



# **Examiners' Report June 2023**

**GCE History 9HI0 33**

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## Introduction

It was pleasing to see candidates able to engage effectively across the ability range in this A Level paper 9HI033 that deals with the witch craze in Britain, Europe and North America, c1580-c1750.

The paper is divided into three sections. Section A contains a compulsory question that 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. A minority of scripts continue to pose some problems for examiners with a lack of legibility of handwriting; examiners are only able to 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. Some candidates used their contextual knowledge to continue to describe events in great detail, rather than using it to illuminate and to discuss the sources. This sometimes resulted in candidates not dealing with the sources adequately. In other cases, candidates might offer up no contextual knowledge to support their arguments and analysis.

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 and shaped their responses appropriately to meet the demands of the question. More responses were seen this summer that had a tendency to only deal with one side of an argument; some of these were a sophisticated analysis of that one side, showing the links between the issues that were raised, but it is essential that candidates acknowledge the existence of a debate, where appropriate. Candidates need to be aware of the chronological parameters of questions and to ensure that they write across the chronology. Equally, the evidence that is presented should come from within the timeframe of the chronology of the question. It was disappointing this summer to note that a number of candidates seemed to have only a weak grasp on the timing of key events.

Section C requires candidates to answer a breadth question. The questions in this section are set to encompass a minimum of 100 years. Candidates are reminded that, as has been pointed out in previous Principal Examiner reports, 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. It should also be pointed out that 'bookending' the chronology with little between those 'bookends' is unlikely to meet the demands of the higher levels in bullet point 2. Candidates are also reminded that engaging with the specific stated factor, or turning point, if one is identified in the question, is vital if candidates are to show that they have responded to the specific question asked.

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

## Question 1

Candidates of all levels were able to access the source and to at least reference both enquiries, although candidates were more successful in talking about the nature of beliefs about the Devil than the justification for the hunts. Candidates cited examples that the belief that the Devil had been disturbed by the colonists' arrival, that the Devil and his demons make use of disguise and possession, and that the Devil had recruited witches to do his bidding through the act of making a pact. Answers were generally weaker however on justification: while many, for example, referenced the claim that the New Englanders considered themselves to be God's chosen people and that they had a duty to root out witches because they considered themselves under threat, fewer referred to the claim that the witches had already threatened the English, or to the implication that the activities of the Devil and his followers were spreading elsewhere. On historical context, most referenced the significance of the proximity to Native American settlements and the Indian wars, but although many mentioned the type of evidence used at the trials, surprisingly few went into much depth on the role of children in the hunt, and very few referred to the temporary disruption of governance and judicial procedures. On provenance, many correctly identified Cotton Mather as a well-known and respected preacher, but surprisingly few had any comment to make on the date it was written, or, crucially, that the style of the pamphlet was written in the style of a sermon with the clear intention of persuading his audience and defending his own role. A few confused the relationship between Cotton and Increase Mather. The best answers included the lack of governor, linked Indian wars to source and internal threats due to dispute between Salem Town and Salem Village. The strongest answers on both enquiries used specific examples from the trials to consider the content, e.g. Mercy Lewis and the Indian raids when Mather mentions the Devil's forces, etc. Weaker answers were descriptive, telling the events of the Salem witch hunts, rather than focusing on what the question was actually asking.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the nature of beliefs about the Devil and the justification given for the witch hunt in Salem.

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

(20)

The source, published in 1693 during the Salem witch trials by a persecutor of <sup>the accused</sup> witches, Cotton Mather, provides scope as to the nature of beliefs about the Devil and the justification given for the witch hunt in Salem through the expression of the ways in which Mather believes the devil is working, that could be attributed to ~~put~~ threats and issues Salem town and village were facing at the time. For example, the threat of Native Americans. This in combination with the world rejecting nature of the Puritan ideology, potent in Salem at the time, provides value to the source. However, it is not without limitations as there were other methods that were seen

to have been perpetuated by the Devil that ~~were seen as~~ contributed to the nature of beliefs that have not been discussed in the source such as social tensions leading to an increase in fearmongering between Salem Village and Salem town, that contributed to the scale of ~~the~~ moral panic (Alexander) <sup>term coined by</sup> surrounding the nature of beliefs about the devil and the justification given for the Salem witch hunt.

