



Examiners' Report June 2024

GCE History 9HI0 33

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June 2024

Publications Code 9HI0_33_2406_ER

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Introduction

It was pleasing to see that candidates were able to engage effectively across the ability range in this series of exams with 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, although a very small number did not complete their response to Section C. There continues to be an increase this year in the number of scripts that were seen that posed problems for examiners with a lack of legibility of handwriting, some of which were almost entirely indecipherable. Examiners are only able to give credit for what they can read. There was some evidence this summer of a number of candidates abbreviating words that should not be abbreviated in formal written English, eg the use of gov instead of government. This is not a development that is welcomed.

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 continue to use their contextual knowledge to describe events, sometimes with only tangential links to what is in the source, in great detail, rather than using it to illuminate and to discuss the sources. This sometimes resulted in candidates not dealing with the source adequately. In other cases, candidates might offer up no contextual knowledge to support their arguments and analysis. It is disappointing to note that a number of candidates did not explicitly address the focus of at least one of the enquiries or that candidates overlooked some element of the question. Some responses were seen where candidates dismissed one of the enquiries as having no material available for it. This will never be the case – both enquiries always have some relevant material, even though it is not necessarily always balanced.

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. It continues to be the case that a number of responses were seen that had a tendency to only deal with one side of an argument; some of these were very impressive in dealing with that one side, showing the links between the issues that were raised, but it is essential that candidates acknowledge the existence of a counter argument, 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.

Section C requires candidates to answer a breadth question. The questions in this section require balance across the chronology, 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. There seemed to be greater use made of the practice of 'bookending' the chronology this summer with little between those 'bookends'. This approach is unlikely to meet the demands of the higher levels in bullet point 2. It would appear that in this section of the paper in particular, there are some candidates who are not reading the question with sufficient care and who are using their own preferred question focus rather than the one that has been set on the paper. This clearly has an impact on achievement.

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

Question 1

Candidates were able to engage with the source and consider both enquiries to varying degrees. Weaker answers on this question tended to paraphrase or select elements of the source and comment with no reference to the provenance or any contextual knowledge. Most candidates included a good amount of own knowledge and most knew something about James and the trials. Common misconceptions included: suggesting that the North Berwick Trials were still going on at the time of the writing on *Daemonologie* and also that James somehow took part in the trials directly, which is inaccurate. Weaker answers also sought to ignore the stipulation of Scotland in the question. Whilst reference to later events in England, such as the 1604 Act or the Pendle Trials as a way of developing on James' ideas and their impact could be referenced, many candidates sought to make up for a lack of knowledge of the specifics of North Berwick with an attempt to shoehorn English trials into the discussion of Scotland.

The strongest answers knew a lot of detail about James and his motivations for writing, allowing them to address all sorts of elements of the provenance, such as James' family background, his paranoia over being harmed, his journey to Denmark and dealings with Danish witch hunters, etc. This allowed them to see areas of potential opinion or bias in the source, such as arguing that James, who was particularly paranoid after his exposure to storms on the way to and from Denmark, may have been trying to 'over-egg' the problem of witchcraft in order to try to drive a movement to wipe out any future threats to himself. Among the strongest issues to address was James' desire to show himself to the English as a just but firm king, fighting Satan and worthy of the English throne.

The supernatural powers area was well-covered with candidates correctly identifying the ability to transport and often well-supported with references to Agnes Sampson having been in Denmark somehow to hear James' words on his wedding night, etc. The coven or Satanic Pact was also very well-covered with plenty of candidates clear that there had been numerous witches identified at North Berwick.

The judges element notably allowed discussion of the later Great Scottish Witch Hunt and the Commissions etc involved in that, allowing students to show a wider knowledge of events and trends in Scotland. It also profitably allowed for discussion of James' demands on judges, eg his insistence on a retrial for Barbara Napier, etc.

For students with good knowledge of the trials and contexts this question allowed a wide variety of opportunities to access high levels. Many students knew James well enough but could not really tie in the specific witch trials of the era in Scotland as they did not have the requisite knowledge. Teachers should be clear that the depth studies need to be covered in sufficient detail and not to neglect the later Great Scottish Witch Hunt in favour of looking solely at North Berwick.

1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the beliefs about the nature of supernatural powers and the role of judges in Scotland in the late sixteenth century.

