Indigenous Jalisco: A History

By John P. Schmal

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Indigenous Nueva Galicia
(including Jalisco, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas and part of San Luis Potosí)

Established in 1548, the Spanish province of Nueva Galicia embraced 180,000 kilometers and included most of present-day Jalisco, Nayarit, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas. Across this broad range of territory, a wide array of indigenous groups lived during the Sixteenth Century.

Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, in his *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia* - published in 1621 - wrote that 72 languages were spoken in the entire colonial province of Nueva Galicia.

“Chichimecas” was the collective name for a wide range of indigenous groups living throughout Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Durango, and most of Jalisco and Guanajuato. It is believed that most of these groups spoke languages that were related to Náhuatl (the language of the Aztecs and Mexica) and part of the Uto-Aztecan Stock.

The Chichimeca Nations in the Sixteenth Century

The Indians of Jalisco

At the time of the Spanish contact, the most important indigenous tribes of what is now known as Jalisco were:

- Cocas – Central Jalisco (near Guadalajara and Lake Chapala)
- Guachichiles – Northeastern Jalisco, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato
- Huicholes – Northwestern Jalisco and Nayarit
- Tecuexes – Northern Jalisco (north of Guadalajara)
- Caxcanes – Northern Jalisco, Southwestern Zacatecas and Western Aguascalientes
- Tepehuanes – Northern Jalisco and large parts of Durango
- Purépecha (Tarascans) – Southern Jalisco and large sections of Michoacán

Early on, disease, war and assimilation reduced their numbers. Dr. Van Young has written that “the extensive and deep-running mestizaje of the area has meant that at any time much beyond the close of the colonial period the history of the native peoples has been progressively interwoven with (or submerged in) that of non-native groups.” Today, only the Huicholes survive as a cultural entity.

Conquest and Assimilation in Jalisco

1) The occupation and conquests of Nuño de Guzmán (1529-1531) left a trail of devastation and terror across Jalisco and southern Zacatecas.

2) The influence of epidemics played a significant role in reducing the indigenous populations (especially in western Jalisco).

3) The Mixtõn Rebellion (1540-1542). The aftermath of this bloody conflict led to widespread enslavement of the Caxcanes.

4) The Chichimeca War (1550-1590). This was forty-year conflict was waged by nearly all the natives of Zacatecas and part of northeastern Jalisco (Los Altos). Spanish settlements came under attack and most were evacuated and/or depopulated.

5) The gradual assimilation that resulted from the “peace by purchase” policy of the Marqués de Villamanrique who offered the Chichimecas incentives for peaceful settlement (conversion, food, clothing, lands and agricultural implements).

In 1531, Guzmán ordered his lieutenant, Juan de Oñate, to found La Villa de Guadalajara on the plateau near Nochistlán in the present-day state of Zacatecas. The first Guadalajara was established by 42 persons in 1532. However, a year later, it was decided to move the city to a place where there was more water and better living conditions, as the local Caxcanes had been very hostile to the newcomers.

The second foundation of Guadalajara was made in Tonalá, where it would remain for approximately two years. The third Guadalajara foundation occurred in 1535 in the Tlacotán region; however, the settlers were continuously attacked by the Tecuexes people of the region, leaving them to look for a new location for the city.

Finally, on February 14, 1542, the city of Guadalajara was founded for the fourth and last time in the Valley of Atemajac, about 95 kilometers (58.5 miles) southwest of the original location.
The Mixtón Rebellion (1540-1541)

In 1530, Guzmán’s army of Spaniards and conscripted Indian auxiliaries had ravaged through many parts of Jalisco. However, in 1536, he was arrested, imprisoned and eventually returned to Spain to stand trial.

The long-range implications of Guzmán's reign of terror were realized in 1540 when the **Mixtón Rebellion** pitted the indigenous people of Jalisco against Spanish rule. Under the leadership of Tenamaxtli, the **Caxcanes and Tecuexe Indians** fortified their positions near Mixtón, Nochistlán, and other towns and even laid siege to Guadalajara. However, the Spaniards counterattacked with great determination and, by December 8, 1541, most of the indigenous resistance had ended.