The source mainly discusses the Native American threats posed to the inhabitants of Salem through indirect mentions to the Native American people as the devil's "demons" [Line 7]. This can be inferred through the mention of the "army of devils... [breaking] into the first of our English Settlements" [line 12]. This is due to the colonialist nature of

the settlements that led the Native American people to contest the inhabitants of New England. Furthermore, they were seen as the "Army of devils" [line 12] due to the rejection of other denominations from the puritan ideology. Therefore, it led the people of New England to reject Native American <sup>people</sup> ~~culture~~ due to <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ rich and traditional ~~sacred~~ culture, that is filled with sacred traditions and rituals that were interpreted by puritans as the work of the devil. Mather confirms this inference through stating that the people of New England have settled into "territories which belonged to the devil". Therefore, it can be assumed that the threat of Native American attacks incited that much fear, as stated by terminology such as "~~start~~ miserable shriews" [line 13] and "tormented" that they attributed this behaviour as the work of

the devil. However, Therefore, in correlation with the threat of these attacks it provides extensive knowledge as to the nature of the beliefs about the devil. ~~How~~  
~~ever.~~

~~However,~~  
~~However, the source only focuses~~

Furthermore, the ~~F~~ Source mentions the justification of the witch hunt, in terms of eradicating the presence of the devil through ~~use~~ spectral evidence and deductive reasoning. This distinction is crucial when understanding the justification for the witch hunt as many accused tended to have little ~~to~~ to no chance of acquittal or pardon. For example, Thomas Putnam, a son within the influential putnam family in salem accused 20 women whom ~~of~~ which were all examined and coerced into

confessions through unethical methods of torture, such as days of sleep deprivation. ~~and a lot~~

Therefore, it can be assumed that the justification for the witch hunt consisted of an accumulation of factors, such as social tensions as many of the accused witches were found guilty on the basis of hearsay. ~~Another~~ ~~fr~~ The biggest indication as to this method of persecution within the extract can be noted through Mother's statement that "many of the persons accused, when examined, have been convicted of a very damnable witchcraft". This could suggest that in combination of the nature of beliefs surrounding the devil, all cases of witches, acting on behalf of the devil should be exterminated. This could provide insight as to the ~~so~~ seriousness of accusations and why individuals were tortured to the extent that

they were.

However, the source doesn't explore contextual evidence surrounding factors behind the nature of beliefs <sup>and justification for the hunt</sup> about the devil other than mention of Native American attacks and the fear of the devil that the attacks bred.

Therefore, some factors such as social tensions have been dismissed. ~~In correlation with~~ pertaining particularly to the justification for the witch hunt in Salem, social tensions led accusations based on rivalry between Salem town ~~as~~ and Salem village.

There had been disputes between the distinction and separation of the two but due to the ties, particularly agricultural, they could not go with this notion.

Therefore, it bred a rivalry between the inhabitants of Salem village and Salem town, meaning accusations that were

Persecuted with spectacular evidence would have individuals practically sentenced to death. Therefore, social tensions had a role to play in the nature of beliefs about the devil and the justification for the witch trials as social tensions exemplified <sup>existing</sup> fears tenfold as inhabitant of ~~Salem~~ Salem believed that the devil was "in disguise" and therefore it could be suggested they pinned ~~it~~ the presence of the devil on individuals they didn't like out of ~~mis~~ distrust that manifested into speculation of witchcraft.

To conclude, I believe that the source poses great value into understanding ~~the~~ the nature of beliefs about the devil as it suggests the cause for the volatile ~~att~~ attitudes bred ~~out~~ out of fear and confusion ~~it~~

that influenced individuals to become hellbent on eradicating the presence of the devil to justify the Witch Hunt in Salem ~~However~~ 1696-7. However, the source does pose limitations that suggest that the source doesn't provide a full scope of the nature of beliefs on the devil and justification of the witch hunt.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response makes valid inferences from the source material, for example, with regard to the nature of the beliefs and the justification given for the witch hunt. Contextual knowledge is added to confirm or challenge these inferences. In addressing the utility of the source to the two enquiries, the candidate evaluates the position of the author and takes this into consideration when making a judgement. This is a level 5 response.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Contextual knowledge should be linked to points made by the source rather than the other way round.

## Question 2

This was the more popular of the Section B questions and candidates identified a whole range of issues and coming to a successful conclusion. On the key theme, many candidates went into some detail on the role of von Dornheim, including his position as Prince-Bishop and his absolute conviction that witches were abroad, the use of the 'witch-house' and torture, the confiscation of property, and his ignoring of directives from higher up. On the contrary argument, most candidates identified such features as economic hardship, the weather, the Thirty Years War, religious tension and the provisions of the Carolina Law code. In the weaker answers candidates did not always consider the responsibility for the switch from accusations to a full-blown witch hunt or made generalised comments about the trials. A few candidates were unclear regarding von Dornheim having total control over Bamberg. The strongest candidates had sufficient detail to fully evaluate the impact of von Dornheim, weighing up other factors against him before reaching a support conclusion. There were many very impressive answers.

- VD - witches prison
- created law for property
  - personally responsible

- Socio economics - inflation;
- 30 years war
  - tensions between upper classes → religion
  - Seebauer; ice age

- religion - 30 years war
- prince bishop against prots
  - counter reformation

Indeed, it could be argued that Von Dornheim was responsible for the Bamberg witch hunt because of his position of power as a zealous Prince-Bishop however he is not the only cause. For example, religious factors and socio-economics also contributed to the extent as well, however it could be argued that Von Dornheim was the biggest factor.

