In this response the candidate focuses clearly on the source throughout. The candidate considers provenance and the nature of the source and uses this to reach a supported judgement. Contextual knowledge is used to develop the ideas presented in the source - this is a Level 5 response.



Make sure you refer to the source in your introduction - don't tell the marker what you are going to do, start analysing the source from the start of your answer.

## Question 2

There were some excellent answers to this question, although a number of answers lacked both range and depth. One common problem was an inability to adequately explore the issue given in the question (lack of strong central government) and relate it to the witch hunts. This led some candidates to make vague statements about Scottish government generally without linking these to the issue in the question. Better candidates made links between the lack of government control and crimes alleged to have been committed in Scotland (e.g. David Seaton was able to wield excessive authority and apparently interrogate Gilly Duncan at will, the witch hunt spread beyond 1591 because the government were unable to regulate trials in the Highlands). The best recognised that the lack of central control allowed the use of torture and thus the spread of accusations. Stronger students had specific knowledge of the contest between James and the Kirk, about the undermining of James' position by Bothwell, about the Scottish legal system. These allowed a better analysis of the role of central government. Strong counter arguments to central government included the nature of James' own opposition to witchcraft (those who avoided blaming Daemonologie and instead focused on his voyage to Denmark, his family background, his role in the torture of Agnes Sampson, etc).

There were a number of factual inaccuracies (confusing names, dates and places) and a lack of chronological awareness. Numerous students seem to believe that James VI's Daemonologie was a driver for North Berwick. It was released in 1597 and could possibly be argued to have influenced the Great Witch Hunt in 1597 (the Aberdeen trials began in March) but certainly not North Berwick. Careful revision is crucial here.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box . If you change your mind, put a line through the box  and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 2  Question 3

Concerning the outbreak of the North Berwick witch hunt, a lack of strong central control was crucial in producing a climate of tension (Bothwell takeover) and allowing trials to spread (Aleson Balfour), yet in terms of the outbreak of North Berwick, James I's personal involvement combined with weak judicial proceedings and natural causes all combined to set a framework for the North Berwick Hunt, although lack of central control may be more significant for expanding hunts thereafter.

Firstly, a lack of strong central control is demonstrated with the Earl of Bothwell, who consistently leading up to 1590 and after undermined James, such as attempting to break into Holyrood Palace. However the impact of this as a trigger is only indirect; heightening the suspicions of James and making him more likely to interfere in witchcraft, because the case of Agnes Sampson concerned the storms that disrupted his fleet to Denmark. More importantly, a lack of strong central control was more important in prolonging hunts, a consolidating factor rather than a trigger; across rural Scotland torture was allowed even though the Privy Council had to approve it. This led to cases such as Aleson Balfour, accused in the Orkney Islands by an Earl who was suspicious of his younger brother, so she was indeed following a hunt of the brother's servants; a lack of strong central control was so key in prolonging hunts, because it not only allowed torture but allowed relationship disputes to form into accusations.

But more importantly, James personal involvement allowed North Berwick to start, prolong, and set a precedent for expanding future cases in Scotland. He approved the torture of Billy Duncan, which led to other accusations, and then took a greater role in inspecting Agnes Simpson herself, where he ensured her conviction but allowed the link between natural causes such as storms to coincide with witchcraft; key because James not only started a chain-reaction hunt which was incredibly significant in the extent of people it affected, but prolonged hunts by setting a precedent, that witches could control the weather. James was therefore a trigger as well as a consolidator, as a later victim Barbara Napier was accused of storms. James was significant in so many ways; attracting national attention through his involvement (News of Scotland), and writing *De Monologie* which was used into the next century, even in England. Some say that James' impact declined after 1597 (congratulated him for Prince William on uncovering a false witch), yet the Shirlingskire Panel in 1597 shows that, even ~~after~~ if he did stay silent after 1597, his role impacted a large amount of people, and made witch hunting popular and in the long-term a prolonged occurrence.