Map Source: Jaontiveros, “Mapa de los Pueblos de Nayarit, Zacatecas y Jalisco Que se Levantaron en Armas Durante la Guerra del Mixtón (March 16, 2009).
The Chichimeca War (1550-1590)

In 1550, the Chichimeca War started. Although Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, and Guanajuato were the primary battlegrounds in this fierce frontier war, some parts of Jalisco also came under attack. In 1554, the worst disaster of all took place when Chichimeca Indians attacked a Spanish caravan of sixty wagons with an armed escort in the Ojuelos Pass.

For several decades, the Zacatecos, Guachichile and Guamares Indians waged a fierce guerrilla war, staging attacks on both mining towns and the small caravans entering the war zone. However, in 1585, the Viceroy of Mexico, Alonso Manrique de Zuñiga, decided to investigate Spanish policies in the war zone. He soon learned that some Spanish soldiers had begun raiding Indian settlements for the purpose of enslavement. Infuriated by this practice, he prohibited further enslavement of all captured Indians. Soon, he launched a full-scale peace offensive and opened up negotiations with the principal Chichimeca leaders. In trade for peace, Villamanrique offered food, clothing, lands, and agricultural implements.

The Chichimeca War ended shortly after 1590. Essentially the Spaniards had bribed the Chichimecas to make peace by offering them a more luxurious existence with the trappings of the so-called “civilized world.” At strategically located depots, the Spaniards offered the Chichimecas vast quantities of food (mostly maize and beef) and clothing (woolen cloth, coarse blankets, woven petticoats, shirts, hats and capes). They also received agricultural implements, including plows, hoes, axes, hatchets, leather saddles, and slaughtering knives.

Soon Christian Indians were brought from the south (Tlaxcalans, Aztecs, Otomíes and Tarascans) and settled among the Chichimecas to help them adapt to their new existence. The peace offensive and missionary efforts of the Spaniards were so successful that within a few years, the Zacatecos and Guachichiles had settled down to peaceful living within the small settlements that now dotted the Zacatecas, Guanajuato and Jalisco landscapes.

Working in the fields and mines alongside their Indian brethren, the Chichimeca Indians were very rapidly assimilated and, as historian Phillip Wayne Powell writes, “The Sixteenth-century land of war thus became fully Mexican in its mixture.”

The North Frontier of New Spain

Peter Gerhard, in *The North Frontier of New Spain*, compiled a local history of each colonial jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia. These local histories include historical information on the original indigenous inhabitants and Spanish settlements.

Gerhard’s map (on the right) shows Gerhard’s rough approximation of the tribal territories in Jalisco and surrounding regions at the time of the contact. Lake Chapala is in the lower right section below the Coca and above the Nahua and Tarasco.

The Guachichiles

The Guachichile Indians were the most populous Chichimeca nation, occupying about 100,000 square kilometers, from Lake Chapala in Jalisco to modern Saltillo in Coahuila. The Guachichiles inhabited all of eastern Zacatecas and portions of eastern Jalisco. The name "Guachichil" was given to them by the Mexica, and meant “head colored red” (Quaítl = head; Chichitic = red). They had been given this label because they wore red feather headdresses, painted their bodies and their hair red, and wore head coverings (bonetillas) made of hides and painted red.

The Spanish frontiersmen and contemporary writers referred to the Guachichiles "as being the most ferocious, the most valiant, and the most elusive" of all their indigenous adversaries.

It is believed that the Guachichile Indians were closely related to the Huichol Indians, who continue to live in Nayarit and the northern fringes of Zacatecas in the present day era... Consider the similarity of “Guachil” and “Huichol” – the theory states that the Huichol were a subgroup that moved to the west and developed their own culture and language.

The Guachichiles in Jalisco

The Guachichiles occupied the most eastern regions of what is today known as Jalisco. While Lagos de Moreno in the north (Santa María de los Lagos) was primarily occupied by Guachichiles (and some Guamares), southeastern settlements such as Tepatitlán and Arandas were also known to be in Guachichile territory. According to Flores, the southernmost village of the Guachichiles was probably Atotonilco El Alto, 15 miles southwest of Arandas. Tecuexes occupied most of the region west of the Guachichiles.

The Guamares (Chichimecas Blancos)

The Guamares occupied large segments of Guanajuato and smaller portions of eastern Jalisco. Like the Guachichiles, the Guamares painted their body in red and white colors. The author, Gonzalo de las Casas, called the Guamares "the bravest, most warlike, treacherous, and destructive of all the Chichimecas."

