

Examiners' Report

June 2022

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 first post-Covid set of exams with A Level paper 33 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. 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. In this examination series, where Advance Information had been provided, it was very disappointing to note that some candidates had a very limited pool of contextual knowledge on which to draw. In some cases, this led to incorrect assumptions being made by candidates.

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. Candidates did use the Advance Information appropriately to support their revision and many of them used wide-ranging and detailed contextual knowledge to support their arguments. 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.

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 was observed that in some responses, candidates were trying to fit the material that was in the Advance Notice for Sections A and B to the demands of the questions in Section C. In many cases, this was not done very successfully as candidates failed to link much of the material to the question posed in a meaningful way.

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.

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

Question 1

Responses to this ran the full range and candidates of all levels were able to access the source. Very strong candidates were able to draw a range of inferences and a detailed discussion of areas of utility or problem with the source. Stronger candidates knew the provenance of *Newes from Scotland* well discussing Carmichael and James' bid for the throne of England, etc. Stronger answers also included range of contextual knowledge, for example, specifics of James' voyage to Denmark and his experiences there, the individuals involved in the North Berwick Trials and the political element with Bothwell. Provenance could be, and often was, linked well with knowledge, eg the need to show James as a strong, Christian monarch to impress the English. Weaker candidates made a range of errors, such as thinking James was already king of England, or that he wrote *Daemonologie* before North Berwick. The weakest answers conflated *Newes from Scotland* with *Daemonologie* or made stereotypical comments about the anonymous authorship. Weaker candidates spent too long explaining why the source wasn't useful or what was missed out in the source without linking these successfully to the enquiries. Most candidates however, were able to successfully integrate contextual knowledge into their response, though this was not always targeted to either enquiry. Candidates are advised that the enquiries need to drive their responses and that this should structure their answer.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the beliefs about the threat to James VI posed by witches and the manner in which James VI was protected from this threat.

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

(20)

The source has been extracted from 'News from Scotland' which was written in 1591. This in itself is significant when considering the beliefs about the threat to James VI posed by witches as well as the manner in which James VI was protected from such threat. Having reigned during a turbulent period as not only James VI of Scotland, but also James I of England, James' time on the throne was largely disturbed by the fact that the nations in which he was ruler of ~~had~~ were both struggling to have a firm religious identity. Scotland was already Protestant with Calvinist influence running throughout it, yet England had just witnessed a Protestant reformation, coming to grips with its new identity is what contributed largely to James' beliefs about witches. His mother, Mary Queen of Scots was executed as a result of her relentless Catholicism, thus James was determined to distance himself from such association. The source therefore greatly reveals its promise, via the 'News from Scotland', which was widely read amongst the literate, James presented himself as essentially a 'godly Protestant'. The language

and direction that the Source takes on witchcraft and the stance of James on it is therefore catered to embolden the firm and clear religious stance of James VI as wholly Protestant.

The Subtext of the Source mentions that this extract 'was included by James VI in his publication *Daemonologie* in 1597', again the historian can infer that for James to include such a Source in his own publication, it must be both highly influenced and highly in favour of his monarchical authority and triumph. '*Daemonologie*' was the publication in which James authored his own personal stance on witchcraft. The book featured two key points that witchcraft must and always feature: one being an act of maleficium and the other being the involvement of a pact with the devil. James' '*Daemonologie*' was essentially a response to the ~~woman~~ Reginald Scythical work of Reginald Scott that posed significant threat to the capability of James as 'divine ruler' as his ability to prosecute effectively, in particular with regards to witchcraft, was significantly undermined. Thus when considering the way in which this Source explores the beliefs about the threat to James VI posed by witches, as well as the manner in which he was protected, the historian can conclude that ~~James~~ James' response to Scott's Scythical, critical work, with regards to the handling of witch-

craft, was one key way in which James affirmed his authority. Paired with this is the notion that James' stance on witchcraft was outlined and underpinned within his publication 'Daemonologie' (again in response to Scot's work, aiming to disprove him), but also can be seen as highlighted through the close ties his own personal Storne had with religion. The historian can identify that beliefs about witchcraft were closely tied with religion, particularly ~~weak~~ religion - exemplified through the fact that James himself had not only grown up surrounding a struggle with religious identity, but was now ruling a nation with the same social turmoil.

The Source exemplifies its manipulation of religion by opening with, 'The all-powerful God'. The Source goes on to consider the relationship between witchcraft and the devil, all referring to witches as, 'ungodly persons, who are no better than devils'. 'News from Scotland' goes on to highlight where and why this Source was used within James VI's publication of 'Daemonologie' in 1597, saying that 'they had sworn themselves to him and then entered into the damnable art of witchcraft'. Here the Source makes a direct reference to the key factors featured within James' 'Daemonologie', those being the nature of an act of magic and a pact with the devil within an act of witchcraft. This blatant reference or compatibility of the Source with James' personal views

on witchcraft essentially undermines its validity even more. It is clear to see that the manner in which James VI aimed to protect himself from the threat posed by witchcraft was, as just mentioned, to emphasise his religious identity in the eyes of his nation, but also to underline the key features of witchcraft that he perceived to be the basis of the entire crime. The Source highlights an insubtle comparison of witches' against religion, again this has been intentionally constructed so as to reinforce the importance of James' stable religious identity - hence why the Source is so adamant to highlight this.

