

Slave Trades Throughout History

US Recommendation: Teaching students the Full Historical Scope to Better Understand Modern Slavery, War, Mitigation Strategies, and Their Implications

Lessons should be age-appropriate.

Executive Summary

Understanding slavery requires examining its full historical scope rather than limiting instruction to a single region, people, or era. Throughout history, slavery has affected people on every inhabited continent and has taken many forms, including chattel slavery, debt bondage, forced labor, military enslavement, human trafficking, child exploitation, and systems of compulsory servitude.

Teaching the more expansive history of slavery helps students understand how exploitation develops, how governments and societies have responded, and how similar patterns continue to appear in modern human trafficking and organized criminal enterprises. A comprehensive historical education also strengthens critical thinking by allowing students to compare different systems, identify warning signs, and recognize how law, economics, warfare, and human rights intersect.

Educational Recommendation

We recommend that educational institutions teach the full chronology of slavery throughout history, including:

- Ancient slavery
- Classical civilizations
- African slave trades
- Arab and Ottoman slave trades
- European systems of servitude
- Indigenous slavery throughout the Americas
- The Transatlantic Slave Trade
- Forced relocations and deportations
- Colonial labor systems
- Indentured servitude
- Penal transportation

- Wartime enslavement
- Modern human trafficking

A comprehensive approach provides students with a better understanding of historical patterns of exploitation while helping them recognize contemporary forms of coercion and abuse.

Important Understandings

Students who understand slavery only through one historical event may miss larger patterns that continue into the modern world.

Historical education can improve understanding of:

- Human trafficking
- Labor trafficking
- Sex trafficking
- Forced migration
- Organized crime
- Wartime exploitation
- Economic coercion
- Psychological manipulation
- International humanitarian law
- Human rights protections

Studying multiple historical examples encourages comparative analysis rather than viewing any single system in isolation.

Transatlantic Slave Trade

Approximate Time Period

15th century–19th century

Approximately:

1444–1867

Major European Powers

- Portugal
- Spain
- Britain
- France
- Netherlands
- Denmark

Major Departure Regions

Primarily the west and west-central coast of Africa, including areas corresponding to present-day:

- Senegal
- Gambia
- Guinea
- Sierra Leone
- Liberia
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Ghana
- Togo
- Benin
- Nigeria
- Cameroon
- Gabon
- Angola
- Congo

Primary Destinations

- Brazil
- Caribbean
- Spanish America
- British North America
- French colonies
- Dutch colonies
- Portuguese colonies

Major Historical Figures

Prince Henry the Navigator

Portuguese royal patron associated with early Atlantic exploration.

Christopher Columbus

Opened sustained European colonial expansion into the Americas following his 1492 voyage.

Bartolomé de las Casas

Spanish Dominican friar known for advocating improved treatment of Indigenous peoples. His writings influenced debates over colonial labor systems.

Olaudah Equiano

Formerly enslaved African whose autobiography became one of the most influential abolitionist works.

William Wilberforce

British parliamentarian who led campaigns against Britain's participation in the slave trade.

Frederick Douglass

American abolitionist, author, and formerly enslaved man who became a leading voice against slavery.

Harriet Tubman

Escaped slavery and helped lead many others to freedom through the Underground Railroad.

Abraham Lincoln

Issued the Emancipation Proclamation during the American Civil War and supported the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States.

Significant Dates

1444

- Early documented Portuguese slave auction at Lagos, Portugal.

1492

- Columbus reaches the Americas.

1500s

- Rapid expansion of Atlantic colonial slavery.

1619

- First documented arrival of captive Africans in English Virginia.

1807

- Britain abolishes participation in the transatlantic slave trade.

1808

- United States prohibits the importation of enslaved persons.

1833

- Britain abolishes slavery throughout most of the British Empire.

1863

- Emancipation Proclamation.

1865

- Thirteenth Amendment abolishes slavery in the United States.

1867

- Last known transatlantic slave voyage to the Americas.

