CHAPTER-II

HISTORICAL FOUNDATION AND SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE CULTIVATION AND USES OF OPIUM POPPY AND CANNABIS IN KULLU AND HIMACHAL PRADESH

Himachal Pradesh came into existence on 15th April, 1948 by merging of about thirty princely hill states situated on the banks and hill side of river Ravi, Beas and Satluj. A collection of small and tiny Hill States surrounding Simla was designated as Simla Hill States after the British occupation of the Hill territory as a result of the Gurkha war of 1815-16. The Sikhs annexed Kulu in 1841 and in 1846, on cession of the Trans Sutlej states to the British after the First Sikh war. The Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Chang Thang, added Spiti to Kullu.  

The Punjab Hills States under British were already merged with Kangra in the nineteenth century. Among these petty states, the first, the oldest, and the most extensive was Kangra. It breaks naturally into two divisions Kangra proper, comprises of all the lower hills, and covers surface equal to 2700 square miles. The second division consists of a wild and mountainous region including the provinces of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti occupying an area of not less than 5,000 square miles. Three of the Punjab Rivers, the Beas, the Ravee, and the Chenab, take their rise within this tract. This second division was the Kullu Sub division of the then Kangra District of Punjab. It was made Sub Division in 1846 after merger of Kullu state in British Empire. At that time it consisted of seven Waziri namely (i) Kullu Sadar or Parol Waziri, (ii) Rupi Waziri, (iii) Saraj Waziri, (iv) Lag Maharaja Waziri, (v) Lag Sari Waziri, (vi) Bhanghal Waziri and (vii) Lahaul Waziri. Later on, in 1963 Kullu District came into being as a full fledged district of Punjab. On 1.11.1966, Kullu and some other hill areas were taken away from Punjab and were merged in Himachal Pradesh. Before this merger, Kotkhai and Kotgarh

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, v.23, p.93
3 George Carnac Barnes, “Report on the Kangra Settlement”,(1850-1852),para, 32,p. 6
4 George Carnac Barnes, Report on the settlement in the District of Kangra in the Trans Sutlej States, para 2,p. 2
5 ibid., para 1,p. 1
areas were also taken out from East Punjab and were merged with Himachal Pradesh in 1950.

Kangra principality from time immemorial has been inhabited by Hindu races living in hills under the government of their native kings. The founders of little kingdoms frequently started interacting with one or more of three offices: zamindar, meaning a holder of zamin or land who acquired a right to a share of the produce of the land for fostering its cultivation; Jagirdar, indicating the possessor of a jagir or the right to collect revenue from a tract of land granted by a superior power in return for service or acknowledgement of suzerainty; or taluqdar, the leader of a taluqa or area controlled by a male lineage. As these ambitious men extended their authority into administrative as well as military spheres, they took the title of raja. British sources labeled them chiefs or princes.

The following points were clearly established in respect of Simla hill States after a critical examination of the history of these states;

1. That the founders of the Simla hill states were not originally of the Simla hills, but belonged to other parts of India;
2. That all these States were founded by conquest; and
3. That they did not owe their origin and existence to any grant or gift from any suzerain power or overlord.

2.1 HISTORICAL INSIGHTS INTO CULTIVATION OF LAND IN HILL STATES

2.1.1 Cultivation of land by Tribes in Hill States

These hill states were inhabited by tribal population. This tribal population was different from the population which existed today. Even Rajputs, Brahmins and Kanaits were also categorized and known as tribes. There are such evidences that the people in Simla Hill States were reported to be Tribal. It is reported at Sr.No.37 (statement showing land in the possession of each tribe or sect) in the Ghund Settlement Report.

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7 George Carnac Barnes, “Report on the Kangra Settlement”, (1850-1852), para 32, p. 6
1908 that all the waste land has been recorded under state ownership and according to the Revenue rules all the villages have been shown as Bhaiachara tenure. Similarly in Madhan State, the tribes consisted of Rajputs, Brahmins and Kanaits and their holdings were 191,135 and 125 respectively. The poojaris were of a tribe lower than the Brahmins, but resemble them in every other respect. Both the tribes have been entered in the table under one heading.

Village limits had never before been definitely fixed. The first settlement of the Kullu Sub Division was conducted by the first Deputy Commissioner Mr. Barnes from 1850 to 1852. At that time total Kangra District had 6 parganas and 50 Talooquas with 728 villages. The total area in acre was 1936522 (3,025 square miles).

The population of Kangra in this settlement was recorded as 299414 males, 236252 females total 535,666 souls except jageer villages population and the population of Kullu excluding Jageer villages population was 34421 males, 30077 females and total 64498. The population in Kullu in Jageer population was 5334 males, 4693 females and total 9327 souls.

With this background we see in the following details that opium along with other crops was being cultivated in these hill states from earlier times as a main cash crop.

2.1.2 Ryotwar system of land in Ancient Hills Principalities

A purely Ryotwar system prevailed in these hills. The Government was the direct landlord of the then tenants who maintained themselves, and pay the Government demand from the portions of land each cultivated. There was neither capital nor capitalists, or large landed proprietors who could act as agents between the government and the actual cultivators, and became responsible for the due payment of the Government demand. Every man who cultivated the land, however, insignificant his possessions were, was termed a zamindar. He was the hereditary proprietor of the portion of land he cultivated, and may mortgage or sell at his discretion his proprietary interest therein.


Shimla Settlement Report, 1881-83, para 29, pp. 3-4


ibid., p. 4
2.1.3 Hill tenures simple

The tenures in the hills were of a remarkably simple character. The state was the acknowledged proprietor and levied its rents, in money, or in kind, according to its exigencies or its pleasure. The right of the people was simply the right to cultivate. There was not intermediate class to intercept the earnings of industry, or to appropriate a share of the public revenue. All that was not required for the subsistence of the cultivator, went direct into the Government Treasury.

2.2 HISTORY OF CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION OF OPIUM POPPY IN EARLIER HILL STATES

The excise policy with regard to the States was one of non interference as per Mr. J.D Anderson, I.C.S., Excise Officer, Simla note dated 2nd November, 1915. The States make their own rules as to opium cultivation, demanding in most cases a small fee from both grower and purchaser. Otherwise the growth of poppy in the hills was unchecked, till the opium was actually brought into British territory. The States keep no papers beyond a list of cultivators and traders, and from this list it was impossible to draw any deductions, as it was simply of names, and took no account of area sown or opium purchased. The British officers had no power of supervision, check or search in the States, nor were it any offence for a man to export opium from one State to another, provided it was not brought through British territory. Obviously no one need bring opium through British territory unless he wished, and it had already been admitted that there was a leakage of opium from the hills. Thus three changes were made to check this leakage which included raising of rate of taxation on opium, stricter supervision on the import of opium to the Phulkian States and establishment of three centres for payment of duty at Kot Khai, Simla and Kotgarh.

The following comparative statement showing the production of opium in the Simla Hill States established the fact that opium poppy was cultivated and opium produced in these states in a big way. The Phulkian States were the largest purchasers of hill opium. It was used for the manufacturer of chandu. 

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18 ibid.
19 ibid
20 ibid
21 ibid., p. 39
22 ibid., p. 17
64
Table 2.1 Production of opium in Shimla Hill States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of States</th>
<th>Production of opium in Simla Hill States as given by Mr. J.D. Anderson in Nov. 1916 (seers)</th>
<th>Estimate of opium production in Simla Hill States as drawn up by the Excise Inspector in 1925 (seers)</th>
<th>Opium produced in Simla Hill States on 1928-29 as reported to the League of Nations. (seers)</th>
<th>Opium consumed in Simla Hill States in 1928-29 as reported to the League of Nations. (seers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bashahr</td>
<td>7200</td>
<td>4317</td>
<td>3320</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalagarh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonthal</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubbal</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>2114</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumharsain</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhajji</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailog</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balsan</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhami</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuthar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunihar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bija</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkoti</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharoch</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangri</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khateti</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delath</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theog</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhan</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghund</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratesh</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raingarh</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhadi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19440</strong></td>
<td><strong>8852</strong></td>
<td><strong>6032</strong></td>
<td><strong>1810</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides above estimate, Sh. H.J Maynard, Financial Commissioner vide his confidential note on opium policy dated 31 July, 1917 calculated that the Simla Hill States produce something like 600 maunds of opium per annum, including 40 or 50 maunds grown in Tehri Garhwal and imported through Jubbal. Here the smuggling route from Dehra Dun to the Simla Hill states remained through the territories of Tharoch and Jubbal. Mandi, Suket and Chamba produced between them 12 to 15 maunds more. The production of Kullu may be put at 200 and that of Kot Khai at 20 maunds. This made up about 835 maunds of hill opium, which may perhaps be reduced by drayage during the first year to 730 maunds. The stocks in British territory at the end of the financial year commonly averaged about 160 maunds, and it was believed that larger stocks were held up in some of the states in order to avoid premature payment of duty or to await for a favourable moment for disposal.\(^{23}\) The wholesale vendors of Kot Khai calculated that about 200 maunds of opium was produced in Sirmur State which was smuggled down to the plains.\(^{24}\) Rampur and Jubbal declare yields\(^{25}\) of 12 and 13 chittaks a bigah, respectively.

Certain money-lenders of the Outer Saraj were lending money on favourable terms to zamindars on the Simla bank of the Sutlej, on condition that the debtors grow opium and sell it to their creditors in Kulu.

State wise details of opium cultivation, in brief, are given here below:

### 2.2.1 Bhajji state

Opium celebrated for its purity was an export in this state\(^{26}\). It was also confirmed at page 242 of the book titled, “History and Culture of Himalyan State” by Sukh Dev Singh Charak.

### 2.2.2 Madhan State

Every zamindar was an inferior proprietor of his own share.\(^{27}\) The total area of the state, according to the then measurement was 73767 bighas.\(^{28}\)

\(^{23}\) ibid.,p.19  
\(^{24}\) ibid.,p.61.  
\(^{25}\) ibid.,p.28.  
\(^{26}\) Memoranda on the Indian States,1930(corrected up to the 1st January,1930),Published by Authority, Punjab-Simla Hill States Superintendency,p.,320  
\(^{27}\) Punjab Hill States Agency File , Settlement Report of Madhan State,1911, Sr.N.11 Bundle No.1 Para 10, HP State Archive, Shimla, p. 8  
\(^{28}\) ibid., para 13, p. 9
In Madhan State people cultivated miscellaneous food crops viz: Potato, Kachalu, Poppy and Bhang in Kharif Sambat 1966. In Madhan State, 66 bighas out of total cultivated area of 15984 were put under poppy cultivation in Rabi season as per jinswar statement of crops.

In this state Kharif Zabti crops constituted fruits, vegetables, bhang and tobacco whereas rabbit Zabti crops were fruits poppy and tobacco and their area in respect of bhang was 43 bigha and 9 bigha in poppy cultivation as per statement showing half assets estimates.

As per zinswar statement of the settlement report, Bhang and poppy were shown as miscellaneous food crops in the revenue record.

2.2.3 Baghal State

A certain amount of poppy was grown in the State, and the zamindars sold the produce to dealers belonging to the State free of all duty. If sold outside the State, an export duty of eight annas a seer was levied. Three shops, two at Arki and one at Dhundan, were licensed to sell opium and drugs in retail. Drugs were imported from Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, and Ambala, and charas was subject to an import duty of three annas a seer.

2.2.4 Bilaspur State

Poppy cultivation was permitted throughout the State, but the crop was heavily assessed. Charas was imported from Kulu, Hoshiarpur and Simla free of duty. Retail vendors were licensed in the usual way. It was cultivated in Pargana Sadar, Pargana Nandpur and in Pargana Bahadurpur at the time when King used to be the ruler there in earlier time. The State had three distilleries at Bilaspur, Bagla, and Naina Devi. These were leased annually and the lessees could distil as much as they please, but were only allowed to sell it to licensed vendors only.

29 ibid.
30 ibid., p. 20
31 ibid., p. 21
2.2.5 Khaneti State

The only tax on opium was a license fee of Rs.5/- which was taken from every wholesale purchaser.\(^{35}\)

2.2.6 Nalagarh State

All land was considered the absolute property of the Raja.\(^{36}\) The payment of nazrana secured an occupier a precarious tenure, which was liable to be terminated at a months’ notice, if someone else offered a higher nazrana for the holding. No tenant of land was permitted to make a private alienation of what rights he possessed.\(^{37}\)

In addition to everything else, there was a further exaction for a purpose not stated of a maund and a half of maize and five seers of hemp from every plough annually but the reforms of 1863 as a result of complaints made by the subjects of the State, Lord William Hay, the Superintendent of the Hill States, induced the Raja to make certain concessions.\(^{38}\) The maund was fixed at 40 seers for all State transactions, the extra demand of wheat, maize, and hemp from each plough was abolished.

Opium was purchased from Arki, Hoshiarpur, and Ambala. The poppy was not cultivated in the State. The lease for vend of opium was sold by auction annually, and the contractor has agents to retain vend at Nalagarh, Baddi, Barun, Kundlu, and Ramshahr. The licenses for opium and drugs were sold, together, but separately from that for country liquor. The average fee was Rs.800/-.

2.2.7 Koti State

There were eight shops for retail of opium and drugs, one at each Thana, and one at Saniana. The licenses were auctioned every year. Poppy was not grown in the state.\(^{40}\)

Owing to its proximity to Simla, the miscellaneous revenue of the State was considerable. The following were some of the sources and approximate incomes:


\(^{37}\) ibid., p. 17.


Table 2.2  Sources of revenue and incomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of revenue</th>
<th>Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ground tax for Mashobra, Sanjauli, Kufri, and Bharari Bazaars</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of State houses in Sanjauli, Mashobra, etc.</td>
<td>3272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of Retreat Estate</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of the Simla Municipal Catchment Area</td>
<td>2250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground rent of bungalows at Mashobra</td>
<td>3060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opium and drugs</strong></td>
<td><strong>1300</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arat and Makasi</td>
<td>3600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamps</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various other imposts</td>
<td>3900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Gazetteer of the Simla Hill States, 1910, Punjab States Gazetteer, Volume VIII, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, Koti State, Part A, Miscellaneous revenue, page 11

2.2.8 Ghund State

Poppy was also cultivated in Ghund State. Here it was called as a Zabti Crop. The rate of such crops of which no experiments could be made or the yield of which per bigha could not be ascertained by any means had been fixed per bigha in cash due to the owner. In Ghund such rate for Poppy crop was Rs.3/- per bigha.\(^{41}\) In Rabi Sambat 1964 (1907 AD) poppy was grown in 18 bighas irrigated, 99 bigha unirrigated and during 1908 Rabi Season it was grown in 18 and 274 bigha irrigated and unirrigated land respectively.\(^{42}\) Statement No. II, showing the harvest prices per rupee in seers of the Ghund state in respect of Rabi crop, Poppy.

Table 2.3  Detail of harvest prices of opium

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sambat or year</th>
<th>Rabi(Poppy)</th>
<th>Opium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sambat 56</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8/8/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{42}\) ibid., p.58
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sambat or year</th>
<th>Rabi (Poppy)</th>
<th>Opium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8/8/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price rate Proposed</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ghund State Settlement Report 1908, p. 813

In Ghund state rates of yield per bigha was as detailed hereunder:

Statement No. II showing the rates of yield per bigha of the Ghund State

Table 2.4  Detail of rate of yield per bigha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detail</th>
<th>Rabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rates or prices per bigha for owner’s share for the crops not experimented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poppy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubbal State</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaneti</td>
<td>8/12/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13/12/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>6/14/0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ghund State Settlement Report 1908

Page 28 of the said report of 1908 showed that 87% of the areas cultivated was wheat, 10% barley and 3% others. It further reported that opium was also produced in small quantity. It was also a means for the payment of the land revenue and to provide the necessaries of life.