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

(20)

This source, from King James VI's 'Daemonologie' is extremely valuable when considering popular beliefs about the nature of supernatural powers regarding witchcraft, as well as the responsibility of judges in Scotland during the 16th century. Throughout the source, King James makes his case - not just to his subjects in Scotland but also to those in England who are soon to be - that supernatural powers are inherently ~~linked~~ ^{linked} with the Devil, and thus it is the responsibility of the law to punish witchcraft.

Finally, James uses the source to create a sense of fear and panic

regarding the nature of supernatural powers. This is highlighted by his emphasis in the source on the "invisible" threat of the supernatural.

A close link between the Devil and supernatural powers is created in "he and other spirits, known as witches, are invisible to anyone else." This image ~~also~~ reveals how James used the threat of supernatural powers as a constant and legit practice throughout his reign as King of Scotland, sparking fear as a method of controlling the masses. ~~not seen~~ As well as this, it reveals an important belief of the time, that of Diabolism, which James actively sought to establish in Scotland and England throughout the late 16th and early 17th centuries and replace the traditional belief of 'white magic' which had been prominent in the early 15th century. Collectively, this evidence is valuable, as it highlights how

Saunders, and many others of the educated, upper-class elite, desired to impose new and more manipulatable beliefs in supernatural powers during the late 16th century. This links to Saunders' voyage to Denmark in 1589, which many ~~historians~~ historians ~~extensively~~ confide to be largely formative to his beliefs in Diabolism, as he met with leading European thinkers on the subject ~~that~~ such as Niels Hemmingsen.

Furthermore, Saunders uses the source to allude to a number of other beliefs in the supernatural which he wished to impose upon the masses. This is evident in his regard to the belief that witches have to go to "the transformation" into the likeness of a beast." This concept links to some of the accusations of shapeshifting towards accused witches during

the North Berwick hunt of 1590-91, as well as the idea of 'familiars', which was a popular belief across Scotland and England at the time regarding witchcraft. Continuing, James also makes reference in this source to the accusations made towards Agnes Sampson in particular, who was a notable victim of the Berwick witch hunt. James highlights how "witches can be transported from one county to another," which mirrors the accusation that Agnes Sampson was able to fly across the sea and use her supernatural powers to cause the intense storms which James encountered on his journey to Denmark. James' lines here to the North Berwick witch hunt of 1590-91 are also valuable because of their implication. James included further references to the Berwick case by including extracts from 'news from Scotland' in other chapters of 'Daemonologie', clearly

highlighting his desire to use the Berrick hunts as proof of his reliable track record as king of Scotland to the English readers of 'De Monarchie' and further cement the beliefs regarding supernatural powers which he explores in this source throughout his domain.

As well as this, the source is incredibly valuable when considering the role of judges in Scotland during the late 15th century. In Scotland during this time, courts only required a simple majority to convict ~~and~~ an individual of ~~witchcraft~~ witchcraft, and this falls in line with the sentiment of assumed guilt and endorsement of convictions by James in: "The Prince ~~or~~ or the judge may punish the witches as he thinks convenient. But in the end, to spare the life of the witch is a fault, and treason, against God." Here, James makes

a link to his belief in the 'divine right of kings' in order to emphasise the inherent guilt and heinous nature of supernatural crimes and ~~witchcraft~~ witchcraft - and therefore the responsibility and duty the judges of Scotland hold to convict witches. This highlights a wider notion about the role of judges during the 16th century, that creating a fair and just trial for an individual, according to *Saines*, should not necessarily be the most important role.

Finally, *Saines* does use this source to highlight - or at least acknowledge - the possibility of wrongful convictions and the responsibility of judges to be somewhat cautious when convicting people of witchcraft: "Judges also ~~re~~ ought indeed to beware whom they condemn. For it is a great crime to condemn the innocent." This could be a response

from James, in light of the heavily criticized Great Scottish witch hunt of 1597, which allegedly took place under a Royal commission, but many thought was too extreme in its extent of persecutions. It is here, that James once again uses the source to try and appeal ~~with~~ to his soon-to-be subjects in England, ~~about~~ claiming himself to be a responsible king.