Certainly, it could be argued that von Dornheim was ~~responst~~ responsible for the extent because his position of power enabled him to facilitate many things that contributed. For example in 1627 von Dornheim created a witches' prison in Bamberg called Dudenhaus, which could hold between 30-40 witches at a time. Not only this but he also established an intelligence network that ~~attawed him~~ provided him with greater knowledge for those he was persecuting. Thus, this shows that Dornheim was extremely influential in the extent as

he created facilities that allowed it to flourish further. However, the fact that the walls of Dordrecht were covered with biblical texts also implies religion was an important motivator as well. Moreover, in the 1620s, van Dornheim established a law that allowed him to take the property of all those convicted in the witch trials. As a result, he convicted many of the upper class including 11 councilmen and at least 20 of their relatives. The numbers convicted in Zeil constituted 50% of ~~council~~ councilmen or those they were related to. This helps provide an explanation to van Dornheim's role in the extent as these confiscations caused him to become so much richer. Thus, providing reasons to why he continued the hunt and allowed it to get so extensive. ~~After~~ Additionally, van Dornheim took a personal role in the trials as well as he hired a number of people to assist him with the interrogations. Thus, through allowing professional interrogators and other people in his administration

to take part, Von Dornheim et al clearly shows how he enabled the hunt to become so extensive.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that socio-economic factors encouraged the extent of the hunts because of the extreme hardships the people were facing. For example, inflation was causing many to face poverty and starvation as a result of the wider societal impacts. Indeed, Margaretha Eismennin was convicted of ~~making~~ making a pact with the devil because she confessed that ~~the~~ extensive ~~coin~~ coin clipping was causing money to ~~lose~~ lose all value. Therefore, this encouraged the hunt as ~~for~~ many people hoped the devil's offer of riches ~~were~~ would save them. Additionally, the trials were taking place during a time known as 'the little ice age' which resulted in many crop failures and increasing hardships. Indeed, Seebauer's wife was accused of suggesting a frost should destroy the

harvest and recent freezing conditions were mentioned throughout her trial. This helps to explain why the extent was so great because people would have wanted to end the adverse weather conditions and preventing nitches doing this would have significantly helped. Moreover, the impact of the 30 years war on Bamberg also helped create a wide extent. This is because Bamberg was along the main route that the soldiers travelled through, and as they went through the city they would take supplies and crops. This suggests a big factor as it caused massive societal implications, however the fact that the 30 years war caused an end to witch hunting in some areas suggests that other factors including von Dornheim and religion was a bigger factor as they enabled the trials to continue through this time. Despite this, the impact of socio-economics can be seen through the desire to prevent nitches from causing extreme hardship, creating the extent.

Religion is also an extreme factor into ~~causes~~ the extent of the hunt because during this time the counter-reformation was occurring. This was a movement by the catholic church against the previous protestant reformation and caused members of society to fear the devil's work all around them. Indeed, von Dornheim was a champion of this and ordered the parish records be checked in 1628 to see which members of the community failed to ~~receiv~~ receive mass. Indeed this shows the impact of religion but also von Dornheim's role in allowing the extent to become so bad. Moreover, although the 30 years war ~~was~~ had an impact on socio-economic factors, the fact that it was a war started by protestant Bohemia against the catholic Emperor Ferdinand shows the great religious impact. Indeed, as a result of this protestants and catholics became increasingly wary of each other leading

to many more accusations. Thus, the 30 years war caused both a socio-economic and religious motivation for the extent. Finally, in 1548 the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire issued a decree stating that the religion of the ruler should be the religion of the region. This was significant as it increased under social tensions but also enabled zealous prince-bishops, who were predominantly catholic, to persecute or force conversion. Indeed, Von Dornheim himself took his catholicism very seriously and was suspicious of many protestants. Thus, this not only shows religion as a factor but Von Dornheim as well as his relentless search for protestants increased the extent of the hunts massively.

It is evident therefore, that without the role of Von Dornheim, religious and socio-economic factors would not have been so bad as he used these to help spur and provide

justification for his role. Thus, showing  
von ~~Datz~~ Dornheim was the greatest  
cause of the extent of the hunts.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a strong level 5 response. It maintains an analytical focus throughout and supports that focus with precise and specific knowledge of the Bamberg witch hunt.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Weigh up your alternative factors against the factor stated in the question to ensure you are evaluating throughout.