2.2.9 Balsan State

In Balsan State opium was cultivated by the tribal population as mentioned in para 8 of the settlement report. In para 9, it was mentioned that Poppy (opium) also covered 3% of the total sown area. It was further stated in this para that Opium, potato, Kachalu and tobacco were really money crops and fetched good income to the land holders.
Page 8 of the report and page No.182 of the said file at its para 9 showed the figures of the various crops sown. The ratio between the Kharif and Rabi, crops was 48 and 52. The chief Kharif crops were maize, 20% Bathu 7%, Paddy 6%, Koda 4%, potatoes 3%, and Kachalu 2%. Out of the Kharif pulses, mash (4%) was most important. In the Rabi wheat 37% and barley 11% were important among the cereals. Poppy (opium) also covered 3% of the total sown area.

2.2.10 Kumarsain State

Post (Afim) was cultivated in that state. During 1893-94, there was cultivation of Post (poppy) in 128 acre of land. Further at page 61 of the settlement report, details about cultivation and use of Afim was mentioned as under:

Afiyun ki mah asoj yani akhir September lagayat wast November tak tukhmreze hoti hai. Niche maqamat men mah basakh aur unche men ba mah jeth pukhta hote hain, bahut sa qarza afiyun ki paidawar se ada hota hai, lekin afiyun ki kqwhq wqg w3 aiyqeql miqihat talabhai kasrat barish se afiyun jo dode ke pachchloo se nikalte hai wuh dhoi jati hai aur zalazadgi se bhi bahut nuqshan hota hair. Amuman gainabposh arazi mey hote hain aur es ke khashkhash ka roqion men behar dalte hain aur tel bhi nikalte hai.

Dafa 59, page 95 of the settlement report says, "Post ki paidawar ka tajruba nahn hua, chand zamindaran jinka len den sahuke sath hai, aur amuman afiyun paidashuda sahunkaran ko dete hain, sahukaran ki bahijat se bhi dariyaqt kiaya gaya aur achchhe achchhe zamindaron se bhi tahiqi kiya, tau paidawar afiyun char sar pukhta fi acre tahiqi hai ba mirkh sahu karan pandra sal ke ausat par 7 rupaya 8 anne fi ser pukhta baramad hua, kul paidawar per acre ki qimat tis rupaya hissa sarkar 6 rupaya liya gaya, khashkhash ki qimat tashkhis men chhor di gai.

2.2.11 Kotgarh and Kotkhai area of Simla District

Opium (Afim). sown in Assuj and Kartik (end of September to middle of November), ripened on low lands in Baisakh, and on high lands in Jeth. Produced about

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44 Punjab Hill State Agency File, Kumarsain Settlement file, 1895, Serial No.407, Bundle No.14,Kangra DC Records, p. 49,HP State Archive, Shimla
45 Punjab Hill State Agency File, , "Kumarsain Settlement File, 1895, Sr.No.407, B.No.14, p.61 ,HP State Archive, Shimla
46 Punjab Hill State Agency File, Kumarsain Settlement, 1895, Serial No.407 Bundle No.14,Kangra DC Records, p. 95,HP State Archive, Shimla
a seer per bigha; varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer. The cultivators got about Rs.5 or 6 a seer. Each man cultivated from 1 to 5 bighas. The zamindars very seldom eat or smoke opium themselves. The export from Kot Khai was 298 maunds.

The gross increase was 31% in Kotgarh, the figures of the excise acreage on opium for the past nine years were given in the margin.

Table 2.5 Detail of excise acreage of opium

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acreage of opium cultivation</th>
<th>Excise revenue Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The land under opium in 1882 was distributed over 330 holdings; with few exceptions the area cultivated by each agriculturist was a bigha (900 square yards), or a little more or less. The produce was sold to pay the revenue, and not locally consumed. An agriculturist stated that he usually got half a seer of opium per bigha, which he sold to the wholesale dealer for Rs.4/- or Rs.5/-. The owners do not trade as in Kotkhai, but in all other respects their habits were the same.

Very few agriculturists traded in opium and can earn a little money in Simla, or as carriers. The revenue was paid to a large extent by the sale of opium, partly by wages earned, and a little by the sale of grain and butter.

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48 “Opium Smuggling in the Punjab,” Lahore(1931), Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1931, p. 28
50 ibid.
51 ibid.
52 ibid.
53 ibid., p.31
54 ibid.

72
2.2.12 Keonthal State

The Keonthal State came under a regular settlement in 1898-1901 when the respective rights of the Chief, as ‘Ala Malik’ or superior proprietor of all the land, and of the landholders or inferior proprietors and of the cultivating tenants and of the other matters incidental to settlement including the various cesses and taxes leviable by the Raja, were defined with sufficient precision.\(^55\) The rent on opium cultivation had been increased to Rs.300 annually.\(^56\)

Total income of the State had been Rs.105918/- during the financial year 1913-14 and out of this income Rs.1092/- was received as Tax on poppy cultivation. Para 54, page 21, of the Keonthal Settlement Report of 1914 reported that the important Rabi crops were wheat, barley and poppy. These were abundantly sown. A great portion of the wheat produce was sold for export, but barley was retained for food. Opium was extracted for sale. It was greatly sown in Pargana Pooner, and was considered very valuable. In Rawin and other Parganas it was reduced in smaller quantities.\(^57\) Total poppy crops in 1545 out of total 46250. The % of poppy came to 3.34 of rabi crops on the five years average crops statement from Kharif 1908 to Rabi 1912.\(^58\)

In Rabi crop 76.43% constitutes Wheat, 27.28 % Barley, 3.34 % Poppy.18 % potato, .26% vegetables and 1.51 % other crops in Keonthal state.\(^59\) Details of half asset produce per bigha in standard seers remained as under:

Statements of half asset produce per bighas in standard seers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rabi Batai Crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rate per rupee</td>
<td>Rs.12 per seer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area in bighas</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce Per bigha</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total produce</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of Produce</td>
<td>4212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of the state at 17 percent</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^55\) Punjab Hill States Agency File, 1934, Part III, Keonthal State Settlement, 1934 ,Serial No.15 ,Bundle No.1,HP State Archive, Shimla.
\(^56\) Revised settlement Report of the Keonthal State of the Simla District, 1914, para 29, page 8
\(^57\) ibid., para 54, p. 21
\(^58\) ibid., para 55, p. 22
\(^59\) Keonthal State Settlement, 1914, Sr.No.15, B.No.1, Para 55 p. 22, HP State Archive, Shimla.
### Description of Rabi Batai Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rabi Batai Crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unirrigated</td>
<td>Poppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>1311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce Per Bigha</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total produce</td>
<td>1966½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of produce</td>
<td>23598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of the State at 17 percent</td>
<td>4012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total share of the state</td>
<td>4728</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Keonthal State Settlement Report, 1914, p.23

As per para 57, page 24 of the settlement report, the opium produce in Kotkhai was 2 seers per bigha, but here it had been determined as 1½ seers as it was not much in the Junga Tahsil. Opium rate earlier was Rs.9/- which had gone up now to Rs.12 thus there was an increase of Rs.3/- per seer.

#### 2.2.13 Pargana wise details of Opium Poppy cultivation in Keonthal State

**2.2.13.1 Pargana Rawin**

They cultivated their own land. They were not in debt but were in a prosperous condition, and revenue was easily realized from them, they also did labour and service and derive good income by selling opium and rice and by employment.60

**2.2.13.2 Pargana Poonar**

They cultivated their own lands. They were prosperous and paid the revenue easily. Opium was cultivated in one tenth of its cultivated area.61 It was much valued.

**2.2.13.3 Pargana Shilli**

It was situated at a distance of six miles from Muttiana towards the east. It adjoined the Kumharsain and Theog States. The revenue was realized from them without any difficulty. The people of this Pargana derived income by sale of opium, potato, grass and grain and by doing service.62

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60 Keonthal State Settlement, 1914, Sr.No.15, B.No.1, p. 30, HP State Archive, Shimla
61 ibid.
62 ibid.
2.2.13.4 Pargana Rajana

It lied at a distance of three miles from Muttiana. Poppy was also sown in some area. Owing to a good deal of profit in potato and poppy produce by the zamindars, an increase of 13 percent on the revenue of cultivated area had been made.63

2.2.13.5 Pargana Chadara

It lied at a distance of about two and a half miles from Muttiana towards the west. Owing to an extensive produce of potato and its easy sale and to the cultivation of poppy to a small extent an enhancement of 10% in the revenue on the cultivated land had been made.64

2.2.13.6 Pargana Khalasi

It adjoined the Pargana Fagu, Madhan and Theog states. They cultivate their land themselves.

2.3 HISTORY OF CULTIVATION OF CANNABIS IN EARLIER HP HILL STATES

Besides cultivation of opium poppy, bhang was also cultivated in these hill states. Some of the historical details of cultivation of Bhang in these hill states are given hereunder:

2.3.1 Madhan Hill State

In Madhan Hill state, Bhang was reported to be cultivated as a miscellaneous food crop and it was cultivated in 43 bighas in Kharif Sambat 1966 out of total cultivation of 15984 bighas area as per jinswar statement.65 Poppy and Bhang were recorded as miscellaneous food crops in revenue records at Sr.No.20 & 21.66

2.3.2 Kumharsain state

Page 61, Dafa 36 of the Kumarsain settlement report 1895 states that bhang makanon ke mazdik jo safaid jagah hoti hai us men azkhud paid hoti hai. Aksar admi tukhm rezi bhi karte hai. Uske bandle bandh kar chat men rakte hain. Mausim wa asman

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63 ibid., p. 31
64 ibid.
65 Punjab Hill States Agency File, Settlement Report of Madhan State, 1911, Sr.N.11, Bundle No.1, HP State Archive, Shimla, Jinswar statement, p. 19
66 ibid.
men jab tak khushk ho jate hai tab uske san ki nikalkar eske rasse banate hain aur is ke
saby patton ko hath men malkar bajai charas ke istemal karte hai.Yih charas fi tola
1 anna farokht hota hai. The price of Bhang per acre was Rs 12-8-0 in Kumarsain.

2.3.3 Balsan state

A review report on the Balsan State Settlement Report by L. Hissari Lal,
Settlement officer sent by Rai Singh Manager Keonthal State to the Political Agent
Punjab Hill States, Shimla vide No. 352 dated 5th April 1946 confirmed the cultivation
of Bhang and Opium and Poppy in this state.

2.3.4 Simla Hill States

Bhang(Cannabis Sativa) grew wild on the ground near the houses; and was also
sown to a small extent near the houses; cut in October when still green, and put in
bundles on the roofs of the houses. By the time the winter comes on, the stalks had
dried, and the bark was then pulled by hand. The stalks were not soaked. The zamindars
smoke bhang a little in the winter, but not much.

2.4 CULTIVATION OF OPIUM POPPY DURING BRITISH PERIOD IN
KULLU DISTRICT

Since earlier times, Himachal Pradesh was divided into small hill states which
were governed by Rajas, Thakurs or Nonos. From earlier times these states used to
cultivate bhang and opium and also traded in these items in a big way. They also
exported these items under permit to other Indian States from earlier times and this
practice continued even after these states passed into the hands of British. The account of
such cultivation is given here below:

2.4.1 Account of Kooloo proper

As per Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra in the trans Sutlej States
by George Carnac Barnes,(1850-52) Kooloo proper was a much more valuable and

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67 Punjab Hill State Agency File, Kumharsain Settlement , 1895, Serial No.407, Bundle No.14,Kangra
DC Records, HP State Archive, Shimla, p. 62
68 ibid.,p. 80
Archive, Shimla, p.199
70 Lieut.-Col. E.G. Wace, “Final Report of the regular Settlement of the Simla District in the
Punjab,”1881-83,para,54,p.xli
71 ibid.
72 George Carnac Barnes, “Report on the Kangra Settlement,”(1850-1852),Dehra Dhoon,11th
Sept,1850,,para 394,p.61

76
interesting country. The climate was genial and temperate, and the people assimilated in manner, customs and institutions to other parts of the district. There were two natural divisions. The one comprised a rich and comparatively level tract along the banks of the Beas; the valley, near the source of the river was about six miles wide, covered with cultivation and interspersed with the houses of the peasantry. The hedges were full of fruit trees, and canals, drawn from the river, carried waste over the entire expanse. On either side were noble mountains, clothes with forests of cedar and other descriptions of pine. The second division of Kooloo was entirely mountainous. It was intersected by a spur from the snowy range, which formed the water shed line between the Sutlej and the Beas. The people were more robust and manly than the inhabitants of the valley, and the crops were entirely unirrigated. In the valley of the Beas rice and Indian corn formed the staple autumn crops. - a good description of rice growing even at an elevation of 7000 feet above the sea level. Barley, wheat and the poppy were the principal articles of spring produce. The poppy was extensively grown throughout Kooloo, and flourished in any climate up to 6000 feet above the sea. From the heads of the poppy, the people manufactured opium, which is purchased by traders, chiefly Gosaeens of Kangra, and exported for the markets of the Punjab. The same species of crops were grown in both divisions of Kooloo only, for the want of irrigation, rice was not so generally cultivated in the mountainous parts. According to local custom the area of the fields was estimated not by square measurement, but by the quantity of seed required for sowing them. The grain measures used for this purpose were known by the local appellations of “Bhar” and Patha. A “bhar” contains sixteen “Pathas,” and one “Patha” contains about 3 Kucha seers of seed. Barley was the standard grain always used for estimating areas.

2.4.2 Cropping Patterns in Kullu

Throughout Kooloo, except in the higher values, the soil yields two crops annually the main crops were rice, opium tobacco, wheat, Indian corn, barley and amaranth; but almost every description of grain grew to perfection, and was thickly cultivated. Poppy was sown in November and was harvested at the end of May. A good crop of poppy should give six maunds (the maund was equal to about eighty

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73 George Carnac Barnes, “Report on the Kangra Settlement,” (1850-1852), para 394, p. 61
74 George Carnac Barnes, “Report on the Kangra Settlement,” (1850-1852), para 394, p. 61
75 ibid.
77 ibid.
pounds English, and contains forty seers of two pounds each) of seed per acre and yield ten pucka seers of oil per maund of seed, besides six to eight seers of opium. The purchasers of the Kooloo opium were for the most part shopkeepers from Sooltanpoor or Mundee, traders from Hoshiarpore and Jullundur also dealing largely in the drug which fetches from Rs.6 to Rs.15 per pucka seer; the fluctuation in price not so much depending on short or good crop as on the influx of buyers. The Kooloo people adulterated their opium extensively, though they knew that by doing it, this affects the price of the article, for opium that has been tampered with was of a dirty colour, and was easily distinguishable from the better sort; it also loses very much in weight if kept any time. Assistant commissioner Punjab said that he had no means of ascertaining what quantity of opium was produced in the sub division-returns say 100 pucka maunds, but it appeared to be far below the truth.

Since last settlement in 1891, there has been no noticeable change found in the Settlement Report of 1910-13 in the cropping of the tract since settlement except the decrease in the area under poppy which has occurred since 1911 in consequence of the enhancement of acreage duty from Rs.2 to Rs.9 which was imposed in that year.