'News from Scotland' goes on to challenge individuals who believe that James would never come into contact with a witch, considering his wealth and status as king. This account may be doubted by some who read it, and those who believe that the king would not risk himself in the presence of such notorious witches'. The historian can recognise that 'News from Scotland' is firmly James' significant involvement in many of the witchcraft trials throughout England and Scotland. Considering the notion of the manner in which James protected not only himself but his nation from this threat, can be seen through his personal implementation of torture and authorisation of torture on many individuals. One instance of James' direct involvement with a case, which also sticks out as an outlier of some sort, would be that case of Agnes

Sampson: James personally interviewed and interrogated her. She was subject to several torture methods, including the witch's bridle. What remains to be unusual about Sampson's case is the fact that she was well educated as somewhat of a midwife. Sampson provided calm and collected responses and was able to recite the words uttered between James VI and Anne of Denmark on their wedding night. Here, the historian can identify that the source is correct in disproving individuals whom doubted the king's direct involvement. The significance of a reformed central government, paired with a monarch keen to personally administer torture highlights that this is the case; an obvious way that James himself ensured he was protected from witches, but also a way he ensured the protection of his nation.

The source continues to reaffirm the king's strong, religious, Protestant identity to the people of England, 'the king is the child and servant of God', 'the king is a true Christian and trusts in God'. Continuing to part an obvious, unobvious comparison between the witches and the king, 'witches are merely servants to the Devil'. Again the importance and deciding factor religion is currently highlighted. The historian can recognise how religion acted as a lens in which individuals viewed the threat of witchcraft through, including James, as well as the manipulation of religion as a tool to protect from the

threat of witchcraft. This can be seen through the fact that one way in which a witch was would be identified was if they were unable to say the Lord's prayer, again emphasising the relationship between religion and witchcraft, and the utilisation of it as a form of protection.

The Source ends by referring to the idea of the divine right of kings, and mentions James VI's 'voyage from Denmark'. The historian can recognise the significance of this voyage, regarding the fact that it was James' time in Denmark that influenced his stance on witchcraft so much. One could go so far as to say that Daemonologie, although a direct response to Scot's sceptical work, the views in which James promotes throughout, were actually nurtured and formed in his time in Denmark. Denmark had already an engrained view on witchcraft within society, one that was evidently less violent; favouring the allowance of proper trials and the illegality of torture as a way in which to withdraw confessions. The 'News from Scotland' alludes to the threats James faced on his return, the violent seas, supposedly conjured up by witches, one being named Anna Koldings. The Source highlights that the 'micked practices and evil intentions' of witches are carried out everywhere, but again, crucially reaffirms that 'God would defend him on the sea as on the land'.

In summary, when assessing the value of the Source for revealing the belief about the threat to James VI posed by

witches and the manner in which James VI was protected from this threat, the historian can identify that although fundamentally biased, as the source is read within James' own publication, 'Daemonologie', and as well as featuring an insubtle attempt to emphasise James' appearance as something of a 'godly Protestant' to the people of England, the source does undeniably deliver an account (albeit during the time that highlights the importance and utilisation of religion as a means of viewing and protecting from witchcraft). The source highlights that religion, paired with James' personal involvement, which he ultimately justified through religion - asserting himself as the godly, pious opposite to witches, granted with the divine right to extinguish them - is the key factor when considering the way James protected himself, as well as the deathly, ungodly ~~holap~~ threat that witchcraft posed.



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This candidate draws heavily on the source, using quotations throughout the response which are then supported by contextual knowledge. The provenance of the source is used to inform the validity of the arguments made and to support the judgements made in the conclusion. There are points when this response could be more tightly linked to the specific enquiries but overall this candidate just meets the criteria for level 5.



Make sure your response is source led. Contextual knowledge should be used to support the points you make from the source not the other way round.

Question 2

This was the more popular question in this section, which candidates generally answered well, easily identifying the influence of Roger Nowell and combining this with a fair range of other factors to come to a judgement. On the key theme, many pointed out that Nowell, in his position as a local magistrate, had a central role in both the beginning and escalation of the trials, notably his actions after Alison Device's confession, his acting on the rumours of the Malkin Tower meeting, and his decision to send the detained to the Lancaster assizes rather than try them himself. Many also suggested that he had ulterior motives, and/or that his own belief in the dangers of recusancy had an influence upon those he chose to question such as Alice Nutter. On other factors, many candidates brought in such issues as the Witchcraft Statute of 1604, which gave those concerned a mandate to root out witches, local rivalry between two families, and various contextual factors such as the social and economic and/or religious context. Weaker candidates showed a lack of knowledge of Nowell, many answers made minimal reference, if any, to him. Weaker candidates were also unable to link factors or did not weigh them effectively. There were also a number of answers which failed to tackle the issue of how the trials reached the extent that they did, struggling to engage with the specific wording of the question. Some candidates could have focused their analysis more on the extensiveness aspect of the question, as many responded as if this was a causation question, which limited the effectiveness of their response.