### Question 3

Overall, there was good understanding of the nature of the witch hunt in East Anglia but some candidates struggled to define traditional authority, which weakened their responses overall. The more successful answers included the dominance of male authority and the return of the men to the area. The idea of judicial authority returning with the royalists was also indicated, the best answers show the trained judges threw out cases for lack of solid evidence and for the use of torture. The better answers included the idea of Royalist church men and leaders leaving the area which freed up the Parliament supporting Puritans to blame witches for difficult circumstances until the end of the Civil War. The strongest candidates referencing such issues as the re-establishment of the assizes, the return of Royalist gentry and stability generally after the Civil War ended, with some impressive answers giving some detail of particular local examples such as King's Lynn. Whilst some other issues were covered, notably the costs that Hopkins and Sterne charged for their services, or economic hardship generally, many candidates were weaker on the detail of the counterargument. The stronger candidates were able to show links and considered the relative importance of a range of issues before reaching a supported, evaluative conclusion.

Chosen question number: Question 2  Question 3

There are many reasons for the end of the East Angles witch-hunt. One factor ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> the re-establishment of traditional authority which was ~~highly~~ <sup>the most</sup> significant <sup>factor</sup> and had a direct impact in ending the trials. Other factors include the role of John ~~Crane~~ <sup>Crane</sup> and the expense of maintaining the hunts. ~~For~~ <sup>For</sup> ~~this essay~~ <sup>this essay</sup> I will use the criteria: significance, impact and long and short term.

~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> most significant factor was the re-establishment of traditional authority. ~~By~~ <sup>By</sup> 1646 the First <sup>British</sup> Civil War was coming to a close and old gentry who has supported the Royalist and Parliamentarian cause returned to their estates. Sceptical of the accusations and trials they directly <sup>to stop it continuing.</sup> intervened. Their return also symbolised a return to normality and reduced people's views of Hopkins and steamed themselves as authority figures. Therefore the ~~set~~ <sup>re-establishment</sup> is more significant than the other factors. <sup>Cases were becoming expensive</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>removed</sup> ~~the economy was at~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>to run</sup> traditional authorities were directly ~~stopping~~ <sup>stopping</sup> ~~high inflation~~ <sup>high inflation</sup> ~~traditional authorities had stopped~~ further hunts. ~~Re-establishment~~ <sup>Re-establishment</sup> of authorities is also ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> significant than the actions of John Crane.

Who only had influence in his area of Staughton.  
Furthermore, the end of the civil war ~~set~~ <sup>made</sup> it safe for Assize courts to be managed again by real judges and not magistrates or officials with <sup>no or</sup> limited legal experience (e.g. John Goodbolt). This is more significant than the other factors for it again reduced the influence of Hopkins and Stearne as being seen as proper authorities which prevented them being called to towns to provide advice. Furthermore, old authorities began admitting suspected witches. This is seen in Norfolk in 1646 where seven of the nine suspected witches <sup>provided by Hopkins</sup> were admitted. This shows the decreasing influence of Hopkins. Especially since major authorities decided to be present for the particular trial symbolising their return. Therefore the re-establishment of authority is the most significant factor for it had a direct impact on cases and reduced people's need to call on Hopkins and Stearne. Overall, the re-establishment of traditional authority is the most significant because (while ~~economic problems continued~~ <sup>cases became expensive</sup>) it was the traditional authorities who directly admitted 'witness' and had a direct impact.

Another factor is the expense of maintaining witch-hunting. Every witch required three pence

per person per day ~~at~~ <sup>for</sup> food costs. This made it difficult to maintain witch-hunting for long periods of time and in high numbers. Therefore reducing <sup>because it was expensive for people to maintain it.</sup> co-operation and eagerness to hunt witches. This makes the growing cost of witch-hunting significant in ending the trials. But it is not as <sup>significant as</sup> ~~expensive~~ <sup>the return</sup> ~~cause~~ of authority because it did not have as much of a direct impact in ending cases. In Islington the jailer required support; for the cost of maintaining the witches increased to £50. This led to charity and support. It is important because it shows that witch-hunting (on the scale of Matthew Hopkins' hunts) was becoming unsustainable. This was therefore <sup>more</sup> ~~sign~~ significant in ending hunting fervour and is more significant than the actions of John Craule because it remained a long-term problem that would affect witch-hunting <sup>while Craule's influence was limited for half of the time frame</sup> across the two year time frame. Additionally, witch-hunting severely reduced the number of people in towns and villages with as much as 40% of a town's inhabitants <sup>killed.</sup> ~~gone~~. This reduced the amount of labour and the overall profit made by the town. This therefore discouraged further hunts. However, while it is significant in ending the witch-hunts it only was a problem in towns which <sup>had</sup> ~~after~~ hunts <sup>after Hopkins</sup> ~~with~~ and Stearne had left. This did not deter towns (who previously

had no hunts) to call on Hopkins and Stearne. Overall, the expense of witch-hunts was significant in ending the East Anglian witch hunts. It made ~~the~~ <sup>it</sup> difficult to maintain hunts but it did not deter other towns to call on the witch finders Hopkins and Stearne and did not have a direct impact on stopping cases (unlike the re-establishment of traditional authorities).