Assessment report of the Kulu proper, Rupi and Saraj tracts of the Kangra district by J.Coldstream, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, 1911, at page 24, reported in respect of Waziri Rupi that the percentage borne by the area under different crops to be cultivated area of Waziri Rupi, Tahsil Kulu, at last settlement and on the average, during the nineteen years 1891-1910 was as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kharif</th>
<th>Rabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At last Settlement,1891</td>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td>5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average nineteen years,1891-1919</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

78 ibid.,p.173.
80 ibid.,p.174.
81 ibid.
2.4.3 Initial Evidence of Opium Poppy cultivation in Kullu

The very first traces of cultivation of both poppy and Bhang in Kullu District had been established from girdawaries of Malana and other villages of Kullu District conducted as early as 1868. In Malana village, people used to cultivate both poppy and Bhang since long probably when the people came to settle in that village which is still a research subject. The language, the system of governance, and their socio-cultural and religious system still differs. It has been found during this research in one of the revenue entry which reads as under:

"Patwar 14 Feharisat Hei."
"Today Yah Naksha Vahadury Kardar Devta v Majareyan Hamari Samane Pesh Hua Aur Har Aik Mei Tadat v Kita v Jamin v Jama v Digar Had v Vandraj Munderja Naksha Majkura Sunkar Tasdik v Taslim Kiya Lihayaja Hukam Hua Ke Shamil Misal Bandobast Ki Bahi Aaj Martava 31 Mahe October,1868 Hei"


From the above given details, it was established beyond doubt that on 31.10.1868, the land in Malana was not in the name of individuals. It was in the ownership of Devta Jamlu. It was also confirmed from other sources also.

After scrutiny of the entire record for this Girdawari as on 31.10.1868, it was found that Bhang Girdawari was found entered in the revenue records in 9 numbers at 17,23,38,50,59,112,117,118 and 129 whereas Afim Girdawari was found made in five numbers at 80,86,112,191 and 209. It clearly established the fact that the people settled in Malana village indulged in the cultivation of both poppy and Bhang (cannabis) cultivation.

In Manali-Prini Area it is written in the book written in 1873, that the red rice, the white opium, the yellow corn, and the red poppy with here and there the verdant grass, or new ploughed earth, show the industry of the inhabitant, and the richness of the soil.

The poppy was grown for opium, according to Stewart (Punjab Plants, Lahore, 1869, p. 10), in the valley of the Bias east of Lahore. It is cultivated up to 7500 feet

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above sea-level, the opium of Kulu in this district was considered of excellent quality. In Nepal, Bashahr, and Rampur, and at Doda Kishtwar in the Jammu territory, opium was produced and exported to Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, and various Chinese provinces.\(^6\) Posht or Afeem (Poppy) was cultivated here and there for home consumption.\(^7\) The poppy, although one of the staples in perguna Kooloo was very partially cultivated in Kangra. Formerly, every cultivator would grow a few plants to furnish a little opium, in case of need at home.\(^8\)

Throughout Kooloo, except in the higher valley, the soil yielded two crops annually. The main crops were rice, opium, tobacco, wheat, Indian corn, barley, and amaranth; but almost every description of grain grows to perfection, and was thickly cultivated.\(^9\) A good crop gave six maunds of seed per acre and yield 10 pucka seers of oil per maund of seed, besides six to eight seers of opium.\(^10\) The Kooloo zamindars adulterated their opium extensively. Opium return said that 100 pucka maunds of opium was produced in the sub division.\(^11\)

2.4.4 Opium Poppy Crop Cultivation in Kulu Tahsil of Kulu Sub Division in 1891

A good deal of poppy was grown, but the opium was of inferior quality to that produced in Plach and Waziri Rupi. The crops throughout Kulu were satisfactorily secure, and any general failure was practically unknown.\(^12\)

The most paying produce in the Rabi harvest was opium, but the cultivation and manufacture were laborious. The earlier the poppy was sown the better; but a cultivator generally sowed several small plots one after the other, so that the collection of the opium may not be such a tax on the energies of his family as it would be if the poppies in all the plots were ready at the same time.\(^13\)

The plots were highly manured both before sowing and also more than once after the poppies had come up; frequent weeding was also necessary the seed was sown in rows and coriander was very generally sown in the drills between the rows; a fringe of barley was also often grown around the field, so that the barley being reaped before the opium

\(^{6}\) ibid.
\(^{7}\) George Carnac Barnes, Report on the settlement in the District of Kangra in the Trans Sutlej States, para 179, p. 86
\(^{8}\) ibid., para 206, p. 95
\(^{10}\) ibid., p. 173.
\(^{11}\) ibid., p. 174
\(^{12}\) A.H Diack, “Assessment Report of Kulu Tahsil in the Kangra District,” 1891, para, 2
\(^{13}\) ibid., para, 12, p. 6

80
was gathered a path was left by which the field may be visited without injury to the plants.\textsuperscript{94}

The opium was extracted between the end of May and the end of June according to elevation.\textsuperscript{95} When the poppy heads were ready two or three slits were made in each in the evening and early next morning the cultivator's whole family turned out to collect the juice which had exuded through the slits.\textsuperscript{96} This was of a bluish brown colour; it was taken off with a wooden scraper or with the edge of a reaping hook and rubbed on to poppy petals which had been kept for the purpose.\textsuperscript{97} A number of small balls were thus formed which were wrapped in poppy leaves and so kept till they were quite dry; both leaves and petals are then removed and the opium was ready.\textsuperscript{98} The same poppy head yielded opium for several days. The removal of the juice kept the cultivator's whole family occupied from early morning till noon and sometimes all day in the case of a large field.

The poppy was not much cultivated in those kothis of the Waziris in which there was much irrigated land, because the time for collecting the opium corresponded with the rice planting season and labour was not available for carrying on the two operations simultaneously. In the Sarwari valley also there was not much poppy cultivation as the rainfall there in June was generally excessive.\textsuperscript{99} Sari, Maharaja and Kais were the chief opium producing kothis in the tract under report, but the quality of the drug manufactured in these was inferior to that of the opium of Waziri Rupi and Saraj.\textsuperscript{100}

The following table showed the percentage of the cultivated area occupied by the principal crops in three waziris of Kullu proper—Lag Maharaja, Lag Sari and Parol (1910-13 report) as ascertained in 1891 and according to the results of the cropping returns from 1891 to 1910.\textsuperscript{101}

\begin{table}[h]
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{94} ibid.
\textsuperscript{95} A.H Diack, "Assessment Report of Kulu Tahsil in the Kangra District," 1891, para. 12, p. 6
\textsuperscript{96} ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} ibid.
\textsuperscript{101} J. Coldstream, "Final Report of the Third Revised Settlement, 1910-13, of the Parol, Lag Maharaja and Lag Sari—Sub Tahsil Saraj-Rupi-Lahul and Spiti Waziris of the Kulu Sub Division," 1910-13, part I, p. 8
Table 2.8  Detail of percentage of cultivated area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kharif area cropped</th>
<th>Rabbi Area Cropped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last settlement, 1891</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of years, 1891-1910</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Assessment of the Kullu Tehsil of Kullu Sub Division, dated 24th April, 1946, reported that the poppy crop was valued at Settlement at Rs.15678/- which was more than one quarter of the Khalsa demand. By 1925 the value of the crop had increased so that in estates where it was popular it paid for the entire demand. Taxation and competition later reduce its value until at the time of its prohibition in 1936 the crop was no longer profitable. As the decline of the crop was mainly the result of Government action, a remission of two annas in the rupee was granted in those kothis where the crop was grown. This was more than adequate compensation in some cases but in a few estates poppy was the only cash crop produced. For example in Kharal the crop was estimated to be worth Rs.3783/- and the Revenue imposed was Rs.3625/- The absence of the crop now must definitely be taken into consideration when dealing with the assessment as it was the only cash crop of the circle. To some extent potatoes have taken its place as they are sold but their export value pre war was negligible, the fare to railhead being as much as the crop was worth in down country markets, and there were doubts whether the crop had a future in normal conditions.

2.4.5 Condition of People of Outer and Inner Saraj in 1891

The actual amount of food produced in the Tahsil was not sufficient for the population. This was added to by importation of grain which was paid for by sale of opium. Plach Tehsil was a poor country where scarcity of grain was the normal state of affairs.

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103 ibid.
104 ibid.
105 A.H Diack Plach Tahsil Assessment Report, 1891, para 6, p. 3
106 ibid., para 26
In outer Saraj in addition to such resources the people had surplus grain which they were able to dispose of at good prices in Rampur Bashar, a poor country where scarcity of grain was the normal state of affairs. It was in Outer Saraj only that signs of indebtedness were found and in a few of the western kothis and outside these few kothis there was little indebtedness of any sort, and the people were very well to do. Gusayans from Jawala-mukhi had for very many years been in the habit of visiting this part of the country attracted by the opium and blankets procurable in it and had obliged the less thrifty proprietors with advances, some made as long ago as the time of the Rajas’, which the debtors had not yet paid off. These Gusayans visit outer Saraj annually in June or July and obtained opium and woolens at low rates in payment of the interest on their loans. That the people affected, however, were not unduly embarrassed was shown by the fact that so far very little land has been mortgaged or sold to the money lenders. And outside these few kothis there was little indebtedness of any sort, and the people were very well to do as per para 26 of Plach Tahsil Assessment Report, 1891.

2.4.6. Opium Poppy Crop Cultivation in Plach (Seraj) Tahsil of Kullu Sub Division in 1891

The poppy was produced nearly everywhere in Plach Tehsil of Kullu Sub Division. The proportion of the area under poppy was smaller than in Rupi, but greater than in Kulu proper. But it paid the revenue.

The following statement showed the percentage borne by the area under different crops to the total cultivated area of Plach Tahsil Kangra District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poppy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waziri Inner Seraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waziri Outer Saraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tahsil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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107 ibid., para 26
108 ibid., para 15, p. 6
109 ibid., para 77
110 ibid., para 6, p. 3
The poppy was largely cultivated throughout Plach tahsil. The methods of cultivation of the plant and of the manufacture of opium in Saraj were the same as were adopted in Kulu and the same methods were followed in Saraj. While the opium of Rupi was preferred by traders to that of Kulu, the opium of Saraj was considered superior to both. In the more northern portions of the sub division the drug was produced only in the less elevated villages, but in the Plach tahsil, and especially in Outer Saraj, elevation seemed to be no obstacle to the cultivation of the plant, and it was grown as high as 8000 feet above the sea. There was scarcely a village which did not produce sufficient opium to pay its revenue and the total value of the annual yield of opium of the tahsil was probably more than double its present revenue.

The most important product of the land from a revenue paying point of view was opium which was superior in this tract to that of Kulu or Rupi. The drug was manufactured in nearly every village as in this Tahsil the poppy could be grown up to a high elevation.

2.4.7 Poppy cultivation in Saraj Tahsil, 1910-13

Poppy grew in most of the hamlets. It was the revenue paying crop of the country in Saraj. In outer Saraj, where the people were badly indebted to money lenders who traffic in the drug, much of the produce was mortgaged in advance. In spite of the rise in the value of opium, the area under poppy had not extended since last settlement, as the following figures show:

Table 2.10 Detail of poppy cultivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Area matured</th>
<th>1891-1895</th>
<th>1896-1900</th>
<th>1901-1905</th>
<th>1906-1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111 ibid., para, 14, p. 6
112 ibid.
113 ibid.
114 ibid.
115 ibid.
118 ibid.
119 ibid.
In 1911, the enhancement of the tax from Rs.2 to Rs.9 per acre brought the area down to 744 acres, and the relief subsequently given by reducing it to Rs.1-2-0 on an eighth of an acre resulted in a harvest of 870 acres on which the tax fell with an incidence of Rs.12-4.3 per acre. The opium was not now considered as good in quality as Rupi opium, but being unadulterated competed favourably with the produce of the Native States across the Sutlej.

2.4.8 Brief Account of Lahoul and Spitee

Lahaul is a distortion of the word LH-yool which means the farthest and the southern most province. Lahaul Waziri is divided into 14 kothis. As per Report on the Settlement in the District of Kangra in the Trans Sutlej States by George Carnac Barnes, (1850-51), the produce of the land in Lahoul and Spitee did not suffice for the wants of the population. The people of Lahoul imported grain from Kooloo, and the valley of the Sutlej supplied the additional demands in Spitee. The crops in both Talooquas were the same. The barley of Spitee was and was still hexagonal, or six sides, and the grain large and succulent. The Lahoulees were great traders, and import the wool, borax, sulphur and churus of Ladakh in exchange for the opium, sugar, cotton goods and other commodities of India, which they purchase in Kooloo. The inhabitants of Spitee were also obliged to eke out their subsistence by resort to trade. The culture of the soil alone would not support them; and to this fact we were indebted for the connecting link between countries which otherwise would be almost inaccessible and unknown to each other. The articles of trade in Spitee were identical with the commerce which traveled through Lahoul. The pastoral countries to the north supplied the fine wool which formed the material of our shawls. The earth yielded abundant subterranean treasurers of borax, salt and sulphur, and the hemp grew wild, furnishing an inspissated juice, highly valued in India for its intoxicating qualities. The town of Rampoor, on the Sutlej, afforded a ready and convenient market for exchanging these products for the staples of Hindoostan, and thus the people of Spitee acquired the means of livelihood which their own inhospitable mountains could never afford.

120 ibid
121 ibid.
122 ibid.,p.61
123 Assessment report of Waziri Lahaul,1951, Bundle No.6, Sr.No.47,Kullu DC Records, HP State Archive HP Shimla,p.7
Besides cultivation of wheat barley, buck wheat, peas and other vegetable, there were so many drugs plants which were growing in wild form.\(^{125}\)

2.5 KOTHI WISE DETAILS OF CULTIVATION OF OPIUM POPPY IN KULLU

2.5.1 Kothi Pandra Bis

In Sargah Phati which was the highest phati, opium in 1908 was of the value of Rs.2346 against a demand of Rs.1255. It was the strongest phati.\(^{126}\) The opium went up to Rs.13/-

2.5.2 Kothi Shikari

In 1908, opium at harvest prices and after deducting excise was worth Rs.2577/- . Annual demand remained Rs.1200. Opium was sold from Rs.12/8/0 to Rs.13/- to Banjar shop keepers.\(^{127}\) Hait Ram of Gopalpur and the other Negis ought to see that the zamindars corner this drug. With prices at Rs.17/- and more in Hoshiarpur, it was absurd that all the profit went to foreign shop keepers and traders.\(^{128}\)

2.5.3 Kothi Janja

In 1907 the demand was paid without difficulty. Both harvests last year were good with 10 S 10½ Ch. of opium as per entry made by Assistant Commissioner, Kullu dated 26.4.1909. The traders did not give such good terms here as they did in Raghopur which they visited later. Assuming an all round rate of Rs.10.10.9 the gross value works out at Rs2247, deduct fees Rs.134 and the cash in hand was Rs.2113. So it was not wonderful that the demand for the year Rs.1875 was paid pretty easily.\(^{129}\) Considering that Bengal opium sold last year at Rs.17/- it was fairly certain that if the Janja people combine and join together they should be able to get from Rs.13 to Rs.14/- this year. The great thing to remember was that the Seraj cultivator had the traders in the hollow of his hand now that the output in the Punjab had been restricted. It was a question of combination. This has been explained to Dharam Das who was quite capable of assimilating and explaining the situation.\(^{130}\)

\(^{125}\) A.H Diack, The Assessment report of Waziri Lahaul of the Kulu tahsil, 1890.
\(^{126}\) "Negi’s Book in Kulu,” 1942, File No.2(66), Sr.No.5,B.No.79, Kangra DC Records, HP State Archive, Shimla
\(^{127}\) ibid.
\(^{128}\) ibid.
\(^{129}\) ibid.
\(^{130}\) ibid.
2.5.4 Kothi Srigarh

The kothi had the good harvest as per entry at Ani on 27.4.1909. Sh. Fathu said that Opium last year was sold at Rs.10/-. The Gosains who buy most of the opium had a good deal of money out at interest and were able to keep the price down artificially. But if Srigarh chooses, it could by combination raise the price considerably this year. The output was 9 maunds 69 seers 13 chataks with gross value say Rs.4400/-, fees Rs.269/-, so the net cash value was Rs.4100/-.