The Scottish judicial system must not be forgotten though; this coincided or worked with a form of strong central control to impact hunts in North Berwick, as well as consolidating hunts but not necessarily starting hunts. For example, Sir William Stewart was given charge of a commission to investigate witches in 1597 in the highlands, which would have allowed local panels to lead to

witch hunts. There is also speculation of a 'General Commission' after North Berwick to investigate witch hunts, although this is disputed. Either way, the judiciary began to have an active role in investigating witch hunts, and delegating powers of torture already being used due to a lack of central control. Although the judiciary's active role only gained momentum after North Berwick, therefore limiting its significance on North Berwick. Specifically, the easier system of conviction in Scotland (simple majority of votes) allowed cases to spread north in Scotland, and with a lack of central control is a key prolonging factor in witch hunts, affecting all of Scotland, although to less effect or depth as James I specific role.

This is supported by historian Brian Levack, who claims that especially after North Berwick, witch hunts were essentially a judicial operation.

Another key factor for the outbreak of North Berwick specifically was poor weather and natural causes, along with James' trip to Denmark. This is because the poor weather of the Danish trip meant that a fleet was destroyed, which was linked to witchcraft, influencing James' views and therefore role. More importantly, in Denmark James' views were furthered, such as Tycho Brahe exposing James to an active hunting of witches culture in Denmark, yet this is disputed in its significance, as there is little evidence of a Devil's pact introduced to James, yet the ship tragedy and Denmark's stance on witchcraft would have encouraged James to take a more active role in North Berwick, however the weather in this example only had an indirect impact. More directly, poor harvests throughout

The 1590s would have exacerbated anti-witch sentiment, as Emily Oster's theory claims that poor weather allowed a link to witchcraft because of a long-held belief from religion that 'people could control the weather'. Nevertheless, the impact of this is uncertain, and was worse in places like ~~North~~ Bumberg, where the frost ruining the wine crop was linked directly to accusations. Overall weather and natural causes encouraged hunts and James' involvement, but this certainly wasn't a dominating factor.

Overall, there is an intrinsic link from each factor to every other factor; Hugh Trevor Roper suggests that a combination of factors normally leads to witch hunts, and this is supported with North Berwick especially when judicial proceedings and a lack of central control worked together to prolong witch hunts. But in terms of causing an outbreak of hunts in North Berwick, as well as more into Scotland, James I is more significant than a lack of central control; consistently pushing for convictions, linking the ship wreck to witchcraft, and drawing national attention to witchhunting through ~~the~~ literature all combined meant he affected witchhunts in Scotland to a remarkable extent.



This response is excellently analytical with links made between factors although this does not occur in every instance. Although historians are not necessary, the candidate uses their perspectives to develop each point. The criteria for judgement is explicit from the start of the response and the judgement made is convincing and sophisticated - a Level 5 response.



Planning is the key to success - identify examples for your argument then consider the factors for your counter argument.

### **Question 3**

This question was slightly less popular than Question 2. Overall this question was generally well done. Good responses were able to concentrate on rising costs and provide a wealth of specific information. Generally all relevant factors were covered, but to differing levels of detail. Many candidates had some knowledge of the cost implications of the trials, though they did not always fully develop the implications for the communities. Higher level answers were focused on the cost, the role of Hopkins and Stearne, re-establishment of traditional authority and the role of John Gaule. This allowed for them to assess the validity of the question. Points were made stronger where specific examples were used in support, such as the name of Gaule's publication, the importance of the Norfolk assizes in 1647, etc. While the cost of the trials was explored, a number of candidates failed to explain why the communities were prepared to pay this cost, at a time of economic hardship. There was sometimes too much of a reliance on John Gaule as a factor, failing to acknowledge the general growing scepticism and the re-establishment of traditional authority. At the lower end, candidates were able to provide a satisfactory assessment of the growing cost of trials and struggled to weigh this against other factors effectively. Some lower scoring candidates focused too much on the causes of the trials rather than reasons for their end. Quite a few candidates referred to Charles I as his son Charles II and factual errors were made by some, for example that East Anglia was a war zone during the Civil War. There were no significant battles in East Anglia nor any significant penetration by Royalist forces. By the time of the witch hunts Parliament were in the ascendancy and East Anglia was under no direct threat.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box  and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 2

Question 3

It is clear that the East Anglian witch hunts in the years 1645-47 came to an end due to the growing cost, the return of traditional authority and the role of John Gaule. However, I agree with this statement to a huge extent that the most significant factor that brought an end to the witch hunts was the growing costs and this was because authorities no longer saw it as a priority as the cost spiralled out of control.