Ultimately, it is clear that James' act of perpetuating fearful and threatening depictions and beliefs regarding supernatural powers in this source is critical to his attempt to ~~the~~ relate to the audience of ~~Denonologie~~ 'Denonologie', and highlights how beliefs in the supernatural at this time were largely dictated by leaders and those in the educated upper classes. Furthermore, James' focus on the role of judges in Scotland during the late

16th century reveals a strong belief of the duty to punish witchcraft, which stems from the inherently sinful nature of the supernatural as a belief system.



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Examiner Comments

This is a clear level 5 response that is focused and works with the source to identify and illustrate a range of points relevant to both enquiries. There is contextual knowledge throughout the answer to develop the valid inferences that have been made. The caption and contextual knowledge are used to evaluate the source.



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Examiner Tip

Make sure that your contextual knowledge is tightly linked to the points raised by the source rather than as a separate section.

Question 2

This question was generally well done. Candidates were well prepared on the question of the Pendle Witches and most had a good knowledge of Altham and Bromley. Many were also aware of other factors, and this enabled them to generate some debate. Some otherwise strong responses let themselves down a bit by a lack of detailed knowledge on the key theme and/or by concentrating their answers too much on causation generally rather than the specific issue of outcomes. Candidates are reminded that a close reading of the question is an essential requirement.

So, although many identified the key role of Bromley and Altham, relatively few answers made the point that Bromley had been made Serjeant-at-Law, that both he and Altham had been knighted by the king and that therefore their conduct would have both demonstrated an awareness of the king's beliefs and perhaps motivated in part by a desire to gain his approval. Many candidates were able to note the significance of the judges' willingness to hear evidence from 9 year-old Jennet Device, although fewer went on to describe Bromley's identity parade with the evidence gained from Jennet and therefore note that her evidence was crucial in securing convictions. Some candidates also linked Bromley and Altham to the work of Thomas Potts, ordered by the judges to write an account of the trials.

On the counter-argument, many were familiar with the influence of local magistrate Roger Novell and his role in the accusations reaching trial, and most candidates also referenced such issues as the confession of Old Demdike (central to the conviction of Old Chattox), and confessions such as that of James Device before the trial (which determined the guilt of some of those accused, including Alice Nutter). Rather few answers had much to say however about the legal framework for the trial provided by the Statute of 1604, which legislated that conjuring spirits was a criminal offence.

Weaker responses provided knowledge from the case study but without focusing clearly on the specific concept ie outcomes. Stronger responses weighed up Judges against 2-3 other factors, identified and used criteria throughout to evaluate their relative importance and reached a judgement following sustained analysis.

The beliefs and conduct of Judges Bromley and Altham were instrumental for determining the outcome of the trial of the Lancashire witches. However, the role of Roger Nowell and his active participation in investigation was the determining factor. The role of confessions was also very important.

The beliefs and conduct of Judge Bromley and Altham were important as they had a significant authority and, therefore, lots of power to determine what happened. For example, ~~Bromley~~^{Altham} was appointed as mediator by James I on the House of Lords for negotiations between Scotland and England, suggesting that he had significant responsibility and power and therefore would have been less likely to be questioned about the decisions made at trial. Similarly, Bromley

was common among towards the end of a distinguished legal career suggesting that this experience and authority knowledge would have granted him more authority and therefore more power in determining the outcome of the trial. Additionally, as the judges they had the power to sentence the accused meaning the ultimate outcome or those put on trial was determined by them. Furthermore, the beliefs of the two would have played a key role in deciding what outcome they deemed suitable. It is suggested that Bromley ^{carried} ~~had~~ around a copy of ^{King} James' Daemonologie which he may have consulted during the trial. In Daemonologie, James argues fiercely for the existence of witches and the requirement to punish them severely for their sins. It is therefore conceivable that Bromley held similar beliefs or at least was determined to follow the King's beliefs, which would have influenced

the outcome and the severity of the ~~trials~~ punishments the accused faced.

Therefore, the Equally, in the case of Alice Nutter, from a more respectable and wealthy family, the judges required for ^{more} ~~or~~ convincing evidence suggesting that they were required to be convinced and ~~p~~ and persuaded and otherwise, they would create an outcome not in the favour of those who wanted convictions. Therefore, the conduct and beliefs of the judges can be seen as a very important factor ^{due to} ~~as~~ the power and authority they held, particularly for sentencing.