The Lancashire witch hunt, 1604-12, was a hunt that stemmed from Pendle into the surrounding areas. Some historians may argue that the role of Roger Nowell, as Justice of the Peace (JP) in Lancashire, was the most important factor regarding the ~~extent~~ extent of this hunt. To assess ~~this judgement~~ how far I agree with this judgement, I will discuss this factor alongside that of ~~the~~ Lancashire's economic landscape, as well as the religious tensions in this area, with ~~some~~ criteria of each factor's relative ^{+ environment} magnitude in creating and fuelling the atmosphere for a witch hunt, before concluding that the role of Roger Nowell was not the most important factor for the extent of this witch hunt, and that instead it was the ^{religious} ~~economic~~ factors which produced social tensions ~~the need for scapegoats~~ in the Lancashire community.

Many historians may argue that it was the role of Roger Nowell that was the most important factor in the extent of this witch hunt, firstly, due to his professional ~~and~~ zeal in witch hunting ~~the~~ which created the correct environment for this hunt being extended due to him bringing in more + more suspects. This

it is possible to see just how strong this personal enthusiasm for witch hunting, and therefore a reason why he may be considered ^{the key} ~~a key~~ figure for the extent of this hunt, ~~even though~~ his family isn't to be matter. Not only ~~was~~ ^{did} his family by marriage, the Stankers, have to be exorcised from Kentenham by Donnell in 1595, but also his family ~~are~~ were even ~~of~~ zealous proponents that they had to flee under the reign of Mary Tudor. Therefore some historians might attempt to argue that Donnell's role was the most important factor to the extent of this Lancashire witch hunt as he created the correct conditions for this witch hunt to be extended to such measures of as many executed as this zealous zeal which we have seen was meriting strong gave him a personal drive to root out witches from the community, as was his duty as JP, especially as people believed that witches were the work of Catholics in the period of reformation. Therefore, the extent of the witch hunt may be successfully explained by Donnell's ~~the~~ unique drive to exorcise witches, making one agree somewhat with this statement. Furthermore, he used Janet Devise, a 9 year old, as his key witness, not only were her testimonies well-prepared, but ~~also~~ her confessions were clearly led by Donnell due to the presence of

even stereotypical beliefs, even as the dog policeman's of Alton Deneé + Chatto. Therefore, we can see further that the role of Nonell might be considered as the key factor for the extent of this hunt as he used leading questions to manipulate his witnesses, which created the conditions for more witnesses to be implicated from the Mallen Tower meeting. Therefore, some may argue that Nonell's role successfully meets criteria of creating the conditions for this hunt to be extended, through his personal direct manipulation of witnesses, and as the ^{key} source of Law + order in Lancashire, this plays a great part in the extent of the many others that were implicated from Alton's previous accusations, such as Chatto and Deneé, successfully explaining the extent of this hunt.

However, I would disagree if this claim that Nonell was the most important factor in the extent of this hunt as, firstly, he wouldn't have been able to carry out + extend the witch hunt like these witness ~~photos~~ environmental factors, such as that of the dire economic situation, and therefore the way he extends the hunt depends on other, more important, factors creating a climate that supports Nonell's further claims due to social tensions. Furthermore,

it is possible to argue that Howell was not the most important factor in the extent of this hunt as he was merely following the 1612 orders of King James to make a list of miscreants + recusants. This too may explain the extent of the hunt although it could be argued that Howell's initial zeal was important, if it were coming to say that the hunt was extended by merely following the command of James as motivated by the nation's, proving convincingly that this hunt was extended not by the role of Howell, but instead by religious factors which not only motivated him, but also the extent by James which Howell simply followed as his role of JP, ~~proving that~~. This makes me ~~more~~ disagree to a large extent with the statement, ~~made~~ ~~between that~~ ~~rather~~ as we can see that Howell's role was not ~~that~~ not importantly responsible for creating the climate ~~for~~ for this hunt to be furthered to this extent.

~~However, some~~ ~~some~~ ~~historians~~ ~~may~~ ~~As~~ ~~some~~ historians also acknowledge the economic conditions of Lancashire as a key reason for the extent of this hunt, as they created a need for scapegoating + social reform in the community, making me disagree further with this statement in itself.

that this hunt was extended by the relatively omnipresent factor of economic conditions that allowed this hunt to be ~~extended~~ extended. Some may argue that this is a more important factor than Howell's role because of the focus on unemployment in Lancashire's community, which, when cars started dying in the town, allowed ~~the house~~ to create an environment of desperation, therefore extending the hunt through scapegoating. ~~this can be seen~~ A car cost £3 at the time, = 6 weeks wages for a manual worker, and so when John Nutter's car died, we can see that this hunt was extended as old Denton has blamed, as she had been called to head it the previous day. As a result, many argue that these economic factors drove the correct environment for the hunt to be extended, making the omnipresent need for scapegoating a reality that effected the wide community + therefore allowed the hunt to be extended because of this community come. Furthermore, the extent of the hunt could be attributed to the 1601 poor law, which stated that the community had to provide for the 'deserving poor'. Therefore, there was a motive to make people 'undeserving', allowing this hunt to be economically extended by creating this environment of social tension + resentment.