To begin with, there was a huge list of different costs involved in the East Anglian witch craze and eventually, with the debts of the civil war efforts, it became too much to handle and therefore the witch hunt had to come to an end.

For example, ~~many~~ Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne charged high fees for their services, which, at the beginning of the witch hunt, town councillors and mayors were willing to pay as other witch hunting services were in short supply. However, ~~by the end of the year~~ eventually, it became



Assize judges were unable to travel to the courts in East Anglia due to the amount of fighting taking part. As a result of this, people with limited legal experience took the role of judges which increased local fears of witchcraft. However, in 1646, Charles surrendered to the Scots in Newark which meant that fighting stopped. This meant that ~~fighters~~ judges could return to East Anglia which reduced the amount of witches that were prosecuted and therefore the witch-hunt slowly came to an end. As a result of this it is clear that the return to traditional authority was also a cause of the end of the East Anglian witch hunt. For example, in 1647 in Ely, John Goerbold, an experienced judge, acquitted 3 women that were put to trial and this therefore shows how the return to traditional authority also meant that many ~~and~~ supposed witches were acquitted and therefore the East Anglian witch hunt came to an end.

Furthermore, the role of John Gaule is also important when looking at what

ended the East Anglian witch-hunt as he was able to persuade the authorities that, with the return of traditional authority and the growing cost of the witch trials, the witch-hunt was no longer necessary. Therefore, you could argue that, without John Gaule, the witch-hunt may not have come to an end because the authorities may have continued to believe it was a priority. It was only until he began campaigning in Great Staughton that he eventually gained support and helped to persuade the population of East Anglia that the witch-hunt was not needed and therefore, the role of John Gaule is also important when looking at what ended the witch-hunt. Despite this, if it was not for the cost spiralling out of control, then John Gaule may not have begun to campaign against the hunt as it would not have been seen as a major problem. Therefore, I still believe that the growing cost is the most significant factor that brought the East Anglian witch-hunt to an end.

This is because, it was ~~not~~ just the fees of ~~many~~ <sup>many</sup> ~~hundreds~~ <sup>hundreds</sup> and streams that contributed to the growing costs. It was also the cost of imprisonment which mounted up to £3 a day per prisoner, the cost of feeding the prisoners and the executions. Therefore, ~~an~~ every aspect of the witch-hunt was costly for East Anglia ~~but~~ and they could not afford this due to the debts of the war. ~~But~~ Therefore, I strongly believe that the growing cost is the most significant reason as to why the ~~war~~ witch-hunt came to an end by 1647. If the costs did not spiral out of control then it is likely that the witch-hunt may have been more long-term. However, the authorities could no longer ~~be~~ afford to pay the fees ~~of~~ <sup>that</sup> the witch-hunt entailed and therefore I believe that it is the main reason why the witch-hunt ended.

Overall, ~~at~~ <sup>as</sup> I understand that there are many contributing factors as to why the East Anglian witch-hunt ~~and~~ came to an end by 1647. The end of the fighting meant that many supposed witches were

being acquitted by experienced judges and, as a result, the prosecutions of witches slowly came to an end. John Gower was then able to persuade authorities that, because of this, there was no need for a witch-hunt anymore. However, I believe that the most significant reason for the end of the East Anglian witch-hunt was the growing cost. This was because, combined with the debts of the Civil War, it became impossible to fund every aspect of the witch-hunt anymore which meant that, even if they wanted to, the authorities could no longer afford it. Therefore, I believe that the ~~factor~~ <sup>the</sup> growing cost which spiralled out of control was the main reason for end of the East Anglian witch-hunt between 1645-1647.