The area around San Juan de los Lagos, Encarnación de Díaz and Jalostotitlán in northeastern Jalisco (Los Altos) were occupied by a subgroup of Guamares – known as IxtlaChichimecas (The Chichimecas Blancos) – who used limestone pigments to color their faces and bodies. This branch of the Guamares painted their heads white. Much of the territory in which the Chichimecos Blancos lived was actually within the recognized territories of the Guachichiles and Tecuexes. According to Prof. José Flores, natives usually followed the course of rivers in seeking sustenance and frequently crossed the territories of other tribes. Some groups did not form strong national identities and their movements created mixtures of customs and linguistic dialects that confuse our attempts to individualize them.

Sources: Philip Wayne Powell, “Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America’s First Frontier War” (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1973); “Chichimecas de Blanca” (Michoacán, México, 2015); José Ramírez Flores, “Lenguas Indígenas de Jalisco” (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980).
The Caxcanes and Tecuexes

The Caxcanes Indians occupied portions of Aguascalientes, southern Zacatecas and northern Jalisco. Prof. Phil C. Weigand theorized that the Caxcan Indians probably originated in the Chalchihuites area of northwestern Zacatecas and moved south after 1000 A.D.

Dr. Weigand has also studied the Tecuexes Indians who occupied a considerable area of Jalisco north of Guadalajara and western Los Altos, including Jalostotitlán, Tepatitlán and Yahualica.

The Caxcanes as Conquerors

Prof. Weigand has theorized that, after the collapse of the Chalchihuites culture around 1000 A.D., “the Caxcanes began a prolonged period of southern expansion” into parts of northeastern Jalisco.

By the time of the Spanish contact, Prof. Weigand observed that the Caxcanes “appear to have been organized into highly competitive, expansion states. These states possessed well-developed social hierarchies, monumental architecture, and military brotherhoods.”

In what is now northeastern Jalisco, the Tecuexes were frequently at odds with their other neighbors to the north, the Caxcanes. It is believed that Caxcanes originally invaded the territory of the Tecuexes in the area of Tlatenango, Juchipila, Nochistlán (Zacatecas) and Teocaltiche (Jalisco) during the pre-Hispanic era. The Caxcanes and Tecuexes in this area continued with their hostilities for as many as 260 years until the arrival of the Spaniards.

The Territory of the Caxcanes

The **Caxcanes** inhabited a wide area that included Tlatenango, Nochistlán and Jalpa (now in southern Zacatecas) and Teocaltiche and Atemanica (now in Jalisco). They were frequently at war with the **Tecuexes** and pushed the latter to the south. In the Flores map below, the Caxcanes are represented by the dark pyramid symbol.

Source: José Ramírez Flores, “Lenguas Indígenas de Jalisco” (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980).
The **Cocas and Tecuexes** represent the life-blood of central Jalisco. This map from Carolyn Baus de Czitrom reveals that the territories of both ran through the heartland of present-day Jalisco.

From Guadalajara in the north to Sayula in the south and from Cocula in the west to La Barca in the east, the Cocas inhabited a significant swath of territory in central and southern Jalisco. Zapotitlán, Jocotepec, Cocula and Tepec were all within their domain.

The late American anthropologist Carolyn Baus de Czitrom studied the Cocas extensively and published "Tecuexes y Cocas: Dos Grupos de la Region Jalisco en el Siglo XVI," which described the Cocas as a very peaceful and cooperative people. Because the Cocas were a peaceful people, the Spaniards, for the most part, left them alone. Some historians believe that the word mariachi originated in the language of the Cocas. Some of the traditions surrounding mariachi are certainly derived from the Coca culture and the five-stringed musical instrument called vihuela was a creation of the Cocas.

La Barca and the shores of Lake Chapala were the sites of three indigenous nations: Poncitlán and Cuitzeo - which ran along the shores of Lake Chapala - and Coinan, north of the lake. The people of these three chiefdoms spoke the Coca language. Guzman's forces traveled through here in 1530, laying waste to much of the region. By 1585, both Coca and Náhuatl were spoken at Ocotlán, although Gerhard tells us that the Náhuatl “was a recent introduction.”

The Tecuexes

From Magdalena and Tequila in the west to Jalostotitlán and Cerro Gordo in the east, the Tecuexes occupied a considerable area of northern Jalisco. Their southern border extended just south of Guadalajara while their eastern range extended into the northwestern part of Los Altos and included San Miguel el Alto.

The Tecuexes were also studied extensively by Dr. Baus de Czitrom, who reported that the Spaniards considered them to be brave and bold warriors ("Los Tecuexes eran valientes y audaces guerreros").