in which people wanted to advise more victims in order not to have to help them. This can also be seen for the Chatores + Bendies, who people despised as they 'leached' off the community, as well as Isabel Kehey, who was a beggar completely unrelated to the matter from the Malki Tower meeting. Therefore, many attribute economic factors as the most important factor for the extent of this hunt more than Robert Howell as it helps to explain why the hunt was extended through Lancashire rather than just in Pendle where Robert Howell was, making me disagree therefore with his statement as he sees the comparative relative significance of economic factors enabling the climate for extension of accusations, affecting the whole area. However, I still would not credit this the most important factor as there were some, such as Alice Nutt, accused due to religion rather than economic issues, as she was wealthy, proving that religious factors extend both outside Pendle + magisterial classes, as Nutt was believed to be a venereal cannibal, ~~proving further the~~ malignant disagreement further that it was neither Howell's role nor that of the economic climate that had the highest relative significance in extending this hunt.

Therefore, we can see that the most important factor, above Howell's role, can be religion in extending his hunt. Not only did religion motivate Howell, and therefore we can attribute his extension of the hunt to this, but also he can see that religion significantly extends + creates the environment of further accusation beyond class. Though Marie Miller was has been judged as a recent Catholic as she was healthy but couldn't explain why she visited church as she was at an illegal port, but also outside Pendle, where Howell's nonpresence is limited to. We can see this in the Lancaster news, which ended up being a Catholic from ~~place~~ trial as 3x women were let off in an area far from Pendle as it was revealed that the chief witness, Grace Sowerbutts, was the pawn of Catholic minister Christopher Southworth. Therefore, we can see how religious factors also extend his hunt beyond the records throughout caricature, making us disagree further with his statement of Howell was limited to Pendle as their JP. ~~But~~ Though Theresa Reper also agrees that this hunt's extent was the result of the religious, particularly as after the 1605 Gunpowder plot, this area was particularly

many of Catholics + miscreants, which the central
Challenger + Bendishes were miscreants as they
didn't attend church, giving the religious importance
of religion in society suspicion over this group to
extend the accusation through Bendle. Therefore, we
can see that it was religious environment, not the
role of Howell², which was the most important
factor for the extent of the hunt, and I have
strongly disagree with his statement, ~~that~~
Religion, unlike Howell, accounts for the extent of
the Lancashire hunt, as discussed, both in and
out of Bendle, as well as beyond ~~the~~ ^{those} economic
issues, seen in ~~the~~ ^{the} Peter Nutter's execution.
Therefore, unlike Howell who was fixated on religion
Bendle, we can see that even his significance
can be attributed to these religious tensions.

~~Therefore~~ To conclude, I strongly disagree with
his statement that Howell was the most important
factor for the extent of this hunt as it is clear that
the factor that overrides both his actions + all
other accusations, and therefore accounting for the
extent of the hunt, was religion, which significantly
provides this climate of social tension for accusations in
Lancashire to Lancashire to thrive.



This candidate has produced a well focussed response considering a range of factors which are well supported by carefully selected evidence. The candidate does well to explore the stated factor in detail, before comparing other factors back to this stated factor at the end of each paragraph. The candidate also focuses their response on the specific wording of the question, considering 'extent' when making their judgements. This is a level 5 response.



Consider the stated factor in sufficient detail before moving on to other factors. This will ensure that your response is tightly focussed on the specific question that is being asked.

Question 3

This was the less popular question in this section. The issue of 'social tensions' was interpreted in a number of different ways with mixed success but generally it provided a clear focus for the answer. Other factors that were prominent in answers were the threat of Indian attacks, religious and political tensions, and the role of individuals, especially Cotton Mather. A number of candidates relied on general discussions of Puritan ideas or resorted to misconceptions such as Cotton Mather lived in Salem, etc. Stronger candidates who knew the topic well could deal with the question strongly and put together a strong argument based on comparing a range of issues such as Indian raids, Puritan beliefs and disputes between village and town. Weaker candidates missed that this was a causation question and many relied on general narrative accounts of the Salem witch trials, without bringing in specific evidence which could be linked back to the question. The tangled political/religious situation was not always clear to the candidates answering this question. Similarly to question 2, a number of responses were not able to form links between arguments, for example between Native American attacks and weakened authority, and thus assessed factors in isolation. Candidates should aim to refer back to the assertion in the question at the end of each paragraph.

There were social tensions between Salem Town and Salem Village in the lead up to the hunt, and the evidence suggests that it was the most significant factor. However, its significance is relative when compared to economic factors and 'Indian' threat. I will come to this judgement by assessing the breadth of impact, and whether the factor was a long or short term cause.