However, the role of Roger Norvell can be seen as most important in determining the outcome. The foremost reason for this is that he is the one who decided to hold the matches prisoner until August, when the assizes, and judges, would come to try them. Without this action, the conduct and beliefs of Bromley and Atham would have been inconsequential as the trial would likely

have been conducted by local magistrates. Nowell's actions meant that the trial was taken more seriously and seen as more severe, which could have impacted the judges' outcomes. Additionally, Nowell was instrumental in ~~with~~ gathering the evidence that was then presented to the judges at trial. For example, ~~he~~ after interrogating Alison Dence, 3 days later he detained Old Pendrake, Old Chatter and Elizabeth Dence for questioning. In addition to this, he found several neighbours who were willing to testify against the accused. Therefore, it is the evidence that Nowell collected and his prominent position in organizing the case that ~~meant that~~ led to the evidence that was presented at trial. Without Nowell's role, it is less likely the judges would have had such an array of evidence to make their ~~de~~ decisions off. Furthermore, Nowell used Fenret Dence as a key figure in the trial to testify against her own family and it was

her information that was key to the outcome. For example, she testified against her brother James Dence, claiming he had been a witch for 3 years. Because she was a child, her evidence would have been seen as more compelling and so may have swayed the outcome, meaning that again Norvell was important as he orchestrated the use of her testimony. Therefore, Norvell was the most significant factorⁱⁿ determining the ending as he gathered the evidence for the trial for the judges to base their decisions off.

The use of confessions also played an important part in the outcome of the trial. For example, Anson Dence's confession and questioning was used against her in trial; she was asked if she would heal John Law and she said no. Her outcome was that she was convicted of laming John Law. Therefore, there is a correlation between the confessions made and what individuals were ~~accused~~ convicted.

and charged with. However, given that Roger Norvell was the one who interrogated Alton Dence and elicited the confession from him about his encounter with John Law, his role still plays a more significant part. ~~for the~~ Confessions were also important as it led to the widening of the trial, meaning the final outcome implicated more people. For example, it was the confession of Alton Dence about Old Chattox that led to his being charged with the murder of Robert Nutte - Alton recalled how a few years prior, Robert had fallen ill and blamed Old Chattox, who was living on his land, for poisoning him. Therefore, confessions can be seen as very important to the outcome of the trial as it led to the charges against individuals that the judges then had to determine punishments for. In this sense, the judges role is more important than the confessions, because they did have the power to acquitt

everyone if they wanted, but their beliefs likely meant they did not want to.

In conclusion, the role of Roger Nowell was most important in determining the outcome of the trial as he gathered the evidence used by the judges ^{to} inform their decision and arranged for the trial to take place at the assizes. However, the role of the judges was still key as they had power over determining what individuals were charged with and how they were punished. The confessions were important too as there was often a correlation between what was confessed and what individuals were ultimately charged with.



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Examiner Comments

A focused response with a clear and effective introduction. There is sound focus on the nominated factor with some specific evidence on the importance of the judges. A range of other factors are identified with illustration which facilitates debate. There is a clear judgement, and the response is well structured. This response is in level 5.



It is important to focus on the key terms in the question – in this case 'outcome' – to ensure that your response is tightly focussed.

Question 3

This question was generally well done. Indeed, candidates were sometimes over prepared and set about storytelling, given their level of knowledge. Whilst most candidates were able to write in general terms, many rather lacked that extra bit of detail necessary for the higher levels. So, whilst most were able to identify Cotton Mather's influence by suggesting that he was a well-known authority on witchcraft, rather too many were unable to go much beyond this, with surprisingly few candidates mentioning 'Memorable Providences' and its importance as the intellectual basis and guidance for the Salem hunt, and very few indeed were able to note Mather's popularisation of European models of witch-hunting, specifically the belief in their ability to act in covens. Crucially, very few also were aware of Mather's belief in caution when using spectral evidence, which significantly weakened many answers.

On the counter-argument, many candidates were confident in identifying the testimony of children and impact of belief in spectral evidence (although many blamed this on Mather as above), but other issues such as fear of Indian attacks or social tensions within the community were often covered rather briefly, whilst surprisingly few again were able to say much about the political situation underpinning the witch-hunt, with Massachusetts having no acknowledged governor until 1692 following the 'Glorious Revolution' in England.