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This is a detailed response which addresses the key issues related to the question and shows a good level of historical knowledge. The candidate develops criteria in the introduction which allows a clear and substantiated judgement to be made with explicit consideration of the impact of the stated factor versus other factors. This is a Level 5 response.



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Examiner Tip

A well developed conclusion is vital - you need to weigh up the stated factor in the process of reaching your judgement.

## Question 4

Responses to Section C questions should cover the whole period. Confusion about the order of events was a common problem in both Section C responses. In a number of answers candidates failed to cover even the 60% required to meet the demands of the question.

This was by far the most popular of the Section C questions. Candidates' answers covered a range of good points including other fraudulent trials, sceptical publications and the scientific revolution. Higher level responses focussed on the key theme and were then able to link this to a variety of other issues, and weaker answers rather struggled to say much about the key theme or narrated a series of other reasons without linking these up or integrating them with the key theme very effectively. Many candidates had much to say about the impact of sceptical publications, or other cases such as the Boy of Burton or the Demon Drummer, but rather too many candidates included far too much narrative at the expense of analysis as to why these cases were significant. Some candidates struggled to discuss the Pendle Swindle in any depth, or confused it with the Boy of Burton. Many responses were generic discussions of fraudulent cases, without analysing them against the relative significance of Pendle and some candidates too quickly dismissed the Pendle Swindle. This could prevent candidates from gaining top marks, especially where they produced a series of case studies without any overarching awareness of change. In these cases candidates resorted to the weak argument of putting the fraudulent trials in chronological order then stating the Boy of Burton was most important simply because it was the first one to occur. Higher level responses had a wide chronological sweep, and kept focus on the question before reaching a supported judgement. Surprisingly few candidates mentioned that Charles I himself questioned the accused women and his scepticism marked a shift in elite beliefs, that witch hunting declined swiftly in England following the case, until the disruption of the Civil War or that, despite Johnson's voluntary confession, the witches were found innocent once sent to London, suggesting a shift in emphasis from confession to proof of guilt. Candidates should be reminded that precise detail is vital for accessing the higher levels of the mark scheme.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box  and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 4  Question 5

During the years 1580 - c 1750 there was a growth in scepticism towards the idea of witchcraft, and many attribute this to the fraudulent cases that revealed the inconsistencies and lies told to secure convictions and make accusations that ultimately undermined belief in witches during this time. Many historians would argue that the 1634 Pendle Scurrile was the most significant development in this growth of scepticism, while others may suggest it was the 1596 Boy of Burton case, the role of judges of the 1662 demon drummer boy of Tedworth case. A criteria to determine which was the most significant will examine which <sup>prompted</sup> created scepticism among the elite and which had the most widespread impact through the prompting of sceptical publications. According to this therefore it is clear that the 1662 demon drummer of Tedworth was the most significant development in the growth

of scepticism:

The 1634 Pendle Summery is considered by many to have been a significant cause of sceptical opinion. It began when Edmund Robinson accused his neighbour of transforming herself into an animal, which led to numerous accusations focused on the presence of witches in Pendle during this time. The significance of the case can be seen when the presiding magistrates decided to refer the case to the privy council and the king also took an active role in investigating some of the suspected witches. The fact that the magistrates referred the case suggests an element of scepticism and, as the criteria suggests, the involvement of the king was greatly significant as it had brought the fraudulent cases to the attention of the elite. Furthermore, there were very few accusations in the remainder of the 1530s which also indicates a high degree of sceptical thought. However, 17 witches were accused before this particular case was referred to

the phny council and it didn't result in widespread scepticism as no pamphlets were produced in response unlike with the case of the demon drummer boy - which suggests it was not the most significant cause of scepticism

A further highly significant cause of the growth of scepticism was the 1662 demon drummer of Teddington case whereby Lord Innespesson complained of mysterious occurrences in his home which he attributed to witchcraft. This resulted in Glanville's investigation which concluded that the recently established royal society should be investigating the witch hunt with a critical and scientific approach. As a response to this ~~the~~ member published his 1677 sceptical publication in order to rebuff him called, 'The displaying of supposed witchcraft'. This came to the attention of the royal society and was even supported by its vice president which suggests the significance of this particular fraudulent case.

which led to the publication of a sceptical work that would therefore result in the widespread nature of sceptical belief as well as the growth of scepticism among the elite social society which therefore suggests that this was of increased significance than the earlier pendle bundle case in 1634.