The Tecuexes and Cocas of Jalisco

The **Tecuexes and Cocas** both occupied some of the same communities within central Jalisco, primarily in the region of Guadalajara. It seems likely that this coexistence probably led to inter-marital relationships between the Cocas and Tecuexes in some areas and played a role in aligning the two peoples together.

However, in other areas such as Lake Chapala, the Tecuexes and Cocas were adversaries.

According to Gerhard, when Guzmán’s army arrived in March-April 1530, a thousand dispersed Indian farmers lived in the immediate area around **Guadalajara**. However, once the Spaniards established the town in 1542, Indians and African slaves arrived from afar to live and work in the settlement. By the mid-sixteenth century, roughly 3,000 Indians lived and worked alongside 300 Spaniards and 300 African-Mexicans in Guadalajara.

Coastal Jalisco

The rugged terrain around Purificación and much of Coastal Jalisco was inhabited by primitive farmers, hunters, and fisherman who occupied some fifty autonomous communities. The region was ravaged by disease and war and came under Spanish control by 1560.

The **Cuyutecos** - speaking the Nahua language of the Aztecs - settled in southwestern Jalisco, inhabiting Atenquillo, Talpa, Mascota, Mixtlán, Atengo, and Tecolotlán. The population of this area was partially repopulated by Spaniards and Indian settlers from Guadalajara. It is believed the Cuyuteco language may have been a late introduction into Jalisco.

When the Spaniards arrived in Cuquío and Tepatitlán, they described it as a densely populated region of farmers. The dominant indigenous language in this region was Tecuexe. South of this area lived the Cocas, but the Tecuexes fought with the hostile Guachichiles in the eastern reaches. Guzmán's lieutenant Chirinos ravaged this area in February 1530, and in 1540-41, the Indians in this area were among the insurgents taking part in the Mixtón Rebellion. As noted in the map below, the Guachichiles occupied the cities in the lower, eastern part of this region.

Tequila and Hostotipaquillo

Tequila in Northcentral Jalisco was occupied by Tecuexe farmers, as noted in the map below. Most of the settlements east of Tequila were also occupied by Tecuexes, with the possible exception of the Caxcanes’ town, Atemánica, to the northeast. Although Flores indicates that Hostotipaquillo – 24 miles northwest of Tequila – was inhabited by Tepehuanes, Gerhard indicates that its inhabitants were known as Teules Chichimecas or Coanos, who were a subdivision of the Cora Indians (found primarily in Nayarit to the north). The Tecuexes feuded with the Huicholes farther to the north and this region did not come under Spanish control until after the Chichimeca War.

Northeastern Los Altos

According to Gerhard, the region around Lagos de Moreno (formerly Santa Mara de los Lagos) was occupied by Chichimec hunters-gatherers, probably Guachichiles, with some Guamares in the east. It is also believed that Tecuexes occupied the region west of Lagos, including Mexticacán and Jalostotitlán. However, Teocaltiche was occupied by Caxcanes, the same people who occupied Juchipila, Moyahua, Nochistlán and Xalpa (Jalpa) in nearby Zacatecas.

In pre-Hispanic times, the Tepehuan Indian occupied an extensive area of the Sierra Madre Mountains stretching through parts of present-day Jalisco, Nayarit, Durango and Chihuahua. The first Jesuits, bearing gifts of seeds, tools, clothing and livestock, went to work among the Tepehuanes in 1596 and converted most of them by 1616.

Epidemics struck the Tepehuanes population in 1594, 1601-02, 1606-07, and 1612-1615, providing a catalyst for their rebellion of 1616-19. After this revolt was crushed, the Tepehuan moved to hiding places in the Sierra Madre to avoid Spanish retaliation.

The Tepehuanes of Jalisco

At the time of the Spanish contact, the Tepehuanes’ language was spoken in the “Three Fingers Region” of northwestern Jalisco in such towns as Tepec, Mezquitic and Colotlán. But, as noted in the map below, they shared parts of this area with Huicholes (mainly in the west) and Caxcanes (in the east). The Tepehuanes language and culture are no longer found in Jalisco, but in the 2010 census, more than 35,000 Tepehuanes residing in southern Chihuahua and southeastern Durango spoke their ancestral language.