Educational Themes

Students should examine:

- Economic incentives
- Colonial expansion
- Maritime trade
- International law
- Resistance movements
- Abolition movements
- Human rights development
- Long-term demographic effects
- Cultural resilience
- Historical memory

Modern Relevance

Historical slavery provides important context for understanding contemporary forms of exploitation, including:

- Human trafficking
- Forced labor
- Debt bondage
- Child labor
- Conflict-related exploitation
- Criminal labor networks
- Migration-related exploitation
- Supply-chain labor abuses

Studying both historical and modern systems can help students recognize indicators of exploitation, appreciate the evolution of legal protections, and understand the importance of prevention, victim support, and enforcement efforts.

Conclusion

A complete study of slavery should examine multiple historical systems across different civilizations and time periods. Presenting the broader historical record equips students with a deeper understanding of how coercion, exploitation, and forced labor have evolved over time while providing context for addressing modern forms of slavery and human trafficking.

Union of Saints

The transatlantic slave trade lasted for about 350–400 years, depending on how it is measured.

Key Dates

- 1441–1444 – Portuguese traders began capturing and transporting enslaved Africans to Europe and Atlantic islands. This marked the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade.
- 1501 – The first recorded shipment of enslaved Africans arrived in the Spanish Americas.
- 1526 – The first known enslaved Africans arrived in what is now the continental United States (at the failed Spanish colony of San Miguel de Gualdape).
- 1619 – Approximately 20–30 Africans arrived at Point Comfort in the English colony of Virginia. This date is often used as the beginning of African slavery in English North America.
- 1807 – Britain passed the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, ending its legal participation in the transatlantic slave trade (effective 1808).
- 1808 – The United States banned the importation of enslaved people, though slavery itself continued.
- 1833 – Britain abolished slavery throughout most of the British Empire.
- 1848 – France permanently abolished slavery in its colonies.
- 1865 – The United States abolished slavery nationwide with the ratification of the 13th Amendment.
- 1888 – Brazil became the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery with the Golden Law (Lei Áurea).

Timeline Summary

Period Event

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1441–1501 | Portuguese begin transporting enslaved Africans across the Atlantic. |
| 1501–1807 | Peak centuries of the transatlantic slave trade. |
| 1807–1808 | Britain and the United States prohibit the international slave trade. |
| 1833–1888 | Slavery is gradually abolished across the Americas. |

Scale

Historians estimate that:

- About 12.5 million Africans were forcibly embarked on slave ships.
- Roughly 10.7 million survived the Middle Passage and arrived in the Americas.
- Millions more died during capture, forced marches, detention, and the Atlantic crossing.

Ottoman Slave Trade

The Ottoman slave trade lasted significantly longer than the transatlantic slave trade and involved enslaved people from Africa, Europe, the Caucasus, the Balkans, the Black Sea region, and parts of the Middle East.

Key Dates

- 1299 – The Ottoman Empire was founded. Slavery was already practiced in the broader Islamic world before the empire's establishment and became integrated into Ottoman society.
- 1300s–1400s – Expansion into southeastern Europe and the Balkans increased the capture of prisoners of war and other enslaved people.
- 1453 – Following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the city became one of the empire's principal slave markets.
- 1400s–1800s – The Ottoman slave trade operated across multiple routes:
 - Black Sea
 - Balkans
 - Caucasus
 - East Africa
 - North Africa
 - Red Sea
 - Sahara
- 1517 – The Ottoman conquest of Egypt expanded access to Red Sea and East African slave routes.
- 1830s–1850s – The empire began issuing reforms aimed at reducing aspects of the slave trade under increasing diplomatic pressure, particularly from Britain.

- 1857 – The Ottoman government prohibited the importation of enslaved Africans in many parts of the empire, although enforcement varied.
- 1882–1890 – Additional decrees targeted slave markets and trafficking.
- 1908 – The Young Turk Revolution brought renewed efforts to suppress slavery and slave trading.
- 1922 – The Ottoman Empire formally ended.
- 1923 – The Republic of Türkiye was established and no longer recognized slavery under its legal system.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1299 Ottoman Empire established.