On the other hand, some historians may suggest that it was the boy of burton case in 1596-97 that was most significant in promoting the growth of scepticism. This was one of the first fraudulent cases which involved the accusation of Alice Goodenidge and the fraudulent exorcism carried out by John Darrell. This was significant because it was one of the first instances of scepticism during the period, and was ever more important because it exposed the fraudulent exorcisms by John Darrell ~~the~~ and highlighted the fact that accusations could be motivated ~~prompted~~ by profit rather than genuine experience of witches. Furthermore, it

also resulted in a sceptical publication by Samuel Harsnett in 1599 called 'The fraudulent practices of John Darrell' which would have led to widespread scepticism and attitudes towards witchcraft being undermined. In addition the case also encouraged scepticism among the elite such as the archbishop of York and Canterbury as well as bishop Bancroft who wrote a canon in 1604 condemning those performing exorcism without a licence. Although this case didn't prevent further cases of 'Scepticism', it did result in a publication and attention from the elite, however, unlike the pendle bundle 1634, however the demon drummer of Teddington case was still the most significant as the royal society were more influential in acting on their new growing scepticism in supporting the age of science and reason.

Moreover, some historians may contrastingly argue that it was the role of the judges that was most significant

in leading to a growth in scepticism. John Holt was famous for acquitting 12 witches, including his most famous case which was that of Sarah Muddock whereby she was not only acquitted, but her accuser Richard Nathaniel was also put on trial by Holt which indicates his growing levels of scepticism. Furthermore, Judge John Powell who was active in the 1712 case of Jane Wenham was also influenced by growing scepticism as he questioned the legitimacy of the case against Wenham, considering the need for her status as a dissenter in the grounds for her accusation and therefore securing a royal pardon and therefore the attention of the elite at the same time. However, despite the good works of Judge John Holt, his influence on scepticism can be seen to be undermined by the fact that ~~was~~ the next judge - Matthew Hale, did unfortunately accept dubious evidence. Therefore, although the judges did influence scepticism to the extent the elite became aware of it - they most likely were aware of the works of Webster and Bekkar ~~in which~~ <sup>which were prompted by the demon</sup> ~~may~~ ~~would~~ ~~have~~ ~~similar~~

~~the~~ case in 1662 and their influence can therefore be attributed to these sceptical publications meaning it was the 1662 case that had more of an impact than the 1636 pendle murder and use of judges.

In conclusion, according to my criteria, the pendle murder's significance in resulting in less convictions during the 1680s is undermined by the impact of the 1662 demon drummer of Redworth case that ~~without~~ prompted sceptical publications and therefore widespread sceptical views as well as encourage scepticism in the elite such as the members of the Royal Society who supported the sceptical work of Webster in 1677. Therefore, it was this 1662 case that was more significant than the pendle murder in 1636 in the development of the growth of Scepticism c1580 - c1750.



The key issues are explored in this response with sustained analytical knowledge to support the points made. Valid criteria are established and applied throughout. The response is extremely well organised and well written - this is a Level 5 response.



Focus on the stated factor sufficiently before moving on to other factors - check that these factors cover the chronological range of the question.