Firstly, it is clear that there were significant social tensions between Salem Town and Village, which were exacerbated in the lead-up to the hunt. Therefore, it was both a long and short term cause. In the long term, the differences between the town and village, due to the village being rural, agricultural, religious and run by the community, contrasted with the town's urban setting, reliance on merchants and capitalism and less strictly religious, shows that these tensions, brought about through the different ways of governing and the village's desire for independence, prevented due to the town's reliance on their agriculture, increased the likelihood of a witch hunt. In the short term, the family feud between the major ~~and~~ town family, the

Porter, and the major village family, the Putnams, demonstrates how they had a direct role in affecting the hunt. This can be seen as many accusations were caused by Putnam feuds, such as Mary Anne Putnam's accusation of ~~the~~ Rebecca Nurse, which was extremely controversial due to her spotless reputation and piety, leading 39 people to sign a petition in defence of her character. Clearly, the Putnams accused her merely on account of their feud of over land borders, and since Nurse opposed Parris' appointment, who the Putnams supported. Therefore, clearly social tensions had a wide breadth of impact, as it involved all Salem residents, and although tensions had been building in the long term, creating the atmosphere for a hunt, the Putnam feud with many of their neighbours created a perfect excuse to accuse them of witchcraft. This therefore shows the significant social tensions.

However, this point is limited, as although there were indeed long social tensions, the hunt also spread to places such as Andover, where there were no family feuds, demonstrating the limited breadth of impact of social tensions. In addition, the Putnam's breadth of impact was also undermined, as many

accusations ~~was~~ did not have their influence, for example, John Proctor was accused due to his criticism of the hunt, having sent a letter to Boston asking them to move the hunt, as well as his wealth meaning authorities could seize his assets, which they did even before he confessed. Therefore, the breadth of impact of social tensions is somewhat limited although this point is undermined as the Puritans were nevertheless responsible for many accusations. Despite this, the fact that the hunt spread outside of Salem demonstrates that social factors, despite these tensions creating the conditions for a witch hunt, must be considered in relative significance alongside factors with greater breadth of impact.

Therefore, the 'Indian' threat must be considered. This is because fear of Indian attack created fear paranoia, and therefore led to a greater likelihood of people being scapegoated, and adding to tensions created by social factors. This can be seen in the ~~longer~~ to have a direct, fairly short term impact, as the King William's War took place in Maine in 1686. This therefore had a greater breadth of impact, as it affected more areas in Massachusetts, therefore explaining how the hunt spread. It can also explain

the hunt as it had a direct impact on Salem, as many refugees fled to Salem, bringing stories of massacre and savagery. For example, Mary Lewis ~~was~~ lost her parents in an Indian attack, and later became one of the afflicted girls, ~~which~~ demonstrating how the trauma of losing her parents may have led to her fits, which was interpreted as bewitchment. ~~She was also accused~~ of ~~the same~~. In addition, stories such as Mary Short being captured and forced to watch an English soldier roasted alive shocked Salem, and increased fear of Indians, who were viewed as agents of the devil. Therefore, although this is a long term cause, demonstrating how tensions arose well before the hunt itself, tensions remained high due to constant threat of attack, and influence from the refugees, therefore, Indian threat is relatively significant in comparison to social threat.

Economic factors must also be considered. This is because economic hardship was greater in the period leading up to the hunt, therefore creating lack of empathy for the poor, and a ~~desire~~ ^{desire} to scapegoat them, especially by taking advantage of their vulnerability. This was clearly the case, as many of the accused were poor. For example,

Sarah Good was a beggar and 'cursed' people who didn't give her money. She was accused by the Native American slave Tituba, who was of slightly lighter skin status, demonstrating how she took advantage of this. Economic hardship was increased due to England's exerted control, for example introducing import and export duty, as well as the Navigation Act, which meant exports had to be carried on English ships, which was more expensive than using the Dutch. There was increased tax and reduced income created hardship, and although this had a limited breadth of impact, as not everyone was affected, it had ^a worse impact on those already facing economic problems, as these were exacerbated and made it easier for them to scapegoat, as well as increasing tensions in the long term. This also impacted Massachusetts as a whole, thereby also explaining why the hunt spread.

In conclusion, all of these factors are of relative significance, as they all increased tension, hardship and fear, thereby creating a greater likelihood of a witch hunt, due to scapegoating and fear. However, social tensions are the most significant as this is the only factor,

relevant in the short term, due to the feud between the Putnams and Porters, as well as the Putnams' feud with many of their neighbours, ~~was~~ directly leading to the hunt, as well as social tensions creating conditions for a hunt in the long term.



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There are a range of factors considered here, and the candidate clearly attempts to establish criteria by which to make a judgement. There is also reference back to the question at the end of each paragraph which further develops the judgements. The candidate could have a slightly wider range to their points about social tensions. However as the candidate considers the interrelation of the various factors and supports their arguments with detailed evidence, this response just meets the criteria for level 5.



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Examiner Tip

Aim to weigh up at the end of each paragraph and to make sure your links back to the question are explicit. This will ensure that you are making sustained judgements throughout your response.