Weaker candidates confused Mather with eg Samuel Parris, or with Increase suggesting Cotton had travelled to England. Many candidates struggled with the stated factor (Mather) or focused on factors more relevant to cause of the hunt than intensity. Some weaker responses provided knowledge from the case study but not focused on intensity. Better responses were able to evaluate the relative importance and relationships between factors, using precise and specific factual detail to support, in order to reach a fully justified judgement.

- ↳ Cotton Mather - influential Puritan minister
 - sermons
 - influenced view of witches

→ enabled by context of Salem

- ↳ contextual factors - economic crisis (Indian War)

- social tensions
- Puritan nature

↳ family high death toll fear of Indians

→ root cause

- ↳ judiciary - spectral evidence

- lack of central control meant social tensions could not be resolved
- gave voice to children
- Rebecca Nurse - innocent verdict overturned

reflect contextual factors

→ catalyst

The Salem witch hunt occurred from 1692-93, and resulted in many people being condemned to death. The witch hunt in Salem was widespread and was able to become this way due to the context of Salem, a highly fearful and anxious society following the Indian War. However, it could be argued that it was the role of Cotton Mather that led to the Salem witch hunt becoming more severe and extensive, acting as a catalyst for fear and accusations to grow.

~~It is accurate to a small extent~~ It could be argued that it was the impact of Cotton Mather that led to the severity of the Salem witch hunt, since Mather was able to exploit his authority and the highly fearful nature of Salem in order to stir up terror and resentment towards witches, thus ~~more~~ leading to widespread accusations. Cotton Mather was an influential Puritan minister in Salem, an area which was highly religious, meaning that

Mather's word was trusted throughout society, enabling him to have a socially widespread impact. Mather made sermons about witches and the dangers of ~~with~~ maleficium, enabling him to spread fear of witches throughout society, thus triggering more people to accuse those around them and thereby making the witch hunt more severe. Moreover, Mather published a book highlighting the dangers of witches, including the case of the Goodwin Possessions, further increasing fear and making witchcraft appear to be everywhere in society. Despite low literacy rates in Salem, Mather's ideas could still be spread through his sermons, since the majority of people in Salem attended church. However, it could be argued that Mather was able to generate fear of witches by exploiting the already highly anxious nature of Salem, suggesting that, whilst Mather's authority justified this fear of witches, ~~his~~ ^{his} ideas were only accepted due to a ~~widespread~~ pre-existing terror in society and a desire for ^{protection} ~~authority~~ from supernatural forces. Furthermore, the highly Puritan nature of Salem meant that as a minister Mather was well respected and listened to. Therefore, it is accurate to a small extent that the role of Mather led to the severity of the Salem witch hunt, since it was arguably the context of Salem that allowed Mather's ideas to be ~~not~~ accepted and believed, thus suggesting that although he may have acted as a trigger for more accusations, Mather's role has limited significance.

It could be argued that it was contextual factors in Salem that enabled the hunt to become so severe and extensive, since

this context provided a foundation for widespread accusations. Following the Indian War in 1685, Salem and its inhabitants became highly fearful, viewing the Indians as devil-worshippers. Given that witches were believed to have made a diabolical pact with the devil, people in Salem became highly suspicious, ~~and~~ leading to widespread accusations, particularly of Indians such as Tituba. Moreover, the war had ~~also~~ resulted in high death rates ^{with 7/10 of the men dying} ~~and famine~~, creating an emotionally tense and unstable society in which a scapegoat was needed, thus leading to widespread and deeply entrenched resentment towards witches. The economic problems created by the war, such as high taxes and famine, generated social tensions, leading to many accusations being triggered by financial resentment. For example, Reverend George Burroughs was accused following his failure to pay the influential Purnam family, suggesting that the highly anxious and resentful nature of Salem created an environment in which ~~mere~~ ~~accusations~~ accusations could spiral out of control. Furthermore, the ~~the~~ highly Puritanical nature of Salem meant that there was a focus on repenting the devil, perhaps leading more of the accused to confess, further increasing fear of witches. However, it could be argued that ~~it~~ it was the judicial system and lack of central authority that enabled the context of Salem to be weaponised. If there had been strong judicial control, then the fearful nature of Salem would have been less likely to ~~lead~~ lead to spiralling accusations, since tensions and disputes could have been solved through a more traditional means. Therefore, whilst contextual factors are significant due to their

role ^{as the} of root cause that laid the foundations for accusations, their significance is ~~not~~ less than the judiciary.