2.5.5 Inner Seraj

Opium in 1908 was Rs.2735/-. Demand was Rs.1435/-. Opium had been selling at Rs.10/- and Rs.11/-. It was because money lenders kept the price down by taking opium at fixed rates in payment of debts. A very little cooperation would raise the price to Rs.14/- or Rs.15/-.

2.5.6 Kothi Kandi

Opium in 1908 was 381/-. Annual demand was Rs.625/-. During this year opium went up to Rs.13/8/0 as per entry dated 14.12.1909 in the Negi’s Book. It could be sent very much higher if the Inner Seraj Negis combine and prevent people from selling it in too great a hurry. Sh. Bed Ram must make a point of calling on District Officers in all Departments and he must make up generally a good deal before he became a good Negi. He had some influence as the family was a good one.

2.5.7 Kothi Raghupur

Since the disastrous Kharif of 1907, the Kothi has had a fair Rabi and a good Kharif, it had also had a really fine opium crop.
1907, he did not in the least realize the tremendous revenue strength of the Kothi due to its opium. Thus in 1908 the opium produced was 8 mds. 27 seers. 3 ¼ chittaks. However Mr. Bhagat referred it as an average crop. So unless he was lying (which is highly probable) the Kothi was even better off. The average price ranged from Rs. 12 to Rs. 13/- per seer. Taking this at Rs. 12/- per seer the value worked out at Rs. 4166/13/0 from which if we deduct excise of Rs. 223/8/0 and even then the balance was Rs. 3943/5/0.

Opium was, of course, an expensive crop to grow and at any rate laborious. But as the annual demand was Rs. 2710/- only it is clear that this was in 1908 paid quite comfortably out of the opium alone, with a balance to spare. The opium was apparently fairly only distributed over the three Phatis. This was one of the few Kothis in Seraj which was at once pastoral and opium growing.

2.5.8 Kothi Gopalpur

Opium in 1908 was to the value of Rs. 2650/- (6 Mds: 24 S 4 ¼ Ch) at current prices and after deducting excise. And the annual demand was Rs. 1440/- This year opium stood at Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/- so that the Kothi was very strong as per entry made in Negis Book by Assistant Commissioner, Kullu dated 14/12/2009.

2.5.9 Kothi Dhol

Opium in 1908 was valued at harvest price at about Rs. 2602/- Annual demand Rs. 1615/-. There were too many goats. Mr. Udho had a good deal of influence as per entry in Negis Note Book on 8.12.1909 made by Sh. G. C. L Howell, AC, Kullu.

2.5.10 Kothi Himri

Palehi Nithar and Lout are infested with Gosains and, therefore, there was a good deal of indebtedness among them. They were said to be selling and mortgaging a good deal of land. The people were a miserable lot-unwilling to work and an easy prey to the usurer. They managed to get grain to eat instead of the jungle produce in which the

137 ibid.
138 ibid.
139 ibid.
140 ibid.
141 ibid.
142 ibid.
143 ibid.
144 ibid.
145 ibid.
rest of Seraj subsisted. As everywhere else the Rabi sowings on high land promise well (given rain). And on the low lying lands there is ample time to sow still. Mr. Shamgir, the richest Gosain, was persuaded to finance a shop at Nithar but these holy men were not given to charity and have no sympathy with the poor. The Negi said that none will advance grain on jewels this year. These were the remarks noted in Negis Book by Mr. G.C.L Howell, AC Kullu vide entry dated 7.12.2009.

Opium in 1908 was worth Rs.6580/- and the annual demand was Rs.5430/- This was worth remembering next time people clamor for remission. This year opium only went to Rs.13-8-0. The people were invertebrate hereabouts. They should combine and they could easily force the price up. As it was, they were so terrified of their Gosains that they allowed them to take opium in payment of debts at Rs.10/-.

No court could ever uphold any such agreement. Mr. Gokal Ram was rather a “poor man” like most of his people.

2.5.11 Kothi Kot

The standing crops on the higher lands were fairly hopeful and given rain should be good. There was still time to sow on the lower lands if we get rain before the end of December. The Negi would report whether anyone needed takkavi. The Negi reported that he had paid about Rs.100/- of the present instalment out of his own pocket which he expected to be able to recover. There was no outstanding balance. The statistics of sales and mortgages did not indicate heavy indebtedness. But the Negi told and he thought truly that most of the jewels had been pawned to get grain. However if we could get grain, people will buy it. At present they were subsisting on horse chestnuts, wild pear cake (Shegal) and other wild produce.

2.5.12 Kothi Fatehpur

The people had (as usual and perhaps more than usual) cleared out to get work in Simla and else-where. AC, Kullu wrote it on hear say basis as he had not even seen the kothi yet. These were the remarks recorded by AC, Kullu Mr. G.C.L Howell vide his entry in Negis Book on 2/12/1909. Physically they were (like the Raghupur people) quite

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146 ibid.
147 ibid.
148 ibid.
149 ibid.
150 ibid.
151 ibid.
a fine race. The Patwari has had a royal time. None had inspected his Girdawari for the last 2 or 3 years. Orders had been issued to the Naib Tehsildar and Kanungs to do so by next spring.

There were no stores of grain in the Kothi and people were eating miserable food. The current instalment had been paid in (Rs.438/-) but Mr. Jit Ram as he said, paid about Rs.200/- out of his own pocket. He hoped to recover it as the people had been doing a lot of timber flotation for the forests at Gosaini and below it.

Opium in 1908 was valued at Rs.87/- and demand was Rs.550/- and Rs.620/-. There was no doubt that these two kothis Nauhanda and Tunj do need special consideration at Settlement. However, it would have to be considered whether their wealth in flocks counter balances their poverty in opium.

2.5.13 Kothi Sarachi

Opium in 1908 was worth about Rs.88/- as against a demand of Rs.670/- The kothi is one of the weakest and it should never raise the assessment without most careful consideration. Rabi crop remained average: Kharif was well below average. These were the remarks recorded by Mr. G.C.S Howell, AC, Kullu in Negis Note book vide entry dated 2/12/1909.

2.5.14 Kothi Cheni

Opium in 1908 was worth Rs.725/- Demand was Rs.820/- Thus there was shortfall of opium value as against its demand as per an entry dated 2/12/2009 made in the Negis book by AC, Kullu.

2.5.15 Kothi Plach

Opium in 1908 was worth Rs.1670/- as against an annual demand of Rs.1135/-. It was recorded by Mr. G.C.L Howell, A.C, Kullu in Negis book vide entry dated 2.12.1909.
2.5.16 Kothi Jalori

Lajheri and Khani did very well last Rabi and with a good Kharif and good prospects this Rabi things look bright. AC Kullu did not notice in December, 07 the opium cultivation.\(^\text{159}\) The Kothi produced in 1908, 2 maunds 35 seers 14 chittaks. This was sold at Rs.23/- per bhatti Rs.11/8/0 per seer as per Mr.Din.\(^\text{160}\)Calculating the sale price at Rs.10/10/9 (the official harvest price), the Kothi made Rs.1124/- after paying excise.\(^\text{161}\) This was not bad considering the demand was Rs.1775/-only and of course at Rs.11/8/0 the takings were actually great-say Rs.1220/-.\(^\text{162}\) Most of the opium was grown in Koila and more in Khanni than Lajheri. The fees paid were Rs.112/-only.\(^\text{163}\) These were as per the remarks recorded by Mr. G.C.L Howell, AC, Kullu in Negis book vide entry dated 23.4.1909.

2.6 OUTTURN OF OPIUM IN KULU TAHSIL AND OTHER HILL STATES

2.6.1 Outturn of Poppy produce in Hill and other States

The calculation of total produce of hill opium was a tricky one because of certain practical difficulties for want of any standard of yield which had any authority. Rampur and Jubbal declared yields of 12 and 13 chittaks a bigah, respectively.\(^\text{164}\) The exact acreage of land under cultivation was not known. Even when the acreage was known there was no satisfactory method of estimating produce. The outturn generally assumed was 4 seers per acre but there are reasons for suspecting that it may be 5 or 6. During 1928-29 the outturn per acre was four and half seer in Kotkhai and three and half seer in Kulu.\(^\text{165}\) The whole sale vendors purchased opium from cultivators at about Rs.8 to Rs.12 per seer. The smugglers offered Rs.25 to Rs.26 per seer. On account of laxity of control over poppy cultivation it was suspected that the cultivators sold opium to smugglers who offered enhanced rates before the produce was checked by the Patwaris. This was responsible for a fall in acreage outturn per acre in Kulu and Kot Khai.\(^\text{166}\) The estimated outturn in 1912-13 was 6.3 seers per acre when poppy cultivation in Simla was

\(^{159}\) ibid.  
^{160}\) ibid.  
^{161}\) ibid.  
^{162}\) ibid.  
^{163}\) ibid.  
^{164}\) Opium Smuggling in the Punjab," Lahore(1931), Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab,1931,p. 28  
^{165}\) ibid.,p. 29  
^{166}\) ibid.,p.21
subject to an acreage duty of Rs.2 and the opium to a further transport duty of Rs.2 per seer levied at the Kot Khai warehouse.\(^{167}\) This indicated the probability that the official reports of outturn for opium were underestimated. In the Hill States there was no record of acreage.\(^{168}\)

### 2.6.2 Outturn of opium in Kulu and Plach Tahsils, 1883-1891

It would be almost impossible to estimate the outturn of opium per acre of poppy cultivation by experiment or enquiry, but a comparison of the results of the measurements prescribed by the Opium Rules with the Excise registers showing the weight of opium exported from the subdivision under permit gave the desired result.\(^{169}\) Very little opium was consumed locally, and there could be little smuggling; in any case there was no necessity to make allowance for opium consumed locally or smuggled as our object was to take a low average.\(^{170}\) Statistics of this sort were not available for the tract under report alone, and it was necessary to consider the returns for the whole subdivision as a trader may purchase in both tahsils, Kulu and Plach, but obtain his export permit in the one or the other.\(^{171}\) The following table showed the results from 1883-84 till 1891:\(^{172}\)

**Table 2.11 Detail of outturn opium in Kullu and Plach Tehsils**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ACREAGE</th>
<th>WEIGHT IN MAUNDS</th>
<th>Average outturn per acre in sers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>Plach</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>1,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>1,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>1,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>1,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>1,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>1,767</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** A.H Diack, “Assessment Report of Kulu Tahsil in the Kangra District,” 1891, para, 42, p.21

\(^{167}\) ibid.  
\(^{168}\) ibid.  
\(^{169}\) ibid.  
\(^{170}\) ibid.  
\(^{171}\) ibid.  
\(^{172}\) ibid.
The returns for the last three years were likely to be more accurate than those for previous years, as with the increased settlement staff the acreage measurements, had been more carefully made and scrutinized.\textsuperscript{173} It seemed safe to assume an average outturn of 4 sers an acre.\textsuperscript{174} During the last four years, the price as between cultivator and trader had never been lower than Rs.7-8-0, or higher than Rs.12 a ser, and has usually been midway between these limits.\textsuperscript{175} As has already been observed, the opium of the tract under report was of inferior quality to that of the rest of the sub division, but the average value of the produce per acre after deducting the average duty was certainly not less than Rs.24 an acre, and so it had been assumed in calculating the half net asset estimate, the Government share being taken at Rs.6.\textsuperscript{176} In framing rates for class of soil, no account has been taken of the poppy crop, as it was grown mainly to pay the revenue and not for profit, but in assessing from phati to phati, it was guided more by the amount of opium produced.\textsuperscript{177}

The outturn of certain other products was also estimated in cash per acre as follows in the settlement report of the year 1898:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red pepper</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6.3 Opium and its acreage duty

The most important of these, from the zamindars point of views was opium, the value of which was put in 1891 at Rs.24 per acre. The acreage duty has recently been

\textsuperscript{173} ibid.
\textsuperscript{174} ibid.
\textsuperscript{175} ibid.
\textsuperscript{176} ibid.
\textsuperscript{177} ibid.
raised to Rs.9/- It was too soon to form an opinion of the effect of the rise in the tax. At present it seemed that it has had little effect upon the cultivation of poppy in Rupi and in the parts of Saraj where the best opium was produced. In certain tracts the people could not pay their revenue without growing opium, and they, therefore, had to cultivate it at any cost. In Parol, the zamindars had sown little poppy and the poor zamindars were naturally not prepared to risk Rs.2-4-0 on a bighas of cultivation which may, in consequence of a night’s rain, produce nothing. A good yield of opium was worth at present prices at least Rs.41 per acre after deducting the duty. But a good yield was the result of an enormous amount of labour, which few families had to spare when opium was ready for picking. Still fewer can afford to set apart for opium, the most risky of all crops land from which they got their good. AC, Kullu agreed with what Mr. Millar had written in paragraph 9 of his forecast report, and considered that by taking Rs.9/- an acre as excise duty Government had thrown a sufficient burden upon land under poppy. The tax was really heavier than Rs.9 an acre, for poppy was sown on smaller areas than a quarter of an acre, although the duty on a full quarter of an acre had to be paid. The area cultivated with poppy was measured at Girdawari and the opium produced was weighed by Patwaries. Comparing average figures, the average produce per acre worked out at 4 seers 1 ½ chittaks in Kulu and 4 seers 7 chittaks in Rupi. Mr. Diack’s estimate of 4 sers an acre was, therefore, a full and fair one. The price at which zamindars sold opium in 1906 and 1907 was Rs.10 a ser. In 1908-09 it raised to Rs.13 a ser. In 1910 the price was Rs.14 a ser. It might be said with confidence that the price would not in future fall below Rs.13 a ser in Kulu and Rupi. Assuming for safety’s sake that zamindars would never get less than Rs.12 a ser for their opium the value of an acre of poppy came to Rs.39 after deducting the acreage duty.

2.6.4 Opium outturn in Saraj

Worked out from the average recorded area sown and the average amount weighed the average outturn of opium in Inner Saraj was 5 ser 5 chitanks and in our Saraj 4 Sers 3 chitanks per acre. It was admitted that the outturn was heavier in Saraj than in Kulu but how far the Girdawari records are correct. In some phatis the yield thus worked out came to no less than 9 sers an acre, and this was incredible. There was every incentive to swindling in the recording of areas grown. On the other hand, the

178 ibid., para, 83, p.36
179 ibid.
average price got by zamindars during the last 19 years was three rupees a ser less than the price in Kulu. The reasons were that in Saraj, and more especially Outer Saraj, the zamindars were oppressed by opium dealers who advance them money on condition that the whole produce was sold only to the lender and at favourable rates. The establishment of a small cooperative bank in Outer Saraj would relieve the zamindars of this difficulty. The yield of hemp fibre may safely be put down as worth not less than Rs.8 an acre in Plach tahsil. The value of yield of hemp produce in Kullu tahsil in 1891 per acre of the hemp had also been estimated at Rs.8/- in cash.

From 1899 to 1905 the price was Rs.8 a ser. For the next three years it was Rs.10, and in 1909 and 1910 it was Rs.12. Hence Rs.12 a ser may be taken safely as a commutation price, but as this was higher than the rate prevailing, the fact that Saraj produced more opium per acre of poppy might be ignored and the value of an acre of poppy put at the same figure as that suggested or Kulu and Rupi.

2.7 CULTIVATION OF OPIUM POPPY TO PAY THE TAXES

The cultivation of poppy was taxed in the usual way in accordance with the rules under the Opium Act. The import of charas, as had been already noticed, was not directly taxed in Kulu, but the importers are required to obtain permits at the tahsil for its transport to Amritsar or Hoshiarpur. There was no tax on the cultivation of hemp within the Sub Division, as it was grown exclusively for the sake of the fibre.