Question 4

A very popular question choice which allowed candidates to write fluently about the rise of scepticism. Most candidates covered the whole time period well, and the best candidates acknowledged the ebbs and flows of the rise in scepticism during the time period. The vast majority were able to assess factors ranging across the period, though links to the question (i.e. the pace and extent of change) was not consistent or explicit at times. Stronger answers were able to draw on a range of issues that influenced scepticism such as fraudulent trials, anti-witchcraft publications and changes in science among others. The best drew clear links showing how they interacted and weighing their relative importance. Many were able to show how there was or was not (in their opinion) a steady increase in scepticism with good arguments on how and why this was the case. Many argued that the pace increased and early scepticism such as Scot or the Boy of Burton was not impactful. The strongest answers considered the continuation of official as well as unofficial witch hunting across the period or that juries continued to give guilty verdicts, although very few mentioned those writers in the later period that still supported a belief in witchcraft, notably John Wesley. Many answers concentrated almost (or literally) exclusively on fraudulent cases, with rather too many candidates spending a lot of time describing these rather than using them to focus on the question. Weaker answers tended to focus on either one strand alone, for example, sceptical works; or jumped about across the timeframe without showing any process or development. Some picked a disparate group of examples without any real solidity in terms of building an argument, for example they might reference Scot and then no other works until Bekker or jump from Newton to the Pendle Swindle without giving any overarching argument. Putting the knowledge together to form a coherent argument and then to explain process adequately was not always successfully done by candidates. Candidates are reminded that if the question refers to 'Britain' then references to North America or Europe are only relevant if linked to developments in Britain.

It can be considered to a fair extent that there was a steady growth in scepticism about witches. This is because through the discovery of fraudulent cases, along with sceptical publication, there was an introduction of scepticism ~~and~~ through changing religious, general thinking, and judicial outlook. The Bay of Burton Case in ~~1588~~ 1586 demonstrates the introduction of scepticism through a changing religious outlook. Thomas Ady's 'A Candle in the Dark' in 1656 demonstrated further influence of scepticism within a changing religious outlook as well as introducing scepticism through ~~or~~ furthering the scientific thinking movement towards empiricism. This ultimately amounted in a change in the judicial system enabled by Sir Justice Holt in the 1690s, which had an evidential long-lasting effect in the 1700s.

The discovery of fraudulence within the Bay of Burton Case of 1586 demonstrated the introduction of scepticism through a new religious outlook. Following the case of Thomas

Darling becoming bewitched & possessed, Feb Minister
John Darrel performed an exorcism to
cure him. However, ~~that~~ there Judge Anderson
~~was~~ Judge Anderson became suspicious of
Darrel's practices, and the evidence, so wrote
a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Once
becoming sceptical himself, he set up a Commission
consisting of him, Bishop of London Bancroft,
and Chaplain Harnett to investigate. They
ultimately concluded that Darrel was fraudulent
and hadn't legitimately performed exorcism.
This shows a growth of scepticism within a
religious outlook as there was a shift from
viewing witchcraft as a religious threat, one
linked with the Devil and possession. ~~They~~
There was evidently a shift from the religious
supernatural paranoia. This is furthered by
~~Bancroft~~ ~~introduced~~ the identification by Harnett
that there was no evidence & that Darrel
had performed an exorcism on a religiously-threatening
witch, Somers, who was speaking Latin,
often linked to Catholicism. In addition
scepticism within a new religious outlook was
demonstrated by the Commission concluding
that exorcisms were being performed too
frequently and often by Catholics, ultimately

questioning the legitimacy of the need of exorcisms following witchcraft. Additionally, the scepticism amounted in the Bancroft publishing a Canon in 1601, stating ministers must have a licence to perform exorcisms, demonstrating scepticism surrounding the role of the Devil as in witchcraft as well as the role of the clergy in solving it. However, this ~~was~~ cannot be deemed a great influence in scepticism in a religious outlook as whilst the Church had the capacity to enact great scepticism through their mass followers, they failed to secure this influence as they did nothing to dispell any beliefs in witchcraft, they still legitimised exorcisms.

The growing rate of scepticism can be seen by Thomas Ady's influence in promoting scepticism through both a religious and scientific outlook, thus showing progression from the Bay of Burton. Ady's publication of 'A Canselle in The Darke' in 1656 focussed on dispelling beliefs of witchcraft and the Devil. Ady did so through logical thinking and scriptural backing. Ady's use of the

Bible was influential as the not only would the general populace be more keen for biblically supported ideas, but the Bible was often used to justify the hunt. Ady used the Bible to challenge the traditionally-accepted definition of a witch, stating the Bible claims it to be merely someone who leads others down an idolatrous path. Ady deployed logical thinking therein to influence scepticism as he stated that only the ~~same~~ God was omnipotent enough to perform supernatural acts, and to believe that the Devil or Witches could would be heresy, as you would essentially be worshipping two Gods. Ady ultimately ~~increased~~ shows the steady growth of scepticism as he furthered the Bay of Boten's role in scepticism through a religious outline as his use of logical thinking supported his ideas and gained credibility with the logical movements, appealing to the masses with religion and the intellectuals with logic.