It could be argued that it was the role of the weakened judicial system in Salem that led to the severity of the ~~Salem~~ witch hunt, since the lack of central authority exacerbated societal fear and gave voice to children, thus causing a widespread fear of witches to become justified. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 meant that there was decreased central control in Salem, meaning that legal matters were not resolved in the typical way. This further contributed to the highly anxious nature of Salem, as more people were convicted of witchcraft, making it appear widespread. Moreover, the judicial system promoted the use of spectral evidence and enabled the testimonies of children to be used in court, for leading to further convictions. Elizabeth Hubbard, one of the children, testified against 29 people, 17 of whom were ~~order~~ convicted, and Ann Putnam's name was mentioned 400 times in the court records, thus highlighting the judicial system's reliance on children. The judiciary also allowed for long term rumours to be used as evidence, leading to more people being convicted and accusing others around them.

Furthermore, the jury were easily influenced by powerful members of society, highlighted as they acquitted Rebecca Nurse's innocent ruling. However, this suggests that the judiciary system may have reflected the context and beliefs of society. That being said, the fact that the judicial system reflects the context of Salem suggests that it is a catalyst that enabled the context of Salem to

be weaponised against women, making it significant.

Therefore, whilst Cotton Mather was able to spread his ideas throughout Salem, he was only able to do this due to the highly fearful nature of Salem. The context of Salem was manifested in the weak ~~poorly controlled~~ judicial system, suggesting that the judiciary system acted as a catalyst that drove accusations and fear in society. Had the judiciary been stronger, then less people would have been convicted, meaning that society would not have become so ~~anxious~~ anxious, and accusations would not have spiralled as many people confessed falsely.



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Examiner Comments

A sound level 5 response. It is focused, clearly expressed and develops a balanced argument. It addresses the impact of Cotton Mather with specific detail and assessment of significance. These points are then weighed against a range of other factors and the response is strong on context.



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Examiner Tip

Planning your answer ensures that your response is focussed and includes all the key factors.

Question 4

This was the most popular of the breadth questions and students showed an impressive awareness of sceptic publications. The best answers were able to put their impact into the wider context of changing attitudes. Some candidates however provided preprepared responses considering solely the impact of sceptical publications.

On the key theme, many candidates noted James I's rebuttal of Scot's work of 1584 but neglected to note the impact of writers later in the period, notably John Wesley, and very few candidates noted that juries continued to return guilty verdicts despite the publication of sceptic works, or that many sceptical writers were themselves very traditional in significant ways and indeed often provoked others to refute their arguments. When discussing Harsnett for example, many mentioned the 'pamphlet war' but were unable to go into much detail about the arguments involved and specifically Darnell's response, or failed to note that the latter still had much support. And although a fair number of candidates noted the repeal of the Witchcraft Act in 1736, few then were able to develop this, eg, by suggesting that this indicates that beliefs in witchcraft continued throughout the period.

By contrast, most candidates were usually much more comfortable on the counterargument, but whilst many were able to identify the impact of key figures such as Scot, Harsnett, Ady, Webster, Bekker etc, many answers were rather methodical, with each work dealt with one by one in a 'strengths and weaknesses' type of format. Very few also mentioned later works by authors such as Francis Hutchinson and his connection to the Jane Wenham case. Quite a few answers went into detail on fraudulent cases and/or the influence of such figures as John Holt, but far too many answers didn't link these to the specific theme of 'limited/not limited' terribly well or simply narrated the facts of the various cases, and surprisingly few answers were able to say much about the impact of the growth of rationalism and empiricism.

Weaker responses struggled with the idea of 'limited' as the focus and some candidates mixed up publications with fraudulent cases and didn't deal with the question that was asked. Better responses evaluated limitations and positive impact of publications on belief and were able to link them to broader features of the period eg judges, cases, scientific revolution. There were 2 main ways that students approached the question (1. Students focused solely on publications and considered yes/no for each publication but this didn't allow for as much interlinking of features. 2. Students did a paragraph on publications yes/no and then considered other features eg fraudulent cases). For the 2nd type, better responses were able to analyse and evaluate other features against publications ie more/less limited than, whereas weaker responses treated them separately.