North Central Jalisco Settlements

Several native states existed in the area of San Cristóbal de la Barranca (North central Jalisco), but by 1550, some of these communities had come under Spanish control, except for the “Tezoles” (possibly a Huichol group) who remained “unconquered.” The typhus epidemic of 1580 ravaged this area.

The heavily wooded area of the Sierra Madre Occidental around Colotlán, located in Jalisco's northerly “Three-Fingers” boundary area with Zacatecas, remained beyond Spanish control until after the end of the Chichimeca War. According to Gerhard, this zone became "a refuge for numerous groups fleeing from the Spaniards," especially the Tepehuanes (following their 1616-19 rebellion).
The **Otomíes** were a Chichimeca nation primarily occupying Queretaro and east central Mexican states. However, early on, the Otomíes allied themselves with the Spaniards and Mexica Indians. As a result, writes Prof. Powell, Otomí settlers were “issued a grant of privileges.” For their allegiance, they were given a certain amount of autonomy in their towns. During the 1550s, the Spaniards used Otomí militia against the Chichimecas. The strategic placement of Otomí settlements in Nueva Galicia made their language dominant near Zapotitlán, Juchitlán, Autlán, and other towns near Jalisco's southern border with Colima.

The Purépecha

For more than a thousand years, Michoacán has been the home of the Purépecha Indians. The name Michoacán derives from the Náhuatl terms, michin (fish) and hua (those who have) and can (place) which roughly translates into “Place of the Fisherman.” In the 13th and 14th centuries, Michoacán consisted of several small city-states that competed with each other in the military and economic realms. During the 15th Century, a rapid process of cultural assimilation and political unification brought the different groups of the region into a United Tarascan ethnicity and socio-political system.

Today, the Purépecha language is recognized as a language isolate that is not even provisionally linked with any other neighboring language. Its origin and early history are shrouded in mystery. Some prestigious researchers have suggested that Tarascan is distantly related to Quecha, one of the man languages in the Andean zone of South America. Some historians have regarded Purépecha as a hybrid language, the product of a wide-ranging process of linguistic borrowing and fusion.

Eventually, the Purépecha Kingdom would control an area of at least 45,000 square miles (72,500 square kilometers), including parts of the present-day Jalisco, as noted in the map at the right. But, in the 1520s, the empire fell to the Spaniards.

In the 2010 census, of the 128,344 Purépecha speakers in Mexico, 3,960 lived in Jalisco.

Instability in Jalisco (1825-1885)

In the years following independence, the historian Dawn Fogle Deaton writes that in the sixty-year period from 1825 to 1885, Jalisco witnessed twenty-seven peasant (primarily indigenous) rebellions. Seventeen of these uprisings occurred within one decade, 1855-64, and the year 1857 witnessed ten separate revolts.

According to Ms. Deaton, the cause of these "waves of unrest, popular protest, and open rebellion" arose "out of the political and social struggles among classes and between classes." She further explained that the "commercialization of the economy," especially in agriculture, had led to fundamental changes in the lifestyles of the peasants and thus brought about "the seeds of discontent."

The years 1855–57 saw recurrent risings in the Lake Chapala area, during which some 2,000 or more armed Indians in La Barca and Zacoalco attempted to recover lands lost to neighboring haciendas.

The most widespread and longest rebellion in Jalisco lasted from 1857 to 1881 and was led by the mestizo leader Manuel Lozada ("El Tigre de Álica").

Lozada’s Rebellion (1857-1881)

At times, Lozada possessed various regions of northern Jalisco, the Sierra Costa (western region), as well as the seventh canton, Tepic (now the State of Nayarit). At one point, Lozada commanded 11,000 peasants, including 6,000 Huicholes and 3,000 Cora.

In the 1860s, Lozada's followers made public the demands of indigenous people for their lands with the goal of recovering peasant lands. In 1867, the federal government made Nayarit a “military district” and in 1917, Nayarit became a state. Manuel Lozada was captured and executed in 1873, but his movement continued for years.