## Question 5

The majority of candidates were able to consider the works of Hobbes and Locke and to provide an assessment of their contribution to a decline in beliefs in magic and witchcraft. At the higher levels candidates considered a wide range of factors in order to counter the stated factor and many did so with aplomb, selecting a good range of possible alternate explanations and developing them with excellent supporting knowledge and analysis. The best responses provided an appreciation of change over time, and were able to draw links between different publications and cases and their relative impact in their own time and in later years. Most candidates were reasonably secure on the key theme and able to consider the contribution of, for example, Locke's empiricism or Hobbes' mechanistic view of nature, but few referenced the wider impact of this, such as how this influenced the writing of John Webster and Balthasar Bekker who wrote sceptical books about witches in 1677 and 1691 respectively. Surprisingly few candidates were able to question the influence of Hobbes & Locke by for example providing evidence that scepticism existed before the writings of Hobbes and Locke, e.g. Reginald Scot's 'The Discoverie of Witchcraft' in 1584, or that the decline in beliefs was not steady after the writings of Hobbes and Locke were published and beliefs continued to be widely held. Very few made the point that improved economic well-being meant fewer accusations of witchcraft were made generally. Some candidates seemed unaware that Hobbes had written on witchcraft and tried to use Leviathan and his political philosophy to frame an argument about witchcraft, which was not really feasible. Candidates would be well advised to ensure they can address a stated factor before attempting a question. Many candidates struggled to apply the writings, which they were more secure on, to the undermining of beliefs. The Royal Society was often used as an example of how science was undermining the idea of witchcraft, though, as ever with this question, some candidate tried too hard to make links, rather than see the Scientific Revolution as generally undermining the concept of superstition, rather than directly challenging ideas about magic and witchcraft. A few successful answers did point to how scientists, such as Newton, were still open to the possibility of supernatural events.

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross . If you change your mind, put a line through the box  and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen question number: Question 4  Question 5

In the years c.1580 - c.1750, there was a general decline to witchcraft, as in 1735, the ~~witchcraft~~ harsh witchcraft Act of 1604 was repealed, which allowed witches to be sentenced to death for lesser crimes, not. To judge whether the writings of Hobbes and Locke were significant in the process of undermining the belief in magic and witchcraft, a set of criteria will be assessed: whether they impacted the views of everyone (judges, common people etc), whether they generated scepticism and whether they were significant across the entire period. In light of his criteria, the writings of Hobbes and Locke ~~generated~~ were not that significant in the process of undermining the belief in magic and witchcraft - ~~they~~ their influence occurred much later on in the period.

~~They~~ Though this interpretation holds less weight, it can be argued that the writings of Hobbes and Locke generated a scepticism due to the arguments they put forward, and therefore did somewhat contribute to a decline in the

beliefs or witchcraft. In Hobbes' "Leviathan" and Locke's "Essay", both men reveal themselves to be materialists. Whilst Hobbes argues for a <sup>the right of</sup> monarchy and Locke argues ~~again~~ that the monarchy should not play as much of a significant role, both philosophers put forward how judgements can only be made based on material, based on evidence / observation. Therefore, witchcraft and the supernatural do not have material proof and are perhaps simply ~~and~~ fabricated and dubious. This preservation of a materialist argument was instrumental in generating scepticism as it provided a new way for people to reason their beliefs and to realise how witchcraft does not have ~~definitive~~ definitive, material proof. Therefore, Hobbes and Locke were both significant in generating scepticism in his way, through their writings. However, ~~now for~~ these writings of Hobbes and Locke may have impacted intellectual circles, but perhaps not the common people who sustained beliefs in witchcraft. As the majority of people who believed in witchcraft were common people and less likely to be ~~likely~~ able to read, Hobbes and Locke may not have had any significance in undermining the beliefs of the common people.

Furthermore, both their works were influential in the end of the 17th century to the 18th century, signifying how they did not ~~contribute~~ contribute to undermining beliefs ~~before~~ in the start of the century. They contributed to the process, but ~~were~~ not ~~the~~ did not act as turning points.