Question 5

This was the least popular of the breadth questions and candidates again came prepared with knowledge about the impact of science and reason with the consequence that very few were able to support their answers with much knowledge on the key theme of 'did little to diminish' beyond references to other figures deemed more important such as Newton. That witchcraft acts continued to be enforced until their repeal in 1736, arguably showing that the impact of Hobbes and Locke had minimal impact, was mentioned by very few candidates, whose answers often lacked nuance in by-passing the fact that decline in traditional beliefs was far from steady well after Hobbes' and Locke's writings were published. Meanwhile, 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 a light touch. Surprisingly few candidates also had much to say about the impact of the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662, particularly with its backing of the king, which helped advance a focus on experimental knowledge.

On the counterargument, candidates were a little more secure, albeit with most answers being much stronger on Locke rather than Hobbes, with some candidates being able to focus on Locke's empirical outlook as incompatible with a belief in the supernatural, although surprisingly few linked Hobbes' belief in materialism with sceptical writers such as Webster and Bekker.

Stronger responses were able to evaluate impact (yes and no) and were able to link points to broader features of the period eg scientific revolution.

while ~~the~~ belief in magic and the supernatural was not ^{rejected} entirely & following Locke and Hobbes and Hume's writings, nevertheless the two men shifted the approach to understanding and viewing the world, ~~thus~~. In this way, Hobbes in particular more so than Hume, did diminish beliefs in magic and the supernatural. Indeed, the works of Hobbes and Hume were certainly more significant than scientific changes.

Hobbes and Hume did diminish beliefs in magic and the supernatural due to their approach to understanding the natural world. Indeed, both Hobbes and Hume advocated for materialism, which ~~encouraged~~ ^{advocated} led to a rejection of supernatural beliefs as it is intangible. Moreover,

materialism exposes a shift in view of ~~the~~ the universe, moving away from blindly accepting knowledge held, in Locke's 'Advancement of Learning', Locke advocated for experience based knowledge. This diminishes belief in magic and the ~~scientific~~ ^{scientific} as it encouraged questioning established beliefs and ideas. ~~Later~~ Similarly, Hobbes also encouraged questioning established ideas through his idea of deductive reason. This results in pre-conceived not being immediately rejected, but rather tested. In this way, Hobbes reduced belief in magic and as entire empiricism, all ideas are not considered. As such, supernatural beliefs about the power of witches poisoning, ^{animals} or seeking revenge, ~~as~~ would not immediately be considered, but rather questioned. As such, Hobbes and Locke ~~both~~ ^{and} have a significant impact on diminishing beliefs of magic and super

neutral as they encouraged new
means for understanding the
universe

In addition to this, Hobbes and Locke
similarly had a significant impact
on diminishing magic and ideas
about the supernatural due to
the impact on science. Indeed, it
can be argued that despite ~~a~~ focusing
on politics - for instance Hobbes
wrote *Leviathan* - both men had a
more significant impact than the
Scientific Revolution. Indeed, Hobbes
'*On the Body*' and '*On Man*' ^{noticed} ~~encourage~~
a shift in perception of the natural
world; ^{similarly,} ~~and~~ ^{Locke} ~~was~~ ^{also impacted} ~~by~~ ^{and} ~~encouraged~~
Indeed, ~~by~~ ~~both~~ ~~advocating~~ ~~for~~
~~experien~~ ~~experien~~ ~~ced~~ ~~base~~ ~~d~~ ~~know-~~
~~to~~ the view of science and thus
the word. Indeed, although the Royal
Society followed Bacon's 1620 *Newum*
Organum ~~to~~ ^{to} put in place
an empirical view of the world,
Locke ~~was~~ was deemed 'father
of empiricism, this contributed

to this institutional shift in exploring the word. This in turn reduced belief in magic and supernatural as an organisation highly respected - indeed received a royal charter in 1662 - supported Hooke's theory. As such, Hooke's beliefs about questioning one's knowledge received a level of grants and respect and was more likely to be replicated. In this way, Hooke had a more significant impact than certain scientific thinkers as his beliefs were held up institutionally. His contrasts, ~~contrast~~ Copernicus whose 'On the heavenly revolutions' was placed on the index, as well as Galileo's 'Discourses' being ~~silenced~~ placed on the index from 1616 to 1758. As such, while scientific thinkers ideas which also encouraged an alternative view of the universe ~~to~~ were silenced, in contrast Hobbes and Hooke's beliefs were upheld.