1300s–1400s Expansion of slave trading through conquest and regional markets.

1453 Constantinople becomes a major slave market after Ottoman conquest.

1517–1800s Extensive trade through Africa, the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea.

1830s–1850s Initial reforms restricting the slave trade.

1857 Ban on many African slave imports.

1880s–1900s Additional suppression measures and closure of markets.

1922–1923 End of the Ottoman Empire; slavery no longer recognized under the Republic of Türkiye.

Scale

The precise number of people enslaved through Ottoman-controlled networks remains debated because records are less complete than those for the transatlantic slave trade. Historians generally agree that:

- Millions of people were enslaved over the course of the empire's history.
- Enslaved people came from diverse regions, including:
 - Sub-Saharan Africa
 - The Balkans
 - The Caucasus (especially Circassians, Georgians, and others)
 - Eastern Europe

- The Black Sea region
- The Middle East
- Many were employed as:
 - Domestic servants
 - Agricultural laborers
 - Soldiers (under certain systems)
 - Craftsmen
 - Palace attendants
 - Administrative personnel
 - Concubines in elite households

Comparison

Trade Approximate Period

Transatlantic Slave Trade 1441–1888 (legal abolition varied by country)

Ottoman Slave Trade 1299–1922 (with reforms beginning in the 1800s)

Historical Context

Unlike the transatlantic slave trade, which was centered on transporting enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to the Americas for plantation labor, the Ottoman slave trade drew enslaved people from multiple regions through military conquest, frontier raiding, tribute systems, and commercial networks. The composition of the enslaved population changed over time, reflecting the empire's territorial expansion, conflicts, and evolving trade routes. During the nineteenth century, the Ottoman government adopted a series of legal reforms that increasingly restricted slavery and slave trading, though enforcement was uneven until the empire's dissolution in the early twentieth century.

European Forced Migrations, Bondage, and Diasporas

Throughout European history, numerous populations experienced conquest, captivity, forced labor, involuntary transportation, deportation, expulsion, and mass displacement. These events occurred under different legal systems and governments, but all resulted in the loss of liberty, separation of families, confiscation of property, and the creation of lasting diasporas.

Irish Forced Transportation

Key Dates

- 1169 – Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland begins centuries of English political control.
- 1641 – Irish Rebellion leads to widespread warfare.
- 1649–1653 – Cromwellian conquest of Ireland results in mass executions, land confiscations, imprisonment, and forced transportation.
- 1650s – Thousands of Irish prisoners of war, political prisoners, civilians, and orphans are transported to the Caribbean and North American colonies for involuntary labor.
- 1718–1775 – Transportation of convicted Irish prisoners to British colonies continues.
- 1788 – Penal transportation shifts primarily to Australia.
- 1845–1852 – The Great Irish Famine contributes to one of the largest migrations in European history as millions leave Ireland under desperate conditions.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1169 Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland

1649–1653 Cromwellian conquest and forced transportation

1650s–1700s Irish transported to British colonies

1788 onward Transportation to Australia

1845–1852 Great Irish Famine and mass emigration

Acadian Deportation (Le Grand Dérangement)

Key Dates

- 1400s and Earlier – Maritime exploration and seasonal fishing expand prior to permanent Acadian settlement.
- 1604 – Acadia established by French settlers.
- 1713 – Britain assumes control of mainland Acadia following the Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1755 – British authorities begin the mass deportation of Acadian families.
- 1755–1764 – Approximately 10,000–14,000 Acadians are forcibly removed from their homes.
- Families are separated, forced into slavery and dispersed throughout the American colonies, Britain, France, the Caribbean, and Louisiana.
- Thousands die from disease, starvation, shipwrecks, and exposure during the deportation.