Jalisco’s Racial Classifications in the 1921 Census

Mexico’s 1921 census asked people to categorize themselves by three primary categories: Pure Indigenous, Indigenous Mixed with White, and White. While nearly 17% of Jalisco’s population identified themselves as “Pure Indigenous” and nearly 76% called themselves “Mezclada” (or Mixed), only 195 persons actually spoke an indigenous language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Classification</th>
<th>No. of Persons</th>
<th>% of Total State Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indígena Pura</td>
<td>199,728</td>
<td>16.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indígena Mezclada con Blanca</td>
<td>903,830</td>
<td>75.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanca</td>
<td>87,103</td>
<td>7.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question Ignored or Other Classifications</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1,191,957</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons Speaking Indigenous Languages 195

Classifications: Indígena Pura (Pure Indigenous Origins); Indígena Mezclada con Blanca (Indigenous Mixed with White); Blanca (White); Extranjeros sin distinction de razas (Foreigners without racial distinction) One percent of the population of the Republic of Mexico chose a fifth option: “Cualquiera otra o que se ignora la raza” (persons who chose to ignore the question or “other.”

## Indigenous Jalisco in the 2010 Census

In the 2010 Census, nearly all of the persons who were counted as speakers of indigenous languages were migrants from other states. The few notable exceptions would be the speakers of the Huichol and Náhuatl languages.

### The 2010 Census: Indigenous Languages Spoken in Jalisco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indigenous Language</th>
<th>Population 3 Years and Older Who Speak an Indigenous Language</th>
<th>Percent of all Indigenous Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huichol</td>
<td>18,409</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>11,650</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Indigenous Languages</td>
<td>8,810</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purépecha (Tarasco)</td>
<td>3,960</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixteco</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zapoteco</td>
<td>1,637</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otomí</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Languages</td>
<td>5,819</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53,695</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010: Tabulados del Cuestionario Básico: Población de 3 Años y Más Que Habla Lengua Indígena por Entidad Federativa y Lengua.
## Jalisco in the 2010 Census (Indigenous Municipios)

### The 2010 Census: Indigenous Speakers in Jalisco by Municipio
(By Percentage of Indigenous Speakers in Each Municipio)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipio</th>
<th>Speakers of Indigenous Languages 3 Years of Age or More</th>
<th>Total Persons 3 Years of Age or More</th>
<th>Percent of Indigenous Speakers 3 Years of Age or More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mezquitic</td>
<td>12,540</td>
<td>16,531</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolaños</td>
<td>4,040</td>
<td>6,274</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huejuquilla el Alto</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>8,186</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa Guerrero</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>5,296</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Gabriel</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>14,357</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Martín de Bolaños</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3,203</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acatlán de Juárez</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>21,919</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118 Other Municipios</td>
<td>35,157</td>
<td>6,781,385</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The State of Jalisco</td>
<td>53,695</td>
<td>6,857,151</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INEGI, 2010 Censo: Población de 3 Años y Más por Entidad y Municipio Según Habla Indígena y Lengua.
## The Most Indigenous Municipios in Jalisco

### The 2010 Census: The Jalisco Municipios With the Largest Percent of Indigenous Speakers in the State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipio</th>
<th>Speakers of Indigenous Languages 3 Years of Age or More</th>
<th>% of Total Indigenous Population</th>
<th>Most Spoken Language</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Second Most Spoken Language</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mezquitect</td>
<td>12,540</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>Huichol</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zapopan</td>
<td>12,498</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalajara</td>
<td>5,575</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolaños</td>
<td>4,040</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>Huichol</td>
<td>96.4%</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlaquepaque</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>Otomí</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Vallarta</td>
<td>2,446</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>Zapoteco</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlajomulco de Zúñiga</td>
<td>2,082</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonalá</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autlán de Navarro</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>68.1%</td>
<td>Purépecha</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalisco</td>
<td>53,695</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>Huichol</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>Náhuatl</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INEGI, 2010 Censo: Población de 3 Años y Más por Entidad y Municipio Según Habla Indígena y Lengua.
Today, the Huichol live in the States of Jalisco and Nayarit. In the 2010 Mexican census, 47,625 people were known to speak this language. Nayarit had 25,151 Huichol speakers (52.8% of the total), while Jalisco had 18,409 (38.7%). Thus 91.5% of the Huichol-speaking individuals in Mexico lived in those two states.

According to the map of the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI), the Huicholes inhabit the 3-Fingers Border Region. Many Huicholes have fiercely protected their traditional culture by removing themselves from areas where non-Huichol have come to live. In fact, in 2010, nearly 24% of the Huichol speakers in Jalisco were monolingual.
Indigenous Mexico Historical Resources

To read more about the various indigenous peoples of México, please see:

http://houstonculture.org/mexico/states.html

http://www.somosprimos.com/schmal/schmal.htm

https://www.shhar.org/johnpschmal