The Waziri Rupi had undoubtedly advanced in prosperity equally with the waziris of the Beas valley. It had never had difficulty in paying the revenue except after the great earthquake. But the land revenue here was paid, in most phatis, from the miscellaneous income afforded by the forests, from the sale of blankets and by the cultivation of opium. The average acreage under poppy in Rupi since 1891 had been

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180 ibid.
181 ibid.
182 ibid.,para,38,p.21
185 ibid.
186 Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Chapter V- " Administration and the Finance,"pp.111-112
187 ibid.
188 ibid.
190 ibid.
528 acres. By 1910 the area sown for opium had increased to 582 acres. The quadrupling of the duty brought this down to 525 acres and in the following year (1912) 532 acres were harvested. It was unlikely that more than 590 acres would suffice to pay the revenue now proposed including the taluqdari unless further official interference lowered the profits below the present rate at that time.

2.8 STOPPAGE TO GROW POPPY

Proposals for the simplification of the opium administration of the Punjab and the elimination of one source of the contraband trade by the extinction of poppy cultivation in the hills had from time to time been put forward. It was plainly impossible to exclude hill opium from the licit market except by putting a stop to cultivation. Proposals were made for extinguishing the cultivation of poppy in the Simla Hill States gradually within a period of 10 years. (Para 26, Excise Report 1923-24). The question was fraught with difficulty as no substitute crop had yet been found, which could replace the poppy in respect of value and portability.

The consumption of licit opium in the Punjab was decreasing steadily. In 1930-31, it was only 1.763 seer. The only remaining district where consumption was still heavy is Ferozapore, which consumed 1,158 seers in 1930-31. An increase in the transport duty on Hill opium from its present rate of Rs. 46 per seer for Kulu and Rs. 47 for Kotkhai to Rs. 51-7-, the same as the duty on Excise opium, would hasten this process. Communications by road had now been opened up with Kulu and Kotgarh. There was now no reason for a lower rate of duty on Kullu opium. In Kotgarh fruit growing had largely supplanted poppy cultivation. It was only where communications were defective that poppy was a more paying crop than fruit, vegetables and potatoes. In the Hill States near the market of Simla but little poppy is grown.

In British territory, the elaborate system of crop inspections made the illicit cultivation of a conspicuous crop such as poppy, a virtual impossibility. Areas, at the events were accurately recorded through the record of outturn still leaves very much to

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191 ibid.
192 ibid.
194 ibid.
195 ibid.
196 "Opium Smuggling in the Punjab," Lahore(1931) Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab,1931,para 34,page 34

96
be desired. But the Hill States had not any means of ascertaining the areas under poppy except in the very general way\(^197\); and their rulers even with the best will in the world to co-operate were not in a position to check illicit practices, in the profits of which their own officials are not infrequently participators\(^198\).

In circumstances such as these, the prevention of smuggling of British territory was not a possibility. No army of preventive guards, however, strong, could watch every hill path\(^199\), and no pay which could be given would prevent the smugglers from outbidding the Government and enlisting connivance\(^200\).

From the Imperial point of view the chief danger was that opium could be smuggled from the Punjab to Calcutta because Excise opium was available in the Punjab and still more in the Punjab States. From the Provincial point of view the main difficulty was that the high duty levied in Assam and Burma made it profitable to smuggle excise and Malwa opium prepared so as to resemble Excise opium from the Punjab to Calcutta. This opium, like the charas smuggled from Peshawar eastwards, was paid for by imports of cocaine. The need for finding substitutes for the Excise opium to be sent eastwards made it profitable to smuggle Hill\(^201\) and Malwa opium into Punjab and still more into the Punjab States in the plains. The production of Malwa opium in Rajputana was under practically no control and in the remoter Hill States poppy was the only crop which could be sold for money, to pay land revenue to the State.

Para 23 of the Opium Smuggling in the Punjab,” Lahore: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1931, Para 23 of a note written by Sh. Narsingh Dass, Excise Assistant to the Financial Commissioners, Punjab dated the November 28\(^{th}\), 1931, page 35 says that in the meanwhile and apart from radical remedies, which demand lengthy investigation, there were certain measures, which could be taken at once. One of these (a very trifling one) was the prohibition of the cultivation of poppy in those “Kothis” of Kulu where it has not been cultivated hitherto. Steps had been taken in this direction. At that time the cultivation of poppy was prohibited in 15 Kothis in the Kulu Sub Division. It was also laid down that a license for the cultivation of poppy shall not be given for an area of less than five biswas and that no person shall cultivate poppy in the sub division in any area larger in extent than the maximum area

\(^{197}\) ibid.
\(^{198}\) ibid.
\(^{199}\) ibid.
\(^{200}\) ibid.
\(^{201}\) ibid.
which either he or the persons who preceded him in the cultivation of his holding
cultivated with poppy in any of the three years 1914-15, 1915-16 and 1916-17\textsuperscript{202}. Sh.
Narsingh Das, Excise Assistant to the Financial Commissioners, Punjab note dated
November 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1931 further says that proposals were made for extinguishing the
cultivation of poppy in Simla Hill states gradually within a period of 10 years. (Para.26,
Excise Report, 1923-24)\textsuperscript{203}.The question was fraught with difficulty as no substitute crop
had yet been found, which could replace the poppy in respect of value and portability.
(Para 20, Excise Report, 1925-26.)\textsuperscript{204}

Growth of poppy cash crop was stopped in 1936\textsuperscript{205}. As this was the only cash
crop; people were affected by the stoppage of its growth. They were, however, fairly
compensated by the remission of land revenue to the extent of 2 annas in a rupee, in
Kothis in which it was grown. The tea gardens planted in the past had given place to fruit
orchards. The only remnants of tea plants were now found in Minniken’s Estate in
Raison. Fruit growing was getting popular. It gained impetus soon after 1942, when the
prices of fruit went up due to 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War. The biggest orchard was that of Mrs. Lee,
but Major H.M Banon’s orchard although second in area, produced the finest apples
which were very much relished in Southern India. Potatoes had taken place of inferior
Kharif grain crops on elevations of 5000 feet and above. These flourish well in soft soil
which got some snowfall in winter. It had almost replaced the poppy crop, wherever it
was grown, before it was banished. Most of the potatoes grown here were taken to
Bengal for use as seed and thus fetched a very handsome price\textsuperscript{206}. In Lahaul Kuth, a herb,
used as incentive in China, was brought in the valley about 20 years ago\textsuperscript{207}. Its growth
became popular with the high price it fetched. The seed was sown early in April and its
roots were ready for extraction in September, after 2\frac{1}{2} years. Fine quality of potatoes
were also sown but these were consumed as vegetable by the people\textsuperscript{208}. As there were no
means of easy transport, they could not be exported and sold in the markets of Kullu, or
the plains.

\textsuperscript{202} ibid.,p.35
\textsuperscript{203} ibid.,p.34
\textsuperscript{204} ibid.
\textsuperscript{205} Bachittar Singh, “Final Report of the Fourth Revised Settlement of the Kulu Sub Division of the
Kangra District, 1945-1952,” para 16, p. 9
\textsuperscript{206} ibid.
\textsuperscript{207} ibid.
\textsuperscript{208} ibid.
2.9 CULTIVATION OF BHANG DURING BRITISH PERIOD IN KULLU DISTRICT

2.9.1 Hemp History

The natural origin of hemp was believed to be the highlands of the Himalayas. Hemp seed was spread from this region around the world by animals and people. The Aryans who invaded India were known to have taken hemp seed with them to sow it for fibre through the Middle East and Europe. Hemp cloth dating back to 8000 BC was also found in Mesopotamia and was mentioned in Assyrian scripts.

By the third Millennium BC, hemp had established itself as one of the major fibers of the world. No less than 80% of the world's textiles were hemp. China fully utilized hemp by farming and cultivating it for its strong fibre characteristics and along with silk was its most important textile. Due to the cost of silk, the majority of people in China relied on hemp's cheap but strong fibre for clothing.²⁰⁹

Indian hemp (Bhang) was grown for home consumption and not for sale²¹⁰. Small plots of it were sown round the abadi in places where no other crop will grow as per HP State Archive, D.C Office Kullu, B.No.5, Sr.No.38, “Kulu Settlement and Commutation Prices”

2.9.2 Cultivation of Hemp Plant in Punjab

Hemp²¹¹ (san) during 1888-90(average) had total cropped area under this head 66 square miles. Its average during 1891 to 1900 remained the same i.e. 66 square miles. It was 73 and 77 respectively during 1900-01 and 1903-04²¹². Whereas in comparison to hemp the area under opium cultivation in Punjab during the same period and years was 22, 14, 12 and 14 square miles respectively²¹³.

Although the hemp plant grows abundantly, charas, the drug extracted from its leaves and flowers could not be made in the Province of Punjab²¹⁴. It was imported from Yarkand and Kashgar, via Leh, to bonded ware houses in the Punjab or United

²¹⁰ "Kulu Settlement and Commutation Prices" B.No.5, Sr.No.38, DC Kullu Records, HP State Archive, Shimla, R.M Harcourt, ASO, Kullu letter to the Commissioner, Jullundur Division No. 1044 dated 28.9.45, p.6
²¹¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 20, p. 382
²¹² ibid.
²¹³ ibid.
²¹⁴ Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 20, p. 351.
Provinces. Before it was sold, a duty of Rs.6 per seer was levied\(^{215}\). Bhang , the dried leaves of the hemp plant, supplied a medicinal beverage with cooling properties, which was drunk chiefly by Sikh ascetics\(^{216}\). The plant grows wild in such quantities in the hills and submontane Districts that it was impossible to prohibit the gathering of its leaf, but any person found in possession of more than one seer was liable to a penalty\(^{217}\). Licensed vendors may collect bhang without restriction within their own Districts, but in Districts where hemp did not grow all bhang imported was subject to a duty of Rs.4 per maund. Thus while the duty on charas was easily realized by guarding the routes of import, that on bhang was very difficult to collect, and where it grew wild could not be imposed at all\(^{218}\).

2.9.3 Initial Evidence of cultivation of Cannabis in Kullu

Britishers in Kullu, after assuming charge, resorted to have revenue settlements since 1850 onwards. Hence the record was searched and it was found that Girdawaries were made after visit to the concerned villages. In one such case after scrutiny of the entire record for this Girdawari of Malana village as on 31.10.1868, it was found that Bhang Girdawari was found entered in the revenue records in 9 numbers at serial numbers 17, 23, 38, 50, 59, 112, 117, 118 and 129 whereas Afim Girdawari was found made in five numbers at 80, 86, 112, 191 and 209. It clearly established the fact that the people settled in Malana village indulged in the cultivation of both poppy and Bhang(cannabis) cultivation.

In the gahar/upland cultivation, sariara and buckwheat (Kathu) were almost the only crops in the kharif, except that small patches near villages were cultivated with hemp\(^{219}\); only a small portion of the land yielded two harvests in the year; barley was the chief crop in the rabi and wheat was almost the only other, little or no opium or sarson being produced\(^{220}\).

The following table showed an average acreage harvested yearly from 1931-32 to 1940-41 in respect of Kharif crop of Hemp remained as under:

\(^{215}\) _Imperial Gazetteer of India_, v. 20, p. 353
\(^{216}\) ibid.
\(^{217}\) ibid.
\(^{218}\) ibid.
\(^{220}\) ibid.
Table 2.13 Detail of average harvest time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hemp</th>
<th>Area sown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area Harvested</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage at settlement</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: R.M. Harcourt, Assistant Settlement Officer, Kullu, report dated 24th April, 1946, “Assessment of the Kullu Tehsil of the Kullu Sub-Division” Statement 5, p.23

Yields and prices value per acre in rupees in respect of hemp, it was 15/- per acre. Hemp produce estimate was 49 which came to Rs.735 @ Rs.15/-.

2.9.4 Bhang cultivation in Plach Tahsil

The following statement showed the percentage borne by the area under different crops to the total cultivated area of Plach Tahsil Kangra District.

Table 2.14 Detail of Bhang cultivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hemp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waziri Inner Seraj</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waziri Outer Saraj</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tahsil</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hemp was grown extensively in the high lying villages on the slopes of both sides of the Jalori ridge (Seraj Tehsil) where the excessive rainfall, which was fatal to the charas excretion of the plant, was favourable to the development of excellent fibre. It was sown in the richly manured plots within, or close to, the hamlets and also in the glades or thatches in the forest where sheep were regularly penned. The produce was estimated as high as five or even ten maunds of fibre an acre, and sold at 8 to 16 pakka pers per rupee to the inhabitants of villages where hemp was not grown.

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221 R.M. Harcourt, “Assessment of the Kullu Tehsil of the Kullu Sub-Division”, 1946, Statement 7, p.25
222 ibid., Statement 8, p.26
223 Plach Tahsil Assessment Report, 1891, para 6, p. 3
225 ibid.
226 Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Part II, Kulu and Seraj, Chapter IV, “Production and Distribution,” p. 84
2.9.5 Cultivation of Bhang in Thatches

The clearing of land for cultivation in 1st and 2nd class forests was prohibited in accordance with draft notification Appendix but in undemarcated forests it was to be allowed with the permission of the Assistant Commissioner.

The paragraph in the record of rights allowing the cultivation of sarson and bhang in thaches in 2nd class and undemarcated forests of Kulu proper, Inner and outer Saraj had been struck out in accordance with paragraph 39 of the 1st note. There was no right, but there was a sort of custom, which could do no harm to the forests, and the shepherds put some value on the privilege. In so far as these thaches were in undemarcated forests, a rule might be made that the cultivation may continue as heretofore without the Assistant Commissioner's permission but, many, in fact most of them are in the 2nd class forests, and it was proposed to issue a general prohibition against clearing for cultivation in them. These thaches were open glades on sunny slopes which were free from brushwood and trees and a rule permitting cultivation in them would not be contrary to the spirit of the notification. The illegal cultivation was still going on in such thaches.

2.9.6 Lahaul and Spiti

The earth yields abundant subterranean treasures of borax, salt and sulphur, and the hemp grows wild, furnishing an inspissated juice, highly valued in India for its intoxicating qualities.

2.10 PRESENT DAY CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION OF OPIUM & CANNABIS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

2.10.1 NDPS Act and cultivation of Opium poppy in Himachal Pradesh

The cultivation of opium poppy is regulated and procedure prescribed under section 5 of the NDPS Act as per following details:

"5. Opium poppy cultivation and production of opium or poppy straw.

The opium poppy for production of opium or poppy straw shall not be cultivated save on account of the Central Government and in the tracts notified by it from time to time..."
time and in accordance with the conditions of the license issued by the District opium office under rule 8.”

Govt. of India has allowed its cultivation in MP, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh in some notified areas but in Himachal Pradesh it was stopped under the provisions of Dangerous Drug Act, 1930 from 1.10.1954 on the following grounds.

1. In HP the average yield was found less as compared to other states.
2. The morphine content and quality was found inferior.
3. Supervision in such far flung areas was difficult.

However it was started in 1978-79 on experiment basis with this condition that it should not mean that its cultivation would be allowed on commercial basis in future. This permission was granted till 1980-81. But this permission was limited to Govt farms only and farmers were not allowed to grow it in their own lands. In 1983, Finance Minister has given reasons for not allowing its cultivation on 24.3.1982 as under:

1. In international market, Afim was in competition with such other substances which were being used in place of Afim and as a result the demand of Indian opium was less.

2. Due to less demand in international market, the stocks in Gazipur and Neemuch factory were high and as a result Govt. of India reduced the area of cultivation even in MP Rajasthan and UP.