- Property, homes, farms, and livestock are confiscated.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1604 Acadia founded

1713 British administration begins

1755 Mass deportation commences

1755–1764 Forced removal and diaspora

1765 onward Resettlement throughout North America

Scottish Highland Clearances

Key Dates

- 1746 – Following the Battle of Culloden, traditional Highland society undergoes significant political and cultural change.
- 1760–1850 – Highland landlords remove thousands of tenants from ancestral lands.
- Entire villages are cleared to make way for commercial sheep farming.
- Large numbers emigrate to Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1746 Post-Culloden changes begin

1760–1850 Highland Clearances

1800s Large-scale Scottish diaspora

Viking Slave Trade

Key Dates

- 793 – Viking Age begins with the raid on Lindisfarne.
- 800s–1000s – Vikings capture and trade enslaved people throughout Europe.
- Captives include Irish, English, Scottish, Welsh, Frankish, Slavic, and Baltic populations.

- Dublin develops into one of Europe's principal slave markets.
- 1066 – Viking Age traditionally concludes.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

793 Beginning of Viking Age

800s–1000s European slave raids and trade

1066 End of Viking Age

Barbary Slave Trade

Key Dates

- 1500s – North African corsair states expand maritime slave raids.
- European coastal communities are attacked throughout the Mediterranean and Atlantic.
- Captives originate from Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Iceland, and other regions.
- 1816 – Bombardment of Algiers significantly weakens corsair activity.
- 1830 – French conquest of Algiers contributes to the decline of the Barbary slave trade.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1500s Expansion of Barbary slave raids

1500s–1800s European coastal populations captured

1816 Bombardment of Algiers

1830 French conquest of Algiers

Circassian Deportation

Key Dates

- 1763–1864 – Russian-Circassian War.
- 1864 – Following the Russian victory, hundreds of thousands of Circassians are expelled from the Caucasus.

- Many perish during transportation across the Black Sea.
- Survivors resettle throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1763–1864 Russian-Circassian War

1864 Mass expulsion from the Caucasus

1864 onward Circassian diaspora

Twentieth-Century European Population Transfers

Key Dates

- 1939–1945 – World War II produces widespread civilian displacement.
- 1944–1950 – Millions of Europeans experience forced relocation, deportation, internment, or expulsion.
- More than twelve million ethnic Germans are removed from Eastern Europe following the war.
- Additional forced transfers affect Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Crimean Tatars, and numerous other populations.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

1939–1945 World War II displacement

1944–1950 Large-scale postwar expulsions

1950s Resettlement throughout Europe

Historical Context

European history includes numerous episodes of conquest, captivity, involuntary labor, forced transportation, deportation, expulsion, and mass displacement. These events affected diverse populations across centuries and produced lasting demographic, cultural, and economic consequences. Together, they illustrate the many ways in which liberty, family unity, property, and homeland have been lost through systems of coercion and forced migration.

Modern Anti-Slavery, Human Trafficking & Exploitation Laws

Union of Saints

As technology, globalization, and organized criminal enterprises have evolved, legislatures throughout the world have enacted laws addressing modern forms of exploitation, including human trafficking, forced labor, child exploitation, sexual exploitation, cyber exploitation, and the non-consensual distribution of intimate images.

Key Legislative Milestones

Key Dates

- 1926 – League of Nations Slavery Convention establishes an international framework to suppress slavery and the slave trade.
- 1948 – Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that no person shall be held in slavery or servitude.
- 1956 – Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery expands protections against institutions and practices similar to slavery.
- 1977 – United States Foreign Corrupt Practices Act strengthens accountability for international corruption.
- 1994 – Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) establishes significant federal protections for victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking.
- 2000 – United Nations Palermo Protocol establishes the international definition of human trafficking and promotes cooperation among nations.
- 2000 – United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) creates comprehensive federal human trafficking offenses and victim protections.
- 2003 – PROTECT Act strengthens federal laws against child exploitation, child sexual abuse material, and child trafficking.
- 2006 – Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act expands protections for children and strengthens sex offender registration requirements.
- 2015 – United Kingdom Modern Slavery Act consolidates offenses involving slavery, servitude, forced labor, and human trafficking.
- 2018 – Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA) and Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA) increase accountability for online platforms that knowingly facilitate sex trafficking.