Finally, there are the actions of John Crome. Crome convinced his congregation and the surrounding towns of Kimbolton and St. Neots to reject Hopkins and in response created a book that questioned Hopkins' practices (such as the water test or watching). This was significant for it attacked Hopkins and his beliefs which may have ~~ended~~ <sup>encouraged</sup> the ~~last~~ <sup>end of</sup> the hunts. However, it is not as significant as the expense of witch hunting or re-establishment of authorities because many people could not read. Therefore his influence was reduced to a few people in the Gentry. ~~Furthermore~~ <sup>Contrary</sup> to this, many of the judges in the Norfolk trials of 1646 were highly influenced by John Crome's work and used many of his questions as a framework to judge and question Hopkins. Hopkins in response had to write 'A discovery of witches' justifying his acts. Therefore it shows that the actions of John Crome were more signifi-

Can't than the other factors to an extent. For his challenge to Hopkins's beliefs led to increased cynicism of the Gentry. However <sup>the actions of</sup> ~~John Gault~~ John Gault are limited. First of all, many of the Gentry may have been cynical of witchcraft in the first place (as seen by no renewed cases after 1647). Therefore the re-establishment of traditional authorities may remain more <sup>significant</sup> ~~significant~~ than the actions of John Gault. Furthermore Gault in his book defends the belief in witchcraft. His lack of scepticism means that his actions were less significant than the re-establishment of Gentry, for many <sup>readers</sup> ~~readers~~ could still feel justified in their ability to accuse and attack neighbours for witchcraft. <sup>overall</sup> ~~and~~ the actions of John Gault are not as significant as the other factors. For while he has some influence in his area and with his book, his influence is limited by pre-existing cynicism, problems with witch-hunting and a lack of scepticism.

To conclude, the re-establishment of traditional authority is the most significant factor for ending the East Anglian witch-hunts. While the actions of authorities were in the short-term (at the end of time frame, 1646-47) they had a more direct impact in ending cases by acquitting witches and <sup>re-assuring</sup> ~~re-assuring~~ the population with the return

of normality. The expense of witch-hunting is also significant for it was long-term and may have discouraged more hunts <sup>due to</sup> being too expensive. However, it ~~did not~~ <sup>remained</sup> a long-term problem and this suggests that it did not deter hunts in new towns. suggesting the re-establishment of traditional authority was more significant. Furthermore, the actions of Ocaule are ~~to~~ not as significant for many people could not read and authorities may have had pre-existing scepticism.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a Level 5 response which starts with a clear focus on the stated factor and is well supported by precise evidence. This response is well focussed and weighs up each factor in comparison to the stated factor, a method which is highly effective.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

You do not need to state your criteria in your introduction as this response does, but you do need to consider how you are going to measure and evaluate each factor.

## Question 4

This was by far the more popular question in Section C and overall candidates were able to consider the relative significance of Harsnett's publication. On the key theme, most candidates were able to provide a fair bit of detail, for example, the connection between Harsnett's publication and the Boy of Burton case, the ensuing 'pamphlet war', and that such things as the use of exorcism were challenged as a result, although rather few mentioned that Harsnett's publication went beyond the specific case of Darell and gave natural explanations for allegedly supernatural phenomena. Challenging the proposition, most candidates mentioned other sceptical publications such as Scot, Ady, Bekker etc, and were able to link some of these with various fraudulent cases such as the Demon Drummer of Tedworth, the Jane Wenham case and Lord Chief Justice Holt. Weaker candidates covered only a few sceptical works, and some could not show how the works impacted and relied on assertion. There were a significant number of candidates who offered largely preprepared answers, dismissing Harsnett straight away and focussing on the sceptical publication they felt had the greatest impact, rather than comparing alternatives back to Harsnett and weighing up against the stated factor. These answers did not score highly. More successful responses were able to place Harsnett in the context of sceptical works as a whole and wider to other issues. The strongest candidates were able to offer good comparisons of the literature and the increasing scepticism of the law and upper classes. However only a few divided the answer between the elite educated influenced by sceptic publications and the majority of villagers who still blamed witchcraft for their misfortunes. Where this was well handled, this produced excellent answers which tied together the various elements of the response successfully.

Attitudes to witchcraft in Britain underwent significant change in the years 1580 - 1750 with witchcraft ~~formerly~~ being a capital offence until in 1736 the witchcraft Act repealed this, showing people had become much more sceptical. Some have argued that Samuel Havernett's *A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practices of John Darrell* in 1599 had the most significant impact on changing attitudes to witchcraft, but other possible factors would be the role of fraudulent cases and even the role of Lord Chief Justice John Holt. To assess which factor had the most significant impact, the criteria of widespread, timeframe and root causes will be deployed. This in mind, one must disagree that Samuel Havernett had the most significant impact because illiteracy limited the diffusion of his works, and arguably fraudulent cases were more significant as they were the root cause of sceptical publications - like Havernett's - and gained national reputations, thus helping to grow sceptical attitudes to witchcraft across the timeframe.