Finally, it is clear that scepticism was steadily growing as it began to reach

the judicial system, ~~as demonstrated by Sir~~
~~Justice Holt~~ He became Chief Justice
Holt. Holt was influential in spreading
scepticism within the judiciary and trials.
For example, Holt argued ~~that~~ against
the use of dubious evidence and testimonies
that were often central in witch trials.
For example in 1694, Holt acquitted
Margaret Elmore despite the fact that
she had a family or history of witchcraft
conditions and had a Devil's mark.
This shows that Holt is sceptical of the
traditional beliefs, ultimately challenging
both the notion and trial of witchcraft.
This is furthered by ~~the fact that~~
~~he was prepared~~ the 1701 case of
Sarah Murdock, where not only did
he acquit Murdock, but was prepared
to put her accuser Richard Hathaway
on trial. This ultimately demonstrates
how scepticism had steadily grown and
finally reached the judicial system,
addressing the corruption and limiting
with guilty convictions. It can be argued
however that Holt's judicial influence
didn't impact scepticism within the

general public as they were not concerned with the judiciary, shown by a mob surrounding Mordue's house after Helt's acquittal. However, Helt arguably secured further scepticism within the judicial system, evidenced by the final formal trial of witchcraft being Jane Wenham in 1712, which was thrown out following dubious evidence.

To conclude, there was evidently a steady growth in scepticism ~~app~~ about witchcraft. Throughout 1580-1750, there was a build up of scepticism through a new religious outlook, shown by the fraudulent discovery of the Boy of Burton Case. This religious scepticism was perpetuated and developed through Thomas Hoby who used religion and logic in tandem to further scepticism on a widespread scale. This religious and new thinking outlook evidently developed until it reached influence on the judicial system, which undermined the trial of witches and legitimacy in total.



This response is successful as, firstly, it has just about sufficient coverage across the period, and secondly, engages explicitly with the wording of the question. There is a sense that scepticism developed differently in various sections of society. The introduction sets out the debate and the criteria by which the judgement will be made and this is revisited and developed in the conclusion. This is a level 5 response.



Check that your answer has range across the period and that you are engaging with qualifying words in the question, eg 'steady'.

Question 5

This was the far less popular question in this section and candidates are reminded that this is a theme in the specification, despite not explicitly referencing witchcraft. Those candidates who were confident in using the material very well were able to create a strong argument which included a number of elements of the unit – astronomical/physics discoveries, advances in thinking/philosophy, etc. Weaker candidates tended not to specifically talk about Britain and give a general and descriptive discussion of advances in general, often without linking these to the development of knowledge and understanding. Stronger candidates were able to make clear links, eg between empiricism and scientific method for example the best answers were able to relate continental developments (Kepler and Galileo) to Britain and scepticism surrounding witchcraft. One area of weakness across the board was the requirement to cover a certain amount of the time frame, many candidates restricted their answers to early 17th century (say Bacon) to Newton and Principia, therefore not providing enough scope to access Level 5. Weaker candidates tended to struggle to provide a successful counterargument, with few commenting on how belief in the supernatural and magic persisted, and that older beliefs often coexisted with new developments – very few, for example, mentioned such figures as Joseph Glanvill. Gresham College and the role it had in the growth of human understanding and knowledge was rarely referenced either for or against. Weaker candidates also tended to focus mainly on the work undertaken by scientists, listing developments, rather than directly addressing the question and assessing the extent of the advance.

Developments in making sense of the universe in the years 1580 - 1750 advanced human understanding and ~~development~~ knowledge to a great extent. This is due to the significance of the works of individuals such as ^{Thomas Brahe} ~~Copernicus Kepler~~, Newton, and Galileo as well as the understanding of knowledge from Hobbes and Locke who discredited previous incorrect ~~Greek~~ Ancient Greek theories and encouraged the growth of experiment and observation. Furthermore, The Royal Society created an environment to promote the expansion of knowledge. However there are some limits such as the beliefs in proving the existence of God from many key individuals.

One development in making sense of the universe came from the increased use of experimental observation. In 1572 Brahe was given a planetarium from King Frederick II and he was one of the first scientists to use the advanced equipment to form observations surrounding science. For example, he was able to use the naked eye to ~~draw~~ track comets which proved that planets did not move in perfect circles and by ~~the~~ observing supernovas, he ~~was~~ disproved the Aristotolean and Ptolemaic theory that the universe was unchanging. The use of experiments was further reinforced by Galileo in 1632 as his use of the telescope was able to disprove many existing theories. In his work Starry Messenger he described how he found spots on the sun which disproved the theory of Ptolemy (from 100AD) who stated that

The sun and planets were perfect circles. Furthermore, by witnessing the phases in Venus, he was able to give credibility to Copernicus' heliocentric system in which the planets revolved around the Sun rather than the previous belief of the Earth being in the centre of the universe. Thus, Brahe and Galileo were able to promote the use of experimentation which advanced human understanding. However, the advancement of Galileo's work was only limited to the end of the 17th century as his work was in the Index of Prohibited Books and censored for a large period of time.