- 2022 – United States Violence Against Women Act Reauthorization expands protections for survivors of domestic violence, stalking, and sexual violence.
- Present – States continue enacting and expanding laws addressing image-based sexual abuse, cyberstalking, sextortion, deepfake exploitation, online child exploitation, and technology-facilitated abuse.

Timeline Summary

Period Event

- 1926 League of Nations Slavery Convention**
- 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights**
- 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery**
- 1994 Violence Against Women Act**
- 2000 Palermo Protocol & Trafficking Victims Protection Act**
- 2003 PROTECT Act**
- 2006 Adam Walsh Act**
- 2015 United Kingdom Modern Slavery Act**
- 2018 FOSTA–SESTA**
- 2022–Present Expanded protections against cyber-enabled exploitation**

Crimes Frequently Associated with Modern Exploitation

Modern criminal investigations may involve one or more of the following offenses:

- Human trafficking
- Forced labor
- Labor trafficking
- Sex trafficking
- Child trafficking
- Child exploitation
- Child sexual abuse material (CSAM)
- Commercial sexual exploitation

- Forced marriage
- Domestic servitude
- Debt bondage
- Kidnapping
- False imprisonment
- Extortion
- Blackmail
- Sextortion
- Cyberstalking
- Stalking
- Criminal harassment
- Identity theft
- Financial exploitation
- Fraud
- Organized crime
- Racketeering
- Money laundering
- Grooming of minors
- Online recruitment for exploitation
- Non-consensual distribution of intimate images (often referred to as "revenge pornography" or image-based sexual abuse)
- AI-generated intimate image abuse (where prohibited by law)
- Voyeurism and unlawful recording
- Sexual extortion
- Coercive control

Common Methods Used by Offenders

Offenders may exploit victims through:

- Force
- Fraud
- Coercion
- Threats of violence
- Emotional manipulation
- Financial dependency
- Isolation
- Immigration-related threats
- Abuse of authority
- Digital surveillance
- Online deception
- Social media recruitment
- Romance scams
- Employment fraud
- Housing fraud
- Identity theft
- Blackmail involving intimate images
- Threats to publish private information
- Technological monitoring and cyber intimidation

Government Response

Modern anti-exploitation efforts commonly include:

- Criminal investigations
- Digital forensic investigations
- Financial investigations
- Intelligence analysis
- Victim-centered investigations
- Asset forfeiture

- Organized crime investigations
- International law enforcement cooperation
- Border security
- Cybercrime investigations
- Public education
- Survivor assistance
- Prevention initiatives

Historical Context

Modern slavery and exploitation increasingly occur through criminal enterprises that rely on coercion, deception, intimidation, abuse of vulnerability, and digital technologies rather than lawful ownership of persons. Contemporary legal frameworks seek to protect victims, prosecute offenders, disrupt organized criminal networks, and prevent exploitation in both physical and online environments. As technology evolves, legislatures continue to enact laws addressing emerging forms of abuse, including image-based sexual abuse, cyber-enabled coercion, online child exploitation, and AI-assisted exploitation.

Major United States Federal Acts Addressing Organized Crime, Human Trafficking, Exploitation & Victim Protection

Union of Saints

Over the past several decades, Congress has enacted a series of federal laws responding to organized crime, human trafficking, child exploitation, cybercrime, stalking, financial exploitation, technology-facilitated abuse, and related criminal activity. Together, these statutes provide federal investigators, prosecutors, and law enforcement agencies with expanded authority to investigate criminal enterprises, protect victims, and prosecute offenders.

Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)

Year Enacted: 1970

Purpose

- Combat organized criminal enterprises.
- Allow prosecution of criminal organizations rather than isolated criminal acts.
- Authorize enhanced criminal penalties.

- Permit civil and criminal asset forfeiture.

Common investigations include:

- Organized crime
- Human trafficking
- Labor trafficking
- Extortion
- Fraud
- Money laundering
- Bribery
- Kidnapping
- Criminal conspiracies

Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (CFAA)

Year Enacted: 1986

Purpose

Created federal criminal penalties for unauthorized access to protected computers and computer systems.