Nevertheless, there is some merit in arguing that Samuel Havernett's *'A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practices of John Darrell'* (1599) did change attitude to witchcraft. The work itself is clearly linked to fraudulent cases as Havernett was inspired by the discovery that John Darrell had failed the exorcism of Thomas

Darling and William Somers in the Boy of Burton case of 1597 which consequently led to the imprisonment of ~~Darrel~~ Darrel himself and George More for 7 years. Harnett encouraged sceptical attitudes to witchcraft by describing how exorcisms would be faked, such as the possessed supposedly being able to speak in tongues but having no memory of the language after. This changed attitudes as people became dubious of whether exorcism was even possible. This also had a long-term impact as later writers like Baldassare Bekker in his *The Enchanted World* (1591) tried to argue the belief the Devil could power God's on Earth was heretical, so Harnett clearly grew doubts around the possibility of exorcism. Moreover, Harnett attacked the morality of Darrel claiming he liked to read songs to undermine respect for Darrel and his exorcism. This clearly had an impact as in 1604 a canon was issued by Bishop Bancroft so only those with a licence could perform exorcism, showing belief in the efficacy of exorcism was waning. Finally, Harnett provoked intellectual debate as in 1600 Darrel published his own pamphlet in response to Harnett, and other writers like John Deane Deacon and John Walker supported Harnett's scepticism. This reflects changing attitudes among the educated, becoming more sceptical of witchcraft. Of course a serious limitation is how widespread Harnett's impact was as a published work it was inaccessible to the illiterate, which included much of rural society, and many historians have criticised the pamphlet as a case of church factionalism, with Harnett's Anglicanism potentially undermining Darrel's

Puritan beliefs in the cures of fasting and prayer. Therefore, Harnett only really changed some clerical opinions, and even then he, Deacon and Walker were in a minority. Moreover, Harnett did not challenge belief in witchcraft itself which limits the scope of his impact on British attitudes. Overall then, Harnett did have an impact of at least partial significance in undermining belief in witchcraft and possessions but he was not the most significant factor as he did not only spread his ideas to the literate classes and the root cause of his work was the discovery of fraud in the Boy of Burton case, meaning it was actually fraudulent cases which had the most significant impact.

Alternatively, one could argue it was fraudulent cases which had the most significant impact in ~~the~~ rendering ~~beliefs~~ attitudes more sceptical in the years 1580 - 1750. Firstly, the Pendle Swindle of 1632 where Edmund Robinson was discovered to have falsely accused Frances Dickinson of causing him fits and taking him to a witches sabbath had a widespread social impact. This is because King Charles I himself took a direct interest in the case which was documented in national newspapers like the Kingdom's Intelligence so communities across Britain heard of the discovery of fraud and changed their views to become more sceptical when the king pardoned some of the witches. Of course moreover, the use of surgeons like William Harvey to investigate witches is indicative of a more rational approach to proving witchcraft had not taken place.

of course, a limitation of the Pendle Juindle is that Robinson made a career as a witch-finder, earning enough to buy cows, which shows belief at the local level had not necessarily changed. Nevertheless, this case still represents a significant step in attitudes of the King and scientific community to be sceptical of witches at the national level. Secondly, the Demon Drummer Case in Tedworth in 1662 was significant as it led to multiple sceptical publications. When John Momposon accused William Drury of using a drum to bewitch his home the case sparked national interest with King's representatives even visiting the house ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> which at the time the supernatural phenomena observed were thought real, investigations by groups of individuals like John Webster whose *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677) questioned the reliability of Momposon as a witness, showing his anxious mental state and offering up rational explanations like his servants causing the strange phenomena noises helped to undermine belief in the validity of the case. Therefore, again fraudulent cases provoked national debate about whether supernatural phenomena were real. Finally, the case of Jane Wenham (1712) was significant as the last formal witch trial in England. Wenham was accused by Anne Thorne of causing her fits and to commit this the Judge Powell dismissed the guilty verdict by the jury ~~to~~ <sup>and</sup> obtained a royal pardon for Wenham. This clearly marks a shift in the attitude of the judiciary and gained national notoriety as a case study of the triumph of educated reason above local prejudices, with Wenham potentially being persecuted for

religious non-conformity of course, a limitation of Wenham's case is that she could not return to Walkern, being taken in by Whig politician William Cooper, ~~but~~ which suggests local attitudes were still somewhat unchanged. Nevertheless, fraudulent cases still had the more significant impact as they inspired numerous publications - Wenham's case being mentioned in Francis Hutchinson's *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (1718) - and spalled national social debate, making it have the most widespread impact in changing attitudes and the root cause of works like Harsnett's.