In 1999, Narcotics commissioner vide his letter No.15/5/OP/99/708 dated 16/17/8/1999 has informed and refused permission for its cultivation in HP. As per this letter they informed that as per international conventions, it can be allowed only for international trade and local consumption and for the present the already notified areas are sufficient for its cultivation.229

However the resolution moved by Sh. Mohinder Singh in 2003 was not accepted in 2003. It was again taken back in 2001 on the assurance that it will be taken up with Govt. of India and in 1999 the proposal was rejected by Govt. of India. In 2001, the resolution was moved by Thakur Kaul Singh.

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229 HP Legislative Assembly proceedings, Khand 11,Ank25, April, 19, 2001, p. 146

103
The member of Parliament Virender Kashyap had again pleaded the cultivation of opium in the trans-giri area of the district Sirmour so that economy of the farmer could be boosted. MP took the pleas that before the independence the cultivation of poppy was a common phenomenon in the district but later on the cultivation was prohibited. MP was interacting with media persons at Nahan at circuit house.\(^\text{230}\)

2.10.2 Present status of Poppy Cultivation in Kullu and HP

Opium poppy is still being cultivated in many districts of HP illegally. The main districts are Kullu, Chamba, Mandi, Shimla and Sirmaur. The present status of registration of cases for illegal cultivation in 2014 up to 30.6.14 is as detailed hereunder:

2.10.2.1 Details of Cases registered for illegal cultivation as on 30.6.14

Table 2.15 Detail of cases of illegal cultivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases pertaining to Districts</th>
<th>Cases detected and registered by</th>
<th>No. of such cases</th>
<th>Area of illegal cultivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kullu</td>
<td>State CID</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 Bigha 11 Biswa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kullu Police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 Bigha 1 Biswa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>Mandi Police</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.11 Bigha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baddi Police District</td>
<td>State CID</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 Bigha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimla</td>
<td>Shimla Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 Biswa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solan</td>
<td>Solan Police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 Bigha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: HP State Narcotics Cell data dated 30.6.14

In Mandi, Kullu and Shimla Districts cases as per following details were registered in the year 2014.

726 poppy plants were recovered from Sh. Kirpa Ram s/o Sh. Munga Ram R/O Bhatgarh PO Pabhan Nerwa which was cultivated by him in his private land and a case

FIR No.22/14 dated 26.4.2014 u/s 18 ND&PS Act has been registered at PS Nerwa in Shimla District.\(^{231}\)

Similarly in Mandi Districts many cases were registered during April and May, 14. Two cases vide FIR.No.106/14 dated 27.4.14 u/s 18 PS Sadar and Case FIR No.45/14 dated 27.4.14 u/s 18 PS Gohar were registered for cultivation of opium poppy in 2 biswa and 12.9.18 bighas of land in their own private land. Cases were registered against Subhash Chander s/o Sh. Prem Singh PO Randhara Tehsil Sadar Distt. Mandi HP and Sh. Jhave Ram s/o Sh. Narpat Ram Village Tikker PO Bassi Tehsil Chachiot Distt. Mandi H.P.\(^{232}\)

Similarly three cases were registered in May,14 against Prem Sukh s/o Sh. Bhaga Roth village Govarta PO Sarkidhar Tehsil Sarkaghat and Basant Devi w/o Sh. Pushp Raj Village Govarta PO Sarkidhar Tehsil Sarkaghat Distt.Mandi HP for cultivation in 12 Biswas in private land. A case FIR 129/14 dated 1.5.14 u/s 18 and 32 of NDPS Act is registered in PS Sarkaghat. Similarly Sh. Dhani Ram s/o Sh. Vikram Sing village Lehra PO Rewalsar Tehsil Sadar Distt. Mandi was found involved in cultivation of opium poppy in private land in 1.11.9 Bigha. A Case FIR No.144/14 dated 9.5.14 is registered u/s 18 NDPS Act. The third one is Jashodha @Chamari Devi w/o Sh. Purn Chand Village Vehla PO Nandi Tehsil Chachiot Distt. Mandi HP. A case FIR No.50/14 dated 10.5.14 u/s 18 is registered in PS Gohar for cultivation of opium poppy in 5.10.04 bigha of land.\(^{233}\)

In Kullu District, in a special campaign by CID staff, three cases of illicit cultivation of opium poppy at village Kadingcha in Lug Valley in private land has been registered u/s 18 of NDPS Act at CID Police Station, Bharari on 18.6.2014 for cultivating of 5715, 3160 and 320 opium poppy plants.

The number of cases registered in Kullu along with seizures made and crop destroyed every year proves the fact that bhang and opium poppy is grown for profit and cultivation is still going on despite of such big seizures and action under NDPS Act. Hill town of Kullu what is known as Kullu Valley has gained a notorious reputation as a centre of the cannabis trade. The recent death in suspicious circumstances of 25 year old British tourist Anna Hamilton, who had a history of drug trading, has reinforced that

\(^{231}\) SP Shimla letter No. C/14-10950 dated 26.5.2014 to ADG.CID HP Shimla.
\(^{232}\) S.P Mandi letter No.13070 dated 21.5.2014 to ADGP CID HP Shimla.
\(^{233}\) S.P Mandi letter No.13070 dated 21.5.2014 to ADGP CID HP Shimla.
reputation. Cannabis—known here as ‘charas’—that is grown in the valley can fetch up to $22000 per kilogram in the international market as per BBC news report dated 7/11/2003 by Baldev Chauhan, BBC Correspondent in Himachal Pradesh.

The locally grown, extremely refined variety, Malana Cream is reported to have won prizes in an annual cannabis competition in Amsterdam as per this BBC Correspondent. Known for production of world’s best quality charas “Malana Cream”, Himachal Pradesh is now also known for production of quality opium.\[^234\] The changeover from charas to opium began some two decades back, with Sainj valley of Kullu district and Bara Bhangal area of Kangra district becoming the biggest cultivation areas\[^235\]. Finding the environment suitable for growing opium, those into the illegal trade started cultivating it in Chowhar valley of Mandi district and Sainj Valley in late 1980\[^236\]. In Sainj valley, poppy plants are grown in “green houses” to produce opium. In Bharal Bhangal area, around 20% area is being used to grow poppy\[^237\]. Poppy is also grown in some parts of Kinnaur district\[^238\]. Opium is being cultivated in around 15000 bighas of land in the state\[^239\]. Cultivation started in Chohar valley under political patronage which ultimately made the poor dependent on poppy cultivation\[^240\]. Himachal produces around 30 to 35 tonnes of opium annually\[^241\]. After destroying the fields in Mandi Districts, it had a ballooning effect with cultivation which shifted to Ani Khanag and Sainj areas of Kullu Districts\[^242\]. DGP HP showed his concerns that satellite images of remote areas taken by NCB during 2011 have caused concern among authorities that there is increase in the area of opium cultivation in HP\[^243\].

Since the days Kullu came into being, bhang and opium poppy was cultivated by people in their fields. Both items were traded to earn their livelihood and also to pay taxes also. Opium poppy also remained an item of cash crop in Kullu. There was a charas warehouse in Sultanpur in Kullu District. The major silk trade route also passed from Kullu. Hence historically, cultivation, production, smuggling and trafficking remained there.

\[^234\] Anand Bodh,” Satellite images reveal surge in opium area-Higher Reaches, Green Houses used for Cultivation,” The Times of India, New Delhi/Chandigarh, November 14, 2011
\[^235\] ibid.
\[^236\] ibid
\[^237\] ibid
\[^238\] ibid
\[^239\] ibid
\[^240\] ibid
\[^241\] ibid
\[^242\] ibid
\[^243\] ibid
From cannabis (Hemp) people used to make many items for their daily use like ropes, shoes etc. It used to be taken as a food item in different ways. Its use was also in practice on some religious days like Shivratri etc. Hence its cultivation, uses and its trade was closely related with the lives of the people since earlier days.

2.10.3 Details of Land under cannabis cultivation in Kullu and Mandi

In fact data about cultivation of cannabis and opium poppy in Govt and forest lands in the state of Himachal Pradesh was not found available and it was conveyed by Forest Department that no such case has been noticed in their justification in reply to the query about area which was covered for illicit cultivation of Afim and Bhang by people on forest area. Similarly with reference to information about area where afim and Bhang was grown naturally on forest land, they could not provide the statistics rather supplied ‘NIL ‘information.244

The figures given in the following three tables were provided to the ‘Himachal This Week’, weekly by Sh. O.P Sharma, Former Superintendent of Narcotics Control Bureau The detail of land under cannabis cultivation as per this source remained as under:

Table 2.16 Detail of cultivation of Cannabis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Private land under cannabis in hectare(approximately)</th>
<th>Government land under cannabis in hectare(approximately)</th>
<th>Production of Hashish</th>
<th>Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>3600</td>
<td>Foreign drug peddlers had established their bases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3600</td>
<td>These bases were destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>50 hectare</td>
<td>100 hectare</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Poor farmers dissociated from activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>Almost nil/sparse</td>
<td>50 hectare</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Most families affected/facing poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 onwards</td>
<td>50 hectare</td>
<td>200 hectare</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>Lack of Rehabilitation Effort resulted into revival of trade but mostly for forest lands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divya Himachal’s, Himachal This Week, Vol.4 Number 23, Dharamshala, Saturday, 16 June, 2012, page 5

The land under cannabis cultivation in Kullu and Mandi along with its production and potential value of the drug is given here below:

Table 2.17 Detail of production of Cannabis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Land under cannabis cultivation (Hectare approx)</th>
<th>Total Production in Kg</th>
<th>Potential value in Lakh per kg at farmer’s end</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>54,000 (Data pertains to Kullu and Mandi only. Chamba, Sirmour and Shimla are also involved in this activity)</td>
<td>108,00,00,00 @ Rs.20000 (Rs.108 crore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>120,00,00,000@Rs.20000(Rs.120 crore)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divya Himachal’s, Himachal This Week, Vol.4 Number 23, Dharamshala, Saturday, 16 June, 2012, page 5

Area under cultivation, production and the potential value of the drug is calculated as per the following details:

Table 2.18 Detail of area under Cannabis cultivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area under cultivation in Hectare</th>
<th>Total Production in Kg</th>
<th>Potential value in lakh at Farmer’s end</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>60000(If the yield is calculated at half to that of Afghanistan as per UN Statistics)</td>
<td>240,00,00,000@40,000 (Rs.240 crore)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divya Himachal’s, Himachal This Week, Vol.4 Number 23, Dharamshala, Saturday, 16 June, 2012, page 5

Entire area of Gram Panchayat Rupi of Kinnaur District and Village Chaura, Nigulsari, Bhawanagar, Panvi, Chhota Kamba, Bara Kamba, Bhaba Valley, Tapri, Wangtu
and Ghakhu are identified for wild growth of cannabis in Kinnaur District during 2014. From this wild grown cannabis, people produce charas. Similarly the area falling in between village Rodhi of Tehsil Kalpa and village Miru Yula of Nichar Tehsil are also notorious for production of charas as it is isolated area without population and here the people of villages Yula, Miru, Roghi, Kalpa, Brailgi, Dakho, Yuvargi, Chini, Telgi, Kothi and Pangi indulge in production of charas in a big way. Here the season started in the month of August and September. In this production of charas even shepherds are also involved in a big way.

Besides it, entire Panchayat area of Chitkul and entire tahsils area of Sangla and Kalpa and in Spillo of Tehsil Pooh, cannabis is grown in wild.

The Government has directed range officers, guards and field staff to video graph illegal cases of cannabis cultivation in the state^2^4^5^. Extra holistic efforts involving all departments are required while institutionalizing cooperative societies of the target groups with specific focus on drug manifested areas across the state^2^4^6^.

2.10.4 HP Govt. and cultivation of Poppy and Cannabis in HP

Hashish from Malana is worth its weight in gold in the international markets and opium from the state’s hinterlands feed the clandestine heroin manufacturers across the borders. ^2^4^7^ Though large areas are under the illegal cultivation of opium, poppy and cannabis, efforts for their legal cultivation going on for almost two decades now, at various levels, is like flogging a dead horse.

Recently, a member of the Shimla parliamentary constituency, Sh. Virender Kashyap raised the issue in the Lok Sabha under Rule 377. He demanded that permission be given for cultivation of opium poppy, especially to farmers of Sirmaur, Mandi and Kullu districts, as is being done in other parts of the country. Accepting the misuse of opium, he, however, asserted that it was widely used in the pharmaceutical industry. He further promised during 2014 electioneering that he would again raise this demand for cultivation of opium poppy in HP in case he wins the 2014 parliamentary election. ^2^4^8^

^2^4^5^ Divya Himachal’s, Himachal This Week, Vol.4, Number 23, Dharamshala, 16 June, 2012, page 5
^2^4^6^ ibid
^2^4^7^ Jagdish Bhatt, Shimla “State turns down plea for opium cultivation,” The Times of India, New Delhi, Chandigarh, August 26, 2010, North India, p.4
This is not the first time that the issue has been raised. It was first raised in the early nineties by the scion of erstwhile Kullu princely state, Sh. Maheshwar Singh while campaigning as the BJP candidate from Mandi parliamentary seat. It caught the imagination of the people, as both cannabis and opium are widely grown illegally and is one of the source of income of the people in some of the Districts of HP.

Asserting that he was supporting legalization, Sh. Maheshwar Singh told the Times of India that banning was not a solution. The fibre of cannabis plant was used like jute for the manufacture of ropes, slippers, purses, bags and other handicrafts in Kullu district, while opium poppy seeds were widely used in food, he cited.

It is worth mentioning that this issue for cultivation of Poppy in the state of HP was raised in HP Assembly also in Ninth Vidhan Sabha, Khand, 11, Ank 25 dated 19.4.2001, page 113, and during discussion it was brought to the notice of Hon’ble members’ that after taking up matter with Govt. of India Asstt. Commissioner Narcotics, Govt. of India has informed as under:

In this regard it is intimated that in India, opium poppy cultivation is being undertaken only on the basis of tracts notified by Govt. Of India in accordance with rule 5 of under Rules, 1985. At present, the tracts notified for poppy cultivation are available in a few districts of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh is not covered under the tracts notified by the government of India."

Further it says: “Here it would be pertinent to mention that as per international convention, opium poppy is cultivated only to meet out requirements for international trade and domestic consumption. It cannot be allowed to proliferate and the present areas notified in the tracts suffice our requirements of opium. Further, it would be difficult to extend poppy cultivation to other areas than the present tracts notified, looking to the administrative constraints like shortage of staff and other infrastructure. In view of the above, it would not be possible to consider the request to permit opium cultivation in Himachal Pradesh, at present”.

In 2003 again this issue was taken up in HP legislative assembly. May refer to Khand2, Ank 19 of 17th July, 2003 of 10th Vidhan Sabha. It was taken up by Hon’ble member Sh. Mohinder Singh. During discussion Excise and Taxation Minister has informed that Poppy cultivation was regulated under Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930 which
has been replaced in 1985 by NDPS Act, 1985. There is a provision under rule 5 of NDPS Rules, 1985.

It was further brought to the notice that the cultivation of opium poppy was stopped w.e.f.1.10.1954 under the provisions of Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930 due to the following three reasons:

1. That the average produce per hectare in comparison with other states was very low.

2. That the Morphine content was found less and as such HP cultivated opium was inferior.

3. That due to hilly and inaccessible areas in HP, it was found very difficult to have fully supervision upon its cultivation.

This was after discussion in Prakalan Committee in HP was again taken up with Govt. of India through Narcotics Commissioner and after a detailed and long correspondence, the cultivation of opium poppy was allowed on experimental basis during 1978-79 under the supervision of Agricultural Department. The permission was not to be taken that in HP the permission for cultivation would be given on commercial basis. This permission was granted to HP till 1980-81. This permission remained confined only to govt. farms only and was not granted to farmers.