Another development in understanding originated from Isaac Newton. His publication of *Principia* (~~The Mathematical Principles of Human Understanding~~)¹⁶⁸⁷ allowed him to develop existing theories and provide mathematical evidence that people could not deny. His *Principles of Motion* developed three laws: the law of inertia, the law that when an object changes speed or direction, the force acting on it is equal, and the law that for every action there is an opposite action and equal reaction. In these laws, ~~then~~ Newton developed the work of Descartes ~~and~~, Huygens and Kepler by providing mathematical evidence. He was able to prove Galileo's theory that there is constant speed of a free falling object and could prove that gravity pulled the planets toward the sun rather than the Ptolemy idea of invisible spheres pushing planets. Therefore, by developing on previous works, Newton advanced human understanding by providing firm evidence of the laws of the universe which meant that people had to accept that the old

notions were incorrect. He also promoted the use of mathematics in natural philosophy which was then imitated by others in the Royal Society, thus furthering knowledge. However, his notes still ~~had~~ were rooted in old beliefs as he currently pursued alchemy during his life.

The establishment of Gresham College and The Royal Society also furthered the advancement of human knowledge and understanding to a high extent. Gresham college was set up in ~~1597~~ 1597 which was significant as it was the first institute of higher learning in London. The college gave credibility to professions of astronomy and geometry which was significant as previous institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge only gave professions to philosophers. The college promoted investigating the universe which led to advancements such as Bedwell's invention of a new ruler for geometry and translations of mathematics in English. More significantly, the Royal Society was set up in 1660 which attracted many people interested in furthering science as it was ~~of~~ non-restrictive which allowed non-conformers to study there also. Because the Society was given Royal Approval from Charles II, it was a credible institution and thus their discoveries would have been respected which advances learning. Furthermore, the Society decided to focus solely on scientific experimental advancement in 1684 and free ~~lectures~~ lectures were open to the public which allowed knowledge to be expanded for all social classes. The Society also published their findings which expanded knowledge also.

Therefore the institution was vital in advancing human knowledge as it was a place that investigated and shared knowledge. Because they used Bacon's ~~the~~ 'New Method' book to adopt the Baconian method of gathering data and rejecting preconceived ideas, the society could move away from the continuous scientific teachings of the church to experimenting and finding new discoveries (such as Newton's discovery, who was president of the society for 24 years). However, there is a limit to its extent of advancing knowledge as there were 132 entries from members investigating alchemy. Furthermore, the society endorsed Joseph Glanville's (who was a member) book 'Saduicismus Triumphantus' which ~~advocated~~ promoted the existence of magic and witchcraft.

Lastly, the philosophical works from Hobbes and Locke were important in advancing human knowledge and understanding. Hobbes' works 'De Corpore' and 'De Homines' in the 1650s promoted the concept of materialism. This expands on the idea that every thing is made of matter, a physical substance. Thus, the concept of materialism was important in advancing knowledge as it disproved many ideas surrounding witchcraft and the supernatural. This ~~to~~ led to doubts surrounding the existence of spirits and angels, who could not be made of matter. Furthermore, Hobbes argued that no 'miracles' ^{were} went against the laws of nature and that possessions could be rationally explained by illness. This advanced learning by ~~gett~~ encouraging people to reject faith-based and superstitious

beliefs and instead adopt the rational inductive method of thinking.

This had a big impact as witch hunting decreased significantly in the 1660s. Furthermore, Locke's ~~the~~ 'Essay on Human^{in 1697} Understanding' stated that no one is born with knowledge and that knowledge is gained through experience. Thus he discredited supernatural existences as one could not claim spirits are real when they have experienced it ~~they~~ themselves. Therefore, Hobbes and Locke ~~are~~ ~~advised~~ developed human understanding by encouraging the questioning of superstition which opened people's mind for thinking rationally and in new ways. However, the influence of their works are limited to advancing the thinking of elites as most of the lower social orders were illiterate and thus did not read, or benefit, from their works.

Overall, developments in making sense of the universe in the years 1580 - 1750 advanced human understanding and knowledge to a great extent. The promotion of observation and experiment from Brahe and Galileo led to people being open to discovering new ideas and investigating science. This led to new understandings of the universe through Isaac Newton who was the most impactful as he demonstrated how mathematics can prove all of his theories of the nature of the universe which meant that people had to reject the old ancient Greek ideas from Aristotle and Ptolemy. The Royal Society promoted scientific methods and the Baconian method, and Hobbes and Locke encouraged the rejection of superstitious ideas. However, ~~there~~ there were limits to these developments as many key figures, such as Galileo and

Newton, wished to prove the existence of God and later claims
could not advance their knowledge as they could not access
the works of Hobbes and Locke.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

Although this candidate could have slightly greater range across the period, this answer takes a thematic approach and clearly attempts to engage with the assertion in the question. The candidate has a range of detailed evidence and weighs up a range of factors before reaching a supported judgement. This ensures that the candidate just meets the level 5 criteria.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

A thematic approach can be very successful as long as you ensure that you have sufficient chronological range across the period.

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.

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:

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