Alternatively, one could even propose that Lord Chief Justice Holt had the most significant impact in changing attitudes to witchcraft. Holt was Lord Chief Justice from 1689-1710 and had a direct impact in 11 acquittals which show he was one of the root causes of fewer convictions in this timeframe. Holt encouraged sceptical attitudes in the judiciary. For example, in 1694 he acquitted the Mother Munnings case in Bury St. Edmunds because some of the evidence came from a drunk man leaving an ale house or was based on old gossip from 17 years earlier. This raised standards in the judiciary and encouraged sceptical attitudes to witness testimony alone as evidence. Secondly, again in 1694 Holt acquitted the case of Margaret Elmore in Ipswich even though a witch's mark had supposedly been found on her body. This again challenged pre-existing beliefs. James' *Daemonologie* (1597) however held the

more in the highest regard to identify witches and thus clearly shows a growing scepticism of old procedures. Like Holt was head of the judiciary his actions would have been mirrored in local courts and so had a widespread impact. Finally, in 1701 Holt acquitted Sarah Murdock who had been accused by Richard Hathaway of bewitching him with temporary blindness which ~~clearly~~ and even ~~proper~~ threatened to put Hathaway on trial himself, instead sending him to the pillory. Here, Holt reflects a change in attitudes to witchcraft almost being slander and was arguably the root cause of the 1736 Witchcraft Act which made witchcraft no longer a capital offence, instead finding witches to be tricksters performing illusions. Therefore, Holt marked a change in the judiciary to adopt higher standards of evidence and thus changed its attitude to be more sceptical. However, his significance is limited by the fact he comes at the end of the timeframe, so had a less sustained and spread impact, and was himself influenced by sceptical publications and fraudulent cases meaning he was not so much a cause of changing attitudes but the product of earlier attitudes changing. Hence, it is still fraudulent cases which had the most significant impact as the root cause of Holt's changed views.

To conclude, one must disagree to a large extent that ~~Lord Chief~~ Samuel Harsnett's *A Discourse of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel* (1609) had the most significant impact in changing attitudes <sup>to witchcraft</sup> from 1570 to 1750, whilst Harsnett did lead

to doubts over socialism, his influence is limited to the literate in society. Moreover, fraudulent cases were the root cause of his being able to write a publication. Whilst Holt did encourage judicial scepticism, he too was influenced by fraudulent cases. Therefore, it was actually fraudulent cases which had the most significant impact in changing attitudes in Britain to be more sceptical as they had a sustained and widespread impact across the timeframe on all strata in society.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response has a sustained analytical focus on the question throughout. It does not approach the question chronologically but includes a range of examples from across the period to illustrate and support the analysis. It is particularly successful because sufficient time is spent on Harsnett before considering alternative factors. This is a strong level 5 response.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Remember that whilst you need to ensure that you have chronological range, this does not mean that you have to argue chronologically.

## Question 5

This was the less popular of the breadth questions. It was clear that for some candidates there was lack of detailed knowledge on the key theme. Candidates are reminded that this theme is a key element of the specification. In the weaker responses the inference of the understanding of the universe as a reason for no longer believing in witches and the supernatural was missing. Several answers were very general referencing the names from the question and their works sometimes but not in any great depth to show what importance they had. The importance of their work was stated rather than supported with evidence. Many just described the work of scientists, including Copernicus, without really linking this to the focus of the question. Many candidates simply cycled through various developments such as observation, models of the solar system, laws of motion, the impact of the Royal Society etc, far fewer were able to say much about how all of this may have had a more limited impact – so, such issues as the continued belief in power of astrology, demonic intervention, alchemy, numerology, etc, or the condemnation of the Church and other elites, received rather limited attention. Only the very strongest answers linked this to witchcraft and the fact that Witchcraft Acts continued to be enforced and that the 1604 statute wasn't repealed until 1736 was conspicuous by its absence. More successful answers were able to go beyond the stated individuals and bring in issues such as Locke and Hobbes, and Copernicus to create a more rounded overview and place the individuals in the question in a wider context.

Chosen question number: Question 4  Question 5

The Scientific Revolution, of which Kepler, Galilei and Newton were considered a part, marked a change in ideas about the universe. However, the impact of such ideas is dependent on the intellectual context they became a part of - its influence on or reception into this varies depending on what has preceded it, while ideas were changing in the period 1580 - 1750, the thinkers who published in a society in which ideas had changed minimally, were likely to experience a more limited impact than those who published works when the Scientific Revolution was more established. A recent study, for example, found that only 10 thinkers accepted Kepler's findings as physical fact before 1600, while Newton, part of an intellectual context more ready to accept radical ideas - himself a respected member of the Royal Society - was likely to have a greater impact. Even Newton, however, was limited by persistent ideas of magic and religion. Therefore, I agree with the judgement to some extent, but note a distinction of how limited this is between the thinkers mentioned.