The Finance Minister Govt. of India on 24.3.1982 had given reasons that due to international competition and availability of other substances which can substitute and are used in place of Indian Opium poppy and thus there was less demand of opium poppy in the market. And secondly due to less demand in international market, the stocks in Gazipur and Neemuch factories were already available and as such the areas of cultivation in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were also reduced.

2.10.5 Production of charas in HP

About 60 tones of charas is produced in the state annually as per former Superintendent of Narcotics Control Bureau, North Zone, Chandigarh.249

249 TNN, Shimla, “Drug trade on the rise in Himachal,” The Times of India, Chandigarh, June 30, 2014, p.3
2.11 USES OF CANNABIS AND OPIUM IN INDIA AND KULLU DISTRICT

2.11.1 Use and excise arrangements for hemp

The use of hemp drugs appears to have been practiced in India from time immemorial and enters into the religious and social observances of the Hindus. The hemp plant is popularly believed to have been a great favourite of god Siva, and on almost all occasions on which his worship is practiced ganja is offered to the god and consumed by certain classes of the worshippers. Until recent years little was known in regard to the consumption of hemp drugs for non medicinal purposes and their production was subject to definite control and quantitative duties in only a few Provinces.

In 1893 a commission was appointed to inquire into the production of hemp drugs, the effect of their consumption upon the social and moral condition of the people, and the desirability of prohibiting the growth of the plant and the sale of the narcotics. The inquiries of the Commission showed that bhang was almost without exception, harmless when used in moderation, and that its abuse was not as hurtful as intemperate indulgence in alcohol. The excessive use of ganja and charas was more injurious, but as a rule they were used in moderation and without appreciate injury. The commission did not advise prohibition, but recommended a policy of control and restriction, and their suggestions had been carried into effect.

In summing up their conclusions the Commission would first remark that charas, which was a comparatively new article of consumption, has not been shown to be in any way connected with religious observance. As regards Northern India, the Commission was of opinion that the use of bhang was more or less common everywhere in connection with the social and religious customs of the people. As regards ganja, they find that there are certain classes in all parts, except the Punjab, who use the drug in connection with their social and religious observances. The Commission was also of opinion in regard to bhang that its use is considered essential in some religious observances by a large section of the community, and in regard to ganja that those who consider it essential were comparatively very few. The Commission has little doubt that interference

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250 Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 4, p. 259.
251 ibid.
252 ibid.
253 Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 4, p. 259.
254 Imperial Gazetteer of India, v. 4, p. 260.
255 ibid
with the use of hemp in connection with the customs and observances above referred to would be regarded by the consumers as an interference with long established usage and as an encroachment upon their religious liberty. And this feeling would, especially in the case of bhang, undoubtedly be shared to some extent by the people at large. Regarding Southern India, the same remarks apply with this reservation, that the difference between ganja and bhang as materials for smoking and drinking respectively was much less marked there, and the distinction between the two forms of the drug is much less clearly recognized, although by the term "bhang" is generally meant the drug as used for drinking, and by "ganja" the drug as used for smoking.

Bhang was and still is to India what alcohol is to the West. Many social and religious gatherings in ancient times, as well as present, were simply incomplete unless bhang was part of the occasion. It is said that those who spoke derisively of bhang are doomed to suffer the torments of hell as long as the sun shines in the heavens. Without bhang at special festivities like a wedding, evil spirits were believed to hover over the bride and groom, waiting for an opportune moment to wreak havoc on the newlyweds. Any father who failed to send or bring bhang to the ceremonies would be reviled and cursed as if he had deliberately invoked the evil eye on his son and daughter.

Bhang was also a symbol of hospitality. A host would offer a cup of bhang to a guest as casually as we would offer someone in our home a glass of beer. A host who failed to make such a gesture was despised as being miserly and misanthropic.

War was another occasion in which bhang and more potent preparations like ganja were often resorted to. Indian folksongs dating back to the twelfth century A.D. mention ganja as a drink of warriors. Just as soldiers sometimes take a swig of whiskey before going into battle in modern warfare, during the Middle Ages in India, warriors routinely drank a small amount of bhang or ganja to assuage any feelings of panic, a custom that earned bhang the cognomen of vijaya, "victorious" or "unconquerable." A story is told of a guru named Gobind Singh, the founder of the Sikh religion, which alludes to bhang's usage in battle. During a critical skirmish in which he was leading the troops, Gobind Singh's soldiers were suddenly thrown into a panic at the sight of an elephant bearing down on them with a sword in its trunk. As the beast slashed

\[256\] Marijuana - The First Twelve Thousand Years, The Early Years, Cannabis in the Ancient World," http://druglibrary.org/schaffer/hemp/history/first12000/1.htm accessed on 12/9/2012
\[257\] ibid.
\[258\] ibid.
\[259\] ibid
its way through Gobind Singh's lines, his men appeared on the verge of breaking rank.
Something had to be done to prevent a disastrous rout. A volunteer was needed, a man
willing to risk certain death to accomplish the impossible task of slaying an elephant.
There was no shortage of men to step forward. Gobind Singh did not take time to pick
and choose. To the man closest to him he gave some bhang and a little opium, and then
watched as the man went out to kill the elephant. Fortified by the drug the loyal soldier
rushed headlong into the thick of battle and charged the sword-wielding elephant. Deftly
evading the slashing blows that could easily have severed his body in two, he managed
to slip under the elephant and with all his strength he plunged his own weapon into the
unprotected belly of the beast. When Gobind Singh's men saw the elephant lying dead in
the field, they rallied and soon overpowered the enemy. From that time forth, the Sikhs
commemorated the anniversary of that great battle by drinking bhang\textsuperscript{260}.

2.11.2 To the Hindu the Hemp Plant Is Holy

By the tenth century A.D. it was just beginning to be extolled as a \textit{indracanna}, the
"food of the gods". A fifteenth-century document refers to it as "light-hearted", "joyful",
and "rejoices", and claims that among its virtues are "astringency", "heat", "speech-
giving", "inspiration of mental powers", "excitability", and the capacity to "remove wind
and phlegm"\textsuperscript{261}.

By the sixteenth century A.D., it found its way into India's popular literature. The
\textit{Dhurtasamagama}, or "Rogue's Congress", a light farce written to amuse audiences, has
two beggars come before an unscrupulous judge asking for a decision on a quarrel
concerning a maiden at the bazaar. Before he will render his decision, however, the judge
demands payment for his arbitration. In response to this demand, one of the beggars
offers some bhang. The judge readily accepts and, tasting it, declares that "it produces a
healthy appetite, sharpens the wits, and acts as an aphrodisiac"\textsuperscript{262}.

In the \textit{Rajvallabha}, a seventeenth-century text dealing with drugs used in India,
bhang is described as follows:

India's food is acid, produces infatuation, and destroys leprosy. It creates vital
energy, increases mental powers and internal heat, corrects irregularities of the

\textsuperscript{260} ibid
\textsuperscript{261} ibid
\textsuperscript{262} ibid

114
phlegmatic humor, and is an *elixir vitae*. It was originally produced like nectar from the ocean by churning it with Mount Mandara. Inasmuch as it is believed to give victory in the three worlds and to bring delight to the king of the gods (Siva), it was called *vijaya* (victorious). This desire-filling drug was believed to have been obtained by men on earth for the welfare of all people. To those who use it regularly, it begets joy and diminishes anxiety.

Yet it was not as a medicinal aid or as a social lubricant that bhang was preeminent among the people of India. Rather, it was and still is because of its association with the religious life of the country that bhang is so extolled and glorified. The stupefaction produced by the plant's resin is greatly valued by the fakirs and ascetics, the holy men of India, because they believe that communication with their deities was greatly facilitated during intoxication with bhang. (According to one legend, the Buddha subsisted on a daily ration of one cannabis seed, and nothing else, during his six years of asceticism. Taken in early morning, the drug was believed to cleanse the body of sin. Like the communion of Christianity, the devotee who partakes of bhang partakes of the god Siva.

Cannabis also held a preeminent place in the Tantric religion which evolved in Tibet in the seventh century A.D. out of an amalgam of Buddhism and local religion. The priests of this religion were wizards known as lamas ("superiors"). The high priest was called the Dalai Lama ("mighty superior")

Tantrism, a word that means "that which is woven together", was a religion based on fear of demons. To combat the demonic threat to the world, the people sought protection in the spells, incantations, formulas (mantras), and exorcisms of their lamas, and in plants such as cannabis which were set afire to overcome evil forces.

Cannabis was also an important part of the Tantric religious yoga sex acts consecrated to the goddess Kali. During the ritual, about an hour and a half prior to intercourse the devotee placed a bowl of bhang before him and uttered the mantra: "Om hrim, O ambrosia-formed goddess [Kali] who has arisen from ambrosia, who showers ambrosia, bring me ambrosia again and again, bestow occult power [*siddhi*] and bring my chosen deity to my power." Then, after uttering several other mantras, he drank the potion. The delay between drinking the bhang and the sex act was to allow the drug time... \footnote{\textit{ibid}}

\footnote{\textit{ibid}}

\footnote{\textit{ibid}}

\footnote{\textit{ibid}}

\footnote{\textit{ibid}}
to act so that it would heighten the senses and thereby increase the feeling of oneness with the goddess.

2.11.3 Cannabis use as per Social and Religious Customs

Chapter IX of the Hemp Drug Commission report deals with these customs and confirms use of cannabis as per social and religious customs in various Indian States. In the instructions issued to the Commission by the Government of India, reference is made to the use of hemp drugs among fakirs and ascetics who are held in veneration by large classes of the people, and to the custom, which is believed to obtain to a large extent in Bengal, of offering an infusion of bhang to every guest and member of the family on the last day of the Durga Puja.\(^{266}\)

In traditional society’s cannabis, nicotine, opium and mushrooms were used for religious and magico religious rites\(^{267}\). Cannabis is consumed during festivals like Shivaratri and Janmashtami\(^{268}\). During the latter, even children consume cannabis\(^{269}\) in the form of bhang (Fisher, 1975)

Cannabis was consumed in the form of a drink called thandai during the hot summer in central, eastern and north western part of India. Besides being cool, thandai is also nutritious, as it contains protein (almond) and fats with a high calorie value\(^{270}\).

2.11.4 Medicinal Use of Psychoactive Substances

Psychoactive plant products are a part of traditional systems of medicines, such as Ayurveda, Unani, Tibbi and Siddha. Opium and cannabis have both been employed as therapeutic agents for over ten centuries. Prior to the 8th century there was no reference to the medicinal properties of cannabis or opium in the Ayurvedic medicinal classics. The Ayurveda system appears to have adapted cannabis and opium from Unani medicine brought to India in the 9th century by the Muslims and it came to be known as Unani Tibbi (Dwarawanath 1965; Chopra et. al. 1990)

\(^{266}\) Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report, 1893-94, Chapter IX, para 431
\(^{268}\) ibid., p.50
\(^{269}\) ibid
\(^{270}\) ibid., p.55
2.11.5 Social Context for consumption of Poppy Plant Products

The culturally embedded use of Opium drink or *Kasumba pani* has been present among Rajputs in Gujarat and Rajasthan. In Gujarat a study on use of *Kasumba Pani* (Mashi et al 1994) pointed that it was taken in a group setting, known as *dayaro*. Organized at the residence of a chieftain or person of high social standing - the participants (often from the elite class) are given tea and snacks along with the opium drink during the group gathering.

To create a sense of identification among the participants, members of the Rajput and Kanthi community, verses were recited to praise the valour of Rajputs who fought on behalf of the leaders or lords. In these gatherings the ‘Charan’ a person from the upper caste who recited verses was given the freedom to bring out the negative aspects of the regime or ruling class - this acted as a form of ventilation, for any form of criticism was not tolerated otherwise. (Mashi et. al. 1994)

In Rajasthan, the opium drink is integral to the culture, playing a part in many social gatherings. Opium is given in celebration, to express solidarity, to greet or confirm an agreement of marriage, to seal a business transaction agreement or to greet a guest. It is a token gesture, and excessive drinking is not encouraged. The user gets to decide the quantity he would consume, as the drink is poured into open palms the individual is permitted to widen the gap between fingers to take in just the amount he wants to consume.

In these forms of use, consumption was regulated as it was taken in a group setting and the substance shared. Custom regulated the quantity consumed and the setting for use. As an accepted practice the consumption of drugs formed a part of many activities or get-togethers, the focus was just not on the drug use alone. The presence of elders in the group gathering, during social functions, facilitated intervention in case youth used the substance excessively. The regulation also prevented young children and women from participating. (Charles (c) 2001). Besides these, people in Rajasthan used to deal with extreme climate of the desert by opium intake. Opium is also given to camels to enable it to travel long distances through the hot desert.
2.12 HISTORY OF OPIUM POPPY AND CANNABIS CULTIVATION AND USES IN KULLU

This research study is chosen from that district which was described in 1971 by Capt. A.F.P. Harcourt, Bengal Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Punjab in the book, "The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahoul, and Spiti as below:

“A good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil, olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarce ness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.”

The territory of Kooloo was considered the last boundaries of civilization by the Hindoos and the cognomen of Koolunt Peeth (the end of the inhabited world) was conferred on it271. The old capital of the Rajah, at Nuggur, was termed Mukarsa and Moorcroft, when in Kooloo, in 1819, mentions that he passed below the site of this ancient city272.

The Kullu cultivator was self sufficient to an extra ordinary degree. He produced his own food, honey for sweetening and bear to drink. He constructed his house out of materials obtained from the forests. Many still wear nothing but homes spun, woolen clothes and shoes made from the hemp plant or rice straw273. They slept on mats made of straw274. Tobacco was home grown and medicines prepared from forests herbs in necessities they are thus independent of markets except for iron and salt. Ornaments and cotton clothes were the main luxuries imported275.

Opium poppy and cannabis was cultivated in Kullu since long and has been put to different uses for different reasons and purposes. Opium Used as a source of income & means to pay taxes in earlier days.

We have in HP about 20,000 hectare very high altitude areas stretching from Chamba, Kangra, Mandi, Kullu, Lahaul and Spiti, Kinnaur and Sirmaur District without

271 Capt. A.F.P. Harcourt “The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahoul, and Spiti, London WM: H. Allen & Co.,13,Waterloo Place,1871,p.113
272 ibid.,pp.112-113.
273 R.M. Harcourt, “Assessment of the Kullu Tehsil of the Kullu Sub-Division”, 24th April, 1946, Lahore, Printed by the Superintendent Govt. Printing Punjab, 1947,para 13
274 ibid
275 ibid
road connectivity and also without any irrigation facility. The majority of this area is used for cultivation of opium poppy and cannabis illegally now a days. They grow Bhang in those areas because in winters they have to eat Bhangolu.

Some of the uses and purposes for which it was and is cultivated is given hereunder:

2.12.1 To get rid of winter and cold

They people grow Bhang in high altitude areas because in winters they have to eat Bhangolu. Cannabis seed are called Bhangolu locally.

2.12.2 To follow social and local deities traditions

The people believe in their local Gods and they have to go to the temple without wearing of shoes made of leather and are kept at a distance before going to the temple. Here they use Pule made of Bhang. They also make shoes made from bhang.

2.12.3 Cannabis for use in religious customs

IGMC Shimla in a study Drug Abuse among school children in Shimla 2003-2004 has reached to this conclusion amongst others that Cannabis use as a part of religious customs was an important observation amongst the students of government schools 22.7% of drug users from government schools reported religious custom as the reason for the first non medical drug use. Cannabis was the first drug used by all of them.