Addresses:

- Computer intrusion
- Unauthorized access
- Computer fraud
- Network attacks
- Digital evidence
- Cybercrime

Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)

Year Enacted: 1994

Purpose

Expanded federal protections for victims of:

- Domestic violence
- Sexual assault
- Dating violence
- Interstate domestic violence
- Stalking

The Act has been reauthorized several times to expand victim services, investigative authorities, and legal protections.

Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)

Year Enacted: 2000

Purpose

Established the modern federal framework for combating human trafficking.

Addresses:

- Sex trafficking
- Labor trafficking
- Forced labor
- Involuntary servitude
- Peonage
- Debt bondage
- Document confiscation
- Victim services
- Immigration protections for qualifying victims

PROTECT Act

Year Enacted: 2003

Purpose

Strengthened federal laws involving:

- Child exploitation
- Child sexual abuse material (CSAM)
- Child trafficking
- Sexual abuse of minors
- International child exploitation
- Amber Alert improvements

Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act

Year Enacted: 2006

Purpose

Expanded protections for children through:

- National Sex Offender Registry improvements
- Increased penalties for crimes against children
- Child safety initiatives
- Expanded investigative authorities

Elder Justice Act

Year Enacted: 2010

Purpose

Strengthened federal efforts to combat:

- Elder abuse
- Financial exploitation
- Neglect
- Abuse in long-term care facilities

Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA)

Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA)

Year Enacted: 2018

Purpose

Expanded accountability for online services that knowingly facilitate sex trafficking and amended certain legal protections available to online platforms.

Addresses:

- Online facilitation of sex trafficking
- Victim civil remedies
- Online criminal exploitation

Violence Against Women Act Reauthorization

Most Recent Major Reauthorization: 2022

Expanded Protections

- Cyberstalking
- Tribal jurisdiction
- Firearm restrictions for certain offenders
- Housing protections
- Survivor services
- Expanded victim rights

TAKE IT DOWN Act

Year Enacted: 2025

Signed Into Law

May 19, 2025

Purpose

Creates federal criminal prohibitions on the intentional publication of qualifying nonconsensual intimate visual depictions, including certain authentic and AI-generated intimate images. The Act also requires covered online platforms to establish a process for victims to request removal

of qualifying content and, upon receiving a valid request, remove covered material within the statutory timeframe.

Addresses:

- Nonconsensual intimate image distribution
- AI-generated intimate ("deepfake") images
- Online sexual exploitation involving intimate imagery
- Platform notice-and-removal requirements
- Digital privacy and victim protection

Timeline Summary

Year	Federal Act
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1970	Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)
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1986	Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (CFAA)
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1994	Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)
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2000	Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)
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2003	PROTECT Act
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2006	Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act
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2010	Elder Justice Act
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2018	FOSTA–SESTA
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2022	Violence Against Women Act Reauthorization
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2025	TAKE IT DOWN Act
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Common Criminal Conduct Addressed by These Acts

Collectively, these federal laws address investigations involving:

- Organized criminal enterprises
- Human trafficking
- Labor trafficking

- Sex trafficking
- Forced labor
- Child exploitation
- Child sexual abuse material (CSAM)
- Child trafficking
- Stalking
- Cyberstalking
- Domestic violence
- Sexual assault
- Elder abuse
- Financial exploitation
- Computer fraud
- Identity theft
- Wire fraud
- Money laundering
- Extortion
- Sextortion
- Organized online exploitation
- Nonconsensual intimate image distribution
- AI-enabled image exploitation
- Digital evidence and cybercrime

Historical Context

Congress has expanded federal criminal law over time in response to evolving forms of organized crime, exploitation, trafficking, cyber-enabled abuse, and technology-facilitated offenses. These statutes provide investigators and prosecutors with specialized legal authorities to investigate complex criminal enterprises, protect victims, strengthen interstate and international cooperation, and address emerging forms of exploitation as criminal methods evolve.