On the other hand, Locke in particular did ^{less to} diminish ~~ideas~~ belief in magic than Hobbes. This can be seen by the contrast in deductive and empirical methods. Indeed, Locke did ~~less to~~ diminish ideas about magic as he ~~emphasized~~ ~~is~~ left room for doubt and supernatural ideas to be confirmed. For instance, Locke's 'tabula rasa' - similarly to Bacon's 'Table of Instances' - allowed the logic behind natural science which ~~was~~ legitimised supernatural ideas. In this way, rather than rejecting supernatural ideas, Locke ^{strengthened} belief in magic as he advocated for an approach which seemed to prove ~~the~~ previous ideas. This is contrasted ^{Hobbes advocated for} by Hobbes. Indeed, ^{deductive} reasoning as it eliminated the doubt present in empiricism. As such, ~~Hobbes~~ while Locke did ~~not~~ ~~less to~~ diminish ideas ~~of~~ in the supernatural, Hobbes offered an alternative approach which rejected it. Moreover, Locke also did

less than Hobbes due to his ideas in spiritualism. Indeed, Locke took his ideas of experienced based knowledge further and ~~also~~ claimed that since spirits couldn't be disproven, they may still exist. As such, Locke left more room for ideas of supernatural occurrences and witchcraft to be upheld as while they could not be proven, they similarly could not be disproven. As such, ~~unlike Hobbes~~ ^{Locke did less to diminish} supernatural beliefs than ~~Hobbes~~ ^{Hobbes}. However, nevertheless, Hobbes' beliefs in deductive reasoning and questioning of the universe, ~~was~~ paired with his stated belief in experienced based knowledge, enabled a gradual shift away from belief in the supernatural.

In addition to this, it could also be argued that Hobbes and Locke and indeed do little to diminish beliefs in the supernatural.

as by c. 1750, magic and supernatural were a feature of life and understanding the universe. Indeed, ~~soon~~ despite advocating for questioning the universe, and in his case 'a blank slate', the use of supernatural to explain the universe was still prevalent. Indeed, this is evident through the widespread belief in spontaneous generation. As such, especially as Hobbes and Locke were not accessible to the working class, ordinary people's beliefs in magic would not be significantly altered by Hobbes or Locke. Moreover, magic and supernatural continued to be a feature of scientific knowledge - indeed, despite the Royal Society adopting 'empiricism' and rejecting the supernatural ideas after Blauvelt urged them to investigate the 'Demon Drummer', nevertheless, magic was a feature of science. Indeed, in Newton's ~~early theories of gravity~~ early ideas for the cause of gravity were

magic, as well as believing in numerology and alchemy. Hence, even the president of the Royal Society, from 1703 did not completely adopt Locke's ideas of ^{empiricism} ~~empiric~~. Similarly, both Kepler and Newton believed in 'cosmic harmonies' and ^{particularly for Kepler} ~~the~~ belief in God drove his ~~belief~~ in exploration of science, as expressed by 'Harmonices Mundi'. Indeed even Galileo taught his ~~students~~ ^{who didn't believe in God -} medical students astronomy. Hence, magic was an deeply rooted feature of understanding the natural world. As such, while Hobbes and Locke advocated for ~~a~~ new approaches to understanding the universe, their impact was gradual.

In conclusion, ultimately, Hobbes and Locke did diminish the belief in magic and superstition by encouraging an alternative view of understanding society, despite Hobbes' approach being more impactful than Locke's. While belief in magic persisted despite, Hobbes and Locke established a long term foundation for research of magic.



The candidate engages with the question and develops a balanced and well-informed debate. There is a clear understanding of the importance of Hobbes and Locke and some impressive, detailed evidence. A range of other factors is identified, again with specific illustration, and the relative significance of factors is weighed up. The response is fluently written with a clear structure so is a level 5 response.

Paper Summary

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

Section A

- Candidates should read the question carefully, so that they ensure that they are dealing with both enquiries
- Candidates should aim to go beyond comprehension and summary of the sources by developing reasoned inferences that are fully discussed
- Candidates should read the caption and make full use of it when evaluating the source
- 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

Planning of essays will help candidates develop an analytical approach

- Candidates should read the question carefully to ensure that they are answering the question that has been set, both in terms of its focus and its chronological parameters
- Candidates should avoid a narrative/descriptive approach; this often undermines the analysis that is required for the higher levels
- 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>