2.12.4 For Shoes and Ropes manufacturing

The people in HP and in Kullu carry loads on their back and ropes are required for this purpose, It is also made from Cannabis plant. Hemp is also used for making ropes and grass shoes. The other staple crops in the Kharif are maize and several varieties of millet, and a feature of the agriculture of the higher villages on the watershed between the Beas and the Sutlej is the cultivation of hemp for fiber to be made into ropes and grass shoes. Indian hemp or san is only grown sparsely for the local manufacture of rope in Punjab.

276 HP Legislative Assembly proceedings, Khand 11, Ank25, April, 19, 2001, p.139
277 ibid
278 ibid
279 Assessment Report of the Plach or Saraj Tahsil of the Kangra District, 1892, para 2, p.1
281 Assessment Report of the Plach or Saraj Tahsil of the Kangra District, 1892, para 2, page, 1
2.12.5 Extraction of fibre and seeds from Cannabis

*Bhang (Cannabis)* is cultivated in the Chhota/Bada Bhangal of Kangra district and Karsog area of Mandi district and Kullu of Himachal Pradesh for the extraction of fibre and seeds. Its green leaves are used for extracting narcotics which is very addictive and its cultivation is also illegal. After maturation the harvested crop is set aside to dry. After drying, the seeds are collected and the fibre is separated from the stems and branches. Its fibre, being stronger than jute, is used for making ropes of varying thickness.

2.12.6 Cannabis use in Medicine

Cannabis cures dysentery and sunstroke, quickens digestion, sharpens appetite, makes the tongue of the lisper plain, freshens the intellect, and gives alertness to the body and gaiety to the mind. Recent findings indicate that cannabis seeds have a nutritional value a reason for its use in treating the wasting disease among AIDS patients. In addition to being an important source for vegetable protein, it is the composition of the protein in the hemp plant that makes it easily edible to the human body. It is this unique property of cannabis that make it possible even for individuals infected with nutrition blocking tuberculosis to benefit from the vegetable protein in hemp plant. This is an important issue in the Indian context, as tuberculosis is a major concern for India and, fieldwork in slums in Mumbai indicates that infected persons are rendered vulnerable by the lack of adequate nutrition.

2.12.7 Social and functional uses of Opium

Opium use was more functional than that of cannabis. During the Mughal period, it was stated that the Emperor occasionally indulged recreationally in opium and kuknar, a beverage prepared from poppy capsules. Most nobles of Akbar and Jahangir’s courts drank charburgha, a mixture of hemp, opium, wine and kuknar.

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284. Interaction with the TB infected persons in the slum setting as part of a Community Based project for HIV Control in Mumbai indicated this and the researcher was part of the project.

The Rajputs (a warrior caste in Rajasthan) used opium in important social functions such as marriage, when sealing important business deals, for longevity and to enhance sexual pleasure. Also, camels and horses were given opium before long journeys to cope with the desert sun.

Opium was long used in critical situations such as battle and wrestling. In the 1670s, John Fryer observed that wrestlers who took opium-performed feats that would ordinarily have been beyond their strength. Warriors facing do-or-die situations also took it. This practice persisted until fifty years ago among army personnel, to help manage daily hardships and in battle. In many regions, alcohol has taken over this function. However, even today an opium drink plays an important role in our culture. In the desert regions of Rajasthan and Gujarat, the host offers his/her guest opium to drink in the cupped palm of the hand as a mark of respect (see Masihi, 1996 for a detailed account of this practice.)

Opium has been used to kill unwanted newborn baby girls, and given to children, mixed with sweets, as a sedative, to help them sleep or to keep them docile. Women field workers used it to keep their children out of mischief. In industrial areas such as Bombay, Calcutta and parts of Uttar Pradesh, women factory workers similarly gave opium to their children.

Opium was also used as a sedative for children. It was mixed with sweets and given to children to help them sleep or to keep them docile for a while. Mothers working in the fields dosed their children. In industrial areas such as Bombay Calcutta and parts of UP women working in factories administered opium to their children (Andres, 1926; Chopra, 1969)

2.12.8 Poppy for production of opium

It is cultivated for the purpose of making opium after incising the capsules from where we get opium.

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286 Brian, I. 1975, the Forbidden Game: A Social History of Drugs. London: Hodder and Stoughton
2.12.9 Used for extracting oil from poppy seeds

Even if the people do not incise and make cuts into the capsules, even then the seed which they get, it contains 50% oil in its seeds. Red blossomed poppy produces more opium and less seed than the white, and the seed given scarcely any oil; but though from the white poppy less opium is extracted, this is of very good quality and the seed yields much oil.\(^{290}\)

2.12.10 Opium oil used for Medicines

The oil is used in preparing medicines. It was used for diarrhea also.

2.12.11 Opium remains used as fodder

The remains are also used as animal fodder.\(^{291}\)

2.12.12 Poppy stalks for use in manure

The poppy stalks, or stems, are left in the ground and ploughed in for manure.\(^{292}\)

2.12.13 Bhang and Poppy as Miscellaneous Food Crops

Opium is used for food preparing and eating by people. In the Upper valley of Kooloo proper the seed is eaten to some extent; but in Seoraj the people partake of it largely.\(^{293}\) Poppy was a staple food crop in Kullu. The drug (opium) is manufactured in nearly every village as in this tahsil the poppy can be grown up to a high elevation\(^{294}\). Owing to the favourable rainfall and the facility of procuring rich manure one third of the total cultivation yields two crops in the year.

Bhang was used to be cultivated as miscellaneous food crops in Shimla Hill states. Madhan states revenue record of Kharif Sambat 1966 showed it classified as such with Fruits, vegetables, potatoes, Kachalu, Pepper, Bhang and Tobacco. Similarly in revenue records Poppy was also used to be shown as miscellaneous food crops in Shimla Hills Madhan State\(^{295}\).

\(^{291}\) HP Legislative Assembly proceedings, Khand 11, Ank25, April, 19, 2001, p. 114-15
\(^{293}\) ibid
\(^{294}\) Assessment Report of the Plach or Saraj Tahsil of the Kangra District, 1892, para 2, page 1
\(^{295}\) Punjab Hills State Agency File, "Settlement Report of Madhan State, 1911" B. No. 1 Hp State Archive, Shimla
2.12.14 Edible Uses of leaves, oil and seed

Seed - raw or cooked: Much used as flavoring in cakes, bread, fruit salads etc; it imparts a very nice nutty flavour. The crushed and sweetened seeds are used as a filling in crepes, strudels, pastries etc. The seeds are perfectly safe to eat. Highly nutritious, the seed contains about 22.7% protein, 48% fat, 9.8% carbohydrate, 7.1% ash. The seeds are rather small, but there are large numbers of them contained in capsules 3cm or more in diameter and so they are easy to harvest and utilize.

Edible young leaves - raw or cooked

They must be used before the flower buds have formed. One report says that the leaves do not contain any narcotic principles.

A high quality edible drying oil from opium seeds

A high quality edible drying oil is obtained from the seed. It has an almond flavour and makes a good substitute for olive oil.

2.12.15 Smoking of Bhang

The zamindars smoke bhang a little in the winter, but not much.

2.12.16 Use by Sikh Ascetics

Bhang, the dried leaves of the hemp plant, supplied a medicinal beverage with cooling properties, which was drunk chiefly by Sikh ascetics.

2.12.17 Uses of cannabis for other purposes

Upendra Thakur’s work on “Suicide in Ancient India” mention about Sati that it was prevalent in that remote past also, in India, among the Cathaei tribe in the Punjab as early as the 4th century BC. Some drugs prepared from cannabis also used to give to the widow when she was taken to commit sati.

The wild hemp (cannabis sativa) grows abundantly; the leaves are collected, and, when dry, are known as bhang, which is used for preparing a refreshing drink.

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297 Indian Police Journal Vol. LIII No.1, January-March 2006 page 67: Incidents of Self Immolation & Suicide in Ancient India (Early times to 1200 A.D.)
298 Imperial Gazetteer of India, v.8, p.193
Hemp (botanical name *cannabis*, source for canvas) was called Indian hemp after its widespread use in India where ropes and gunny sacs from jute have been made for centuries.\(^{299}\)

### 2.12.18 Cannabis use as Incense and Intoxicant

Cannabis is mentioned in the original Old Testament and in its Aramaic translation both as incense and as intoxicant.

Poppy seeds from the opium capsule are a part of the Indian cuisine and this is collected from the leftovers of the capsule after the latex has been taken. Thus, both cannabis and poppy plant products have been used for non-psychoactive purposes. Under the circumstances there is in existence a clear absence of a negative perception towards psychoactive plant products in the Indian cultural context.

The place of consumption of cannabis and absence of alienation of cannabis users is an indication of social acceptance for cannabis consumption in Himachal Pradesh. In a village in Kullu district the local people share their cannabis filled *chillum* out in the open with their friends; whether along the lanes or at the bus-stop waiting to board a bus.

### 2.12.19 For making oil and paints

The poppy seed yields 44 - 50% of an edible drying oil. Very good for lighting, it burns for longer than most oils. The oil is also used in paints, soap making etc.

### 2.13 CULTURAL CONTROLS ON DRUG USE\(^{300}\)

#### 2.13.1 Age control

Cultural norms restricted the use of MAS to adult males. In Saurashtra\(^{301}\) opium use was initiated after 20 years of age (52% after age 35, and 27% at 25-35 years). A study in Jodhpur\(^{302}\) found men initiated into opium use at ages 26-35 years. Another

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survey\textsuperscript{303} in Jodhpur of 874 opium users from 75 villages showed 57.2% over 40 years of age and 30.1% aged 31-40 years.

2.13.2 Gender control

Gender's important role in Indian socialization is seen in drug use. Machado\textsuperscript{304}, T, 1994 noted that her study sample had no female users in the village setting, while in the urban setting 25% were women. The urban respondents were young, educated people who used drugs recreationally with friends in pubs or in college. Addiction among females was almost absent in Varanasi, an important Hindu cultural centre. Women could use bhang only on specified occasions\textsuperscript{305}. Women in Jodhpur do not participate in the opium-drinking sessions. Though opium use was common in Jodhpur, local customs prohibit women from using it. Analysis of institutional data on 2,249 persons using opium showed that only 0.80% (18 persons) were women, clear supporting this point. Another survey of 874 opium users in 75 villages showed 97% of the sample to be male and 3% female. Masihi has noted (in 1996) that in Saurashtra too, women were not allowed to participate in Dayro sessions. In Puri in Orissa, too, use of cannabis was predominantly a male phenomenon. Among a sample of 160 only 5% were females (all bhang users). Several researchers have documented the low rates or absence of female drug users and minimal use of drugs among females throughout India\textsuperscript{306}. This means


\textsuperscript{306} Modi, I, P, 1989, An Assessment of Drug Abuse, Drug Users and Drug Prevention Services in Ajmer, (Study sponsored by Ministry of Welfare, New Delhi), Department of Sociology, University of Rajasthan.


that, effectively, nearly 70% of the population was protected against drug use. But women used opium to commit suicide.

2.13.3 Quantity control

Cultural use of cannabis and opium has been restricted to specific occasions. Opium drinkers had to conform their behaviour to social expectations; any violation of the norms or excessive use was and is construed as deviant behaviour. Machado showed that the locals considered cannabis use as a problem only when it affected health or work efficiency or when it was consumed in large quantity and too frequently. As many as 45% of her key informants described normal use as once a fortnight, to once a week (40%) and once a month (15%). Daily consumption or more than 2-3 times a week was seen as heavy use. Consumption of cannabis in that village occurred in a group setting, of 6-10 persons at a time, usually on Sundays or holidays, at the temple complex or in the fields close by, in the evening after work.

They smoke around 5-10 gm per head a week (costing around Rs. 5-6 — or US$0.12) as the drug is shared and members take turns in sponsoring a session. At a session the person inhales around three or four puffs from the chillum. Locals give a pejorative name to the heavy user to humiliate him. This village of 1,360 households and 6,680 persons had fewer than 20 people consuming cannabis on a daily basis. If in a socially accepted setting only 0.26% indulged in daily use, we deduce that cultural controls work even today. How could we call such a phenomenon a major social problem, national problem number one? In Saurashtra, the wife of the opium session host holds the opium stock and gives it to the person making the opium drink, providing another control on the quantities consumed. The host invariably is the most powerful, oldest, and most respected person of a given caste, sub-caste, or clan in a village or habitat. Thus, drug use occurs within the framework of, and is subordinate to, a given power structure. The long ritual of preparing the drug occurs while the host leads discussions on matters of community interest. Drug taking is also an occasion for merriment:

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Masihi (1996) has documented poems, couplets sung in honour of the host by "Charans" (a caste group of bards) during the opium-drinking sessions in six districts of Gujarat. Rao Joga (1996) has documented the use of cannabis during such activities as marriage, birth of a child, and a temple festival in two districts of Karnataka.

2.13.4 Links to the supernatural

The culture associates drug use with the transcendental reality. Even today we have at least half a million Hindu priests and priestesses across the country who perform extraordinary feats, which can be described as amazing or unbelievable or even frightening, during hours of meditation using cannabis.

2.13.5 Damage to Human Heritage

The medicinal uses of opium and cannabis in India and other countries like in Sri Lanka are here as a case study to show that imposing international norms has had a pernicious impact on our heritage. India has a vast repertoire of home remedies and folk medical practices that rely extensively on opium and cannabis. Traditional Systems of Medicine (TSM) such as Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani and Tibbi also use cannabis and opium. While medical use of some traditional drugs has shifted to synthetic and derivative drugs, the earlier uses in both TSM and home remedies persist in most parts of the country. Several writers have documented the medicinal value of Cannabis sativa in the treatment of tetanus, hydrophobia, delirium tremors, infantile convulsions, asthma, protracted labour and numerous other ailments. Cannabis has a place in the Ayurvedic Materia Medica and in Tibbi medicine.

The Indian Pharmacopoeia of 1954 lists two preparations of cannabis, a liquid extract and a tincture, as officially sanctioned. Cannabis served as a hypnotic, analgesic and antispasmodic agent and in rural areas as a prophylactic and to treat dyspepsia, pain, rheumatism, dysentery, diarrhea, hysteria, gonorrhoea and cholera. Medical use is always oral. Cannabis is used in Nepal, in addition to the above ailments, for cholera, tetanus, insomnia, cough, digestive problems, lack of appetite, malaria, as an aphrodisiac, to

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310 ibid
relieve fatigue and strain, and for general age-related ailments. For medical purposes, cannabis is used in combination with other herbs or ingredients. For example, the compound used for diarrhea and cholera contained cannabis and fifteen other ingredients including dried ginger, black pepper, nut grass, sea salt, black salt, opium, and the ashes of a clamshell. Cannabis used in these preparations was washed seven times with water in a cloth to remove impurities. Despite its medicinal value, Ayurvedic practitioners believe that, as with alcohol, over-indulgence in cannabis could be hazardous.

Opium is often mentioned in the Materia Medica section of Sharangadhar Samhita and Bhavaprakash and is used in several preparations. Hindu physicians in the fifteenth century used it freely. It was said to cure the "concurrent derangement of three humours", increase sexual and muscular powers and produce stupefaction of the brain. Later, especially during the last two centuries, opium became part of eight Ayurveda preparations: Karpua rasa, Ahiphenasava, Brihat Gangadhar churna, Makandeya churna, Dugdha vati, Grahanikapta rasa (Rasendra sara sangraha), Akrakaravadi churna (Sarangadhara) and Sambhunath rasa (Bhaishajya tantra).

Nowadays, those with formal Ayurvedic training in medical colleges use opium rarely, mainly for diarrhoea and dysentery, and only at certain stages of these conditions. Hindu physicians never made much use of the sedative and pain-relieving properties of opium.