Kepler's significance lies in his shift away from the millennia-old view that heavenly bodies moved in perfect ~~orb~~ circular orbits, which even Copernicus, who'd promoted the

heliocentric universe, had abided by. He mapped out the planets' paths, instead, through a series of 3D shapes fitted together. This shift away from the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic idea of the universe marks a shift towards a more accurate view of the universe and, most notably for the time, a shift away from the view that heavenly bodies must orbit in perfect circles, reflecting God's perfection. While this was a significant change, its reception highlights the limits to the changes instigated by the Scientific Revolution thus early in the period. Kepler's suggestion was considered blasphemous, and, as such, it was dismissed, even added to the list of banned books.

Religion was thus favored over Scientific <sup>discoveries</sup> ~~discoveries~~ the religious ~~religions~~ but one accepted without ~~derogation~~ ~~derival~~. The influence of Kepler is thus wholly limited; the time in which it was published did not allow for such Scientific discoveries and, as a recent study found, only 10 thinkers accepted it as physical fact before 1600. Its true influence is likely only from the 18th Century onwards, in which case other newer and more accurate discoveries likely overshadowed the work. Thus, ~~the statement is accurate~~, one must agree with the statement, particularly in relation to Kepler's work.

Galilei, who ~~wrote a little~~ succeeded Kepler, had some more influence, though ~~his~~ Catholic Italy's censorship of his work limits its impact. Despite his findings, ~~matching~~

being compatible with Kepler's, Galileo deviated from the conclusion he'd made, arguing instead that planets moved in elliptical orbits around the sun. He argued that tides were caused by Earth spinning on its axis, and came close to a modern understanding of gravity with his law that the distance between a planet to the sun, squared, was proportional to its speed, cubed. Additionally, he discovered the moons of jupiter, ~~arguing~~ <sup>proving</sup> Earth wasn't the only planet to have a moon. However, such conclusions were poorly received. He was placed under house arrest by the Catholic church, and his texts being placed on the 'Index Librorum Prohibitum'. The particularly 'blasphemous' 'Dialogue' was not removed until after 1758 - indeed, after the four period, and could only be accessed by academics in a limited form. While his incorporation of both mathematics and observation was influential, and <sup>some of</sup> his findings did come to be accepted - Newton's theory of gravity is not too dissimilar - this was a significant period of time after he published, in ~~fact~~ the case of 'Dialogue' even after 1750, and this can be said to have had a limited impact on ideas and understanding of the universe in the years 1580 - 1750. However, as his ideas remained relevant for longer than Kepler's, their impact was limited to a lesser degree.

Newton, who worked into the 18th Century, was publishing

to an intellectual Community that would much more readily accept Scientific discoveries than either Kepler or Galilei. Educated at Cambridge, Newton became a fellow of the Royal Society, established in the latter period of the 17th Century. ~~the limit of his~~ His significant discoveries can be characterised by his laws of motion - 1. an object will remain at motion or at rest and in the same direction unless an external force acts upon it, 2.  $force = Mass \times Acceleration$ , and 3. Every ~~reaction~~ action has an equal and opposite reaction - and his law of gravity providing an explanation for planetary motion, the impact of this on ideas about the universe is ~~notable~~ significant. Indeed, with the Scientific Revolution much more established, and the reception of such ideas in an intellectual climate geared towards Scientific discoveries, the question of whether Newton had a limited impact is difficult to answer. The statement is certainly less true than it is for Kepler and Galilei. However, one may consider Newton's belief in magic and devout belief in Christianity as a limit - these are traditionally limits on the more radical Scientific discoveries, for they impose a way of thinking. However, in this case the accuracy of that is debatable - perhaps the positive reception of Newton can be partially attributed to his appeal to commonly held beliefs. Thus, while I agree with the statement to some extent, it is less true for Galilei ~~as~~ than it is for

Kepler, and significantly less time for Newton than it is for both of the others. Therefore, the statement holds truth, but the limits of Newton's influence were significantly lessened.

Therefore, the limits of the three scientists' impacts may be partially attributed to censorship, but most notably to the climate in which they received Galileo and Kepler, for whom the statement is much more true, were publishing into a community stuck in the *status quo*, thus disabling ideological change, whereas Newton's reception in institutions such as the Royal Society enabled a significantly less limited impact on ideas and understanding of the universe. Therefore, I agree with the statement, but due to the variability between thinkers, only to some extent.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This is a Level 5 response as the candidate clearly considers the factor in the question effectively, over the whole-time frame of the question. There is detailed supporting evidence throughout the response, before reaching a conclusion which is well focussed and reaches a clear judgement.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Tip

Writing a brief plan ensures that you will have a well organised answer and also one that covers the whole of the time frame in the question.

## 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; there will be material in the sources to support 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 read the caption carefully, so they do not mistake its intent
- Candidates should make use of relevant contextual knowledge to support inferences and evaluation. It is not the quantity of contextual knowledge that is key, but the use to which it is put.

### Sections B and C

- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this often 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:

<https://qualifications.pearson.com/en/support/support-topics/results-certification/grade-boundaries.html>