Another one factor which may limit the significance of the writings of Hobbes and Locke is that they were not key contributors to undermining beliefs about the supernatural across the period, ~~except~~. Their significance in their own time is questionable too, when compared to other factors. For example, Hobbes and Locke could not have <sup>had</sup> an influence ~~at~~ from 1580 to 1630, which is still part of the process of undermining the belief in magic and witchcraft. Key figures, events that had an influence include the Boy of Burton case and the publication of Reginald Scot and Samuel Purchas's 'The Returne'. Therefore, Hobbes and Locke's significance may be limited when ~~is~~ compared to factors that started this process of ~~the~~ generating scepticism. Furthermore, even Hobbes and Locke in their own time (from 1640 - ~~to~~ 1660) were widely <sup>received</sup> ~~received~~ by an ~~such~~ "audience" who were already exposed

to fraudulent cases and an increase in an understanding of the world around them. Therefore, their significance may be limited in his process when compared to ~~the~~ other factors which generated his ~~specific~~ sceptical understanding of witchcraft and the world around them, such as the establishment of the Royal Society in 1660, which was predominant in the same time as Hobbes and Locke.

Therefore, ~~to~~ the writings of Hobbes and Locke were not that significant in undermining the belief of magic and witchcraft when compared to fraudulent cases. Fraudulent cases occurred ~~the~~ throughout the period of 1580-1750, from the Boy of Burton case in 1594 and the Jane Wenham case in 1712.

This reveals that they contributed far more than the writings of Hobbes and Locke, in a process of undermining magic and witchcraft. Furthermore, ~~more~~ fraudulent cases like the Boy of Burton even inspired publications which generated scepticism in wider circles. The exorcist, John Porey, who claimed in the Boy of Burton case that he managed to exorcise Thomas Parung and William Somers, was attached

by Samuel Harsnett in his publication. This publication was well received in intellectual circles and even questioned ~~the value of~~ a variety of witchcraft cases by using the Bible as a source. This publication impacted ~~under~~ intellectual circles and the fraudulent cases themselves generated scepticism amongst the common people, as they were made on the jury and witnessed what was happening. ~~It~~ However, the significance of Hobbes and Locke should not be completely undermined as ~~was~~ they symbolised the age of reason in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; reason which was still lacking ~~due~~ due to judges who accepted fraudulent cases, such as those. Their writings were widely read and ~~could~~ even influenced philosophical readings of ~~witchcraft~~ which ~~had~~ begun to resonate with intellectual circles, who were mostly judges and important figures in these trials and could therefore ~~have~~ have an influence on how later trials were run.

Overall, the writings of Hobbes and Locke ~~were~~ were not that significant in ~~the~~ the process of ~~undermining~~ undermining the belief in magic and witchcraft. whilst

They did generate scepticism, but they did not impact all people, as common people were more likely to be illiterate and therefore their work could not be read by them, and understood by them. Furthermore, when addressing how significant the writings of Hobbes and Locke were in the process of undermining the belief in magic, they only contributed later on in the 17th century and were not significant turning points in his process, as by 1660, scepticism was generated due to a number of reasons. Therefore, factors like fraudulent cases which did occur throughout 1580-1750 should be considered to be perhaps more significant than the writings of Hobbes and Locke in undermining the belief in magic and witchcraft.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

Here the candidate attempts to place the stated factor in a broader context with key issues related to the question and weighed up throughout the response. The candidate covers the chronology fully and reaches a considered judgement. This is a Level 5 response.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Careful revision of dates and chronology is necessary to ensure that factors can be considered in a broad context.

# Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

## Section A

- Candidates should ensure that they deal with both enquiries
- Candidates should not simply paraphrase the content of the source; they should develop valid inferences supported by the arguments raised in the source
- Candidates should avoid stock evaluation, e.g. it is a newspaper report so it is exaggerated because it is designed to sell papers
- There is no requirement to argue that the source is better suited to one enquiry than the other; any comments made in relation to this will be rewarded according to how they fit with the three strands of the mark scheme.

## Sections B and C

- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels
- Planning of essays will help candidates develop an analytical approach
- Candidates must be aware of key dates, as identified in the specification, so that they can address questions with chronological precision
- Candidates should aim to range across the breadth of the chronology in Section C questions.

## Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>



