

The History of Indigenous Zacatecas: A Frontier Battleground

**by John P. Schmal
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The State of Zacatecas

As the eighth largest state of Mexico, Zacatecas has a square area of 75,284 square kilometers (29,067 square miles), equal to 3.84% of the national territory. The State of Zacatecas is divided into fifty-eight municipios, with the City of Zacatecas as its capital.

In 2010, Zacatecas had a population of 1,579,209 people, ranking it No. 25 among the Mexican states in terms of population. The capital of the State is Zacatecas, which had a population of 129,011 in 2010, representing 8.2% of the state's total population.



Map Source: Enciclopedia de Los Municipios y Delegaciones de México: Estado de Zacatecas. Medio Físico. Online: <http://siglo.inafed.gob.mx/enciclopedia/EMM32zacatecas/index.html>.

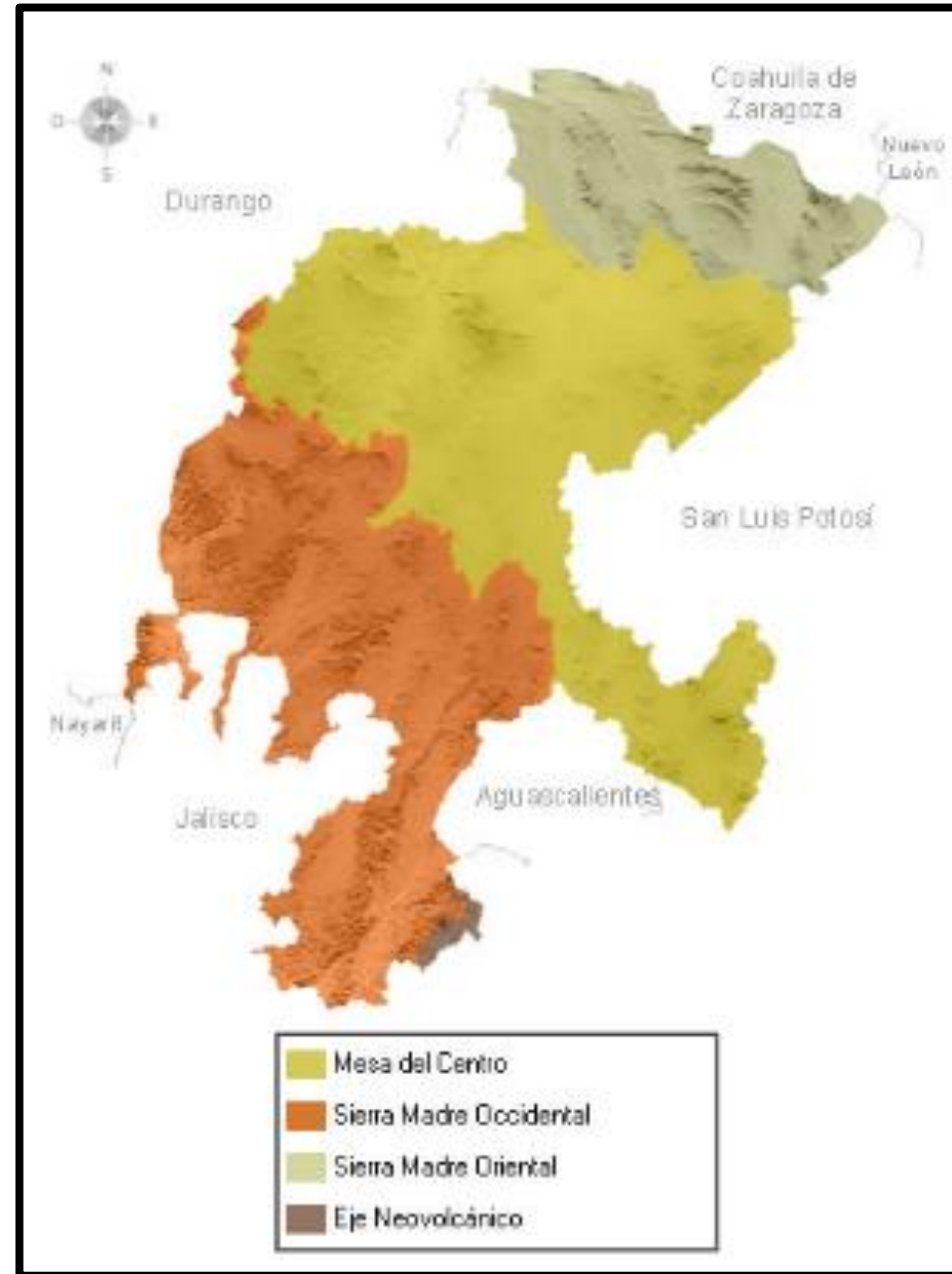
The Relief of Zacatecas

Zacatecas has four physiographic provinces. The **Sierra Madre Occidental** Mountains occupy 39.05% of the state's area, covering the south and southwest.

The **Meseta del Centro (Mexican Plateau)** occupies 45.11% of the state's area, covering significant parts of Zacatecas' central and northern regions.

The **Sierra Madre Oriental Mountains** occupy 15% of the state surface, covering the northern end of the state.

The **Eje Neovolcánico (Neovolcanic Axis)** occupies only 0.84% of the state surface in the far southeast corner of Zacatecas.



Sources: Cuéntame, Página de inicio / Información por entidad / Zacatecas; INEGI. Anuario Estadístico y Geográfico de Zacatecas 2017.

Nueva Galicia's Indigenous People

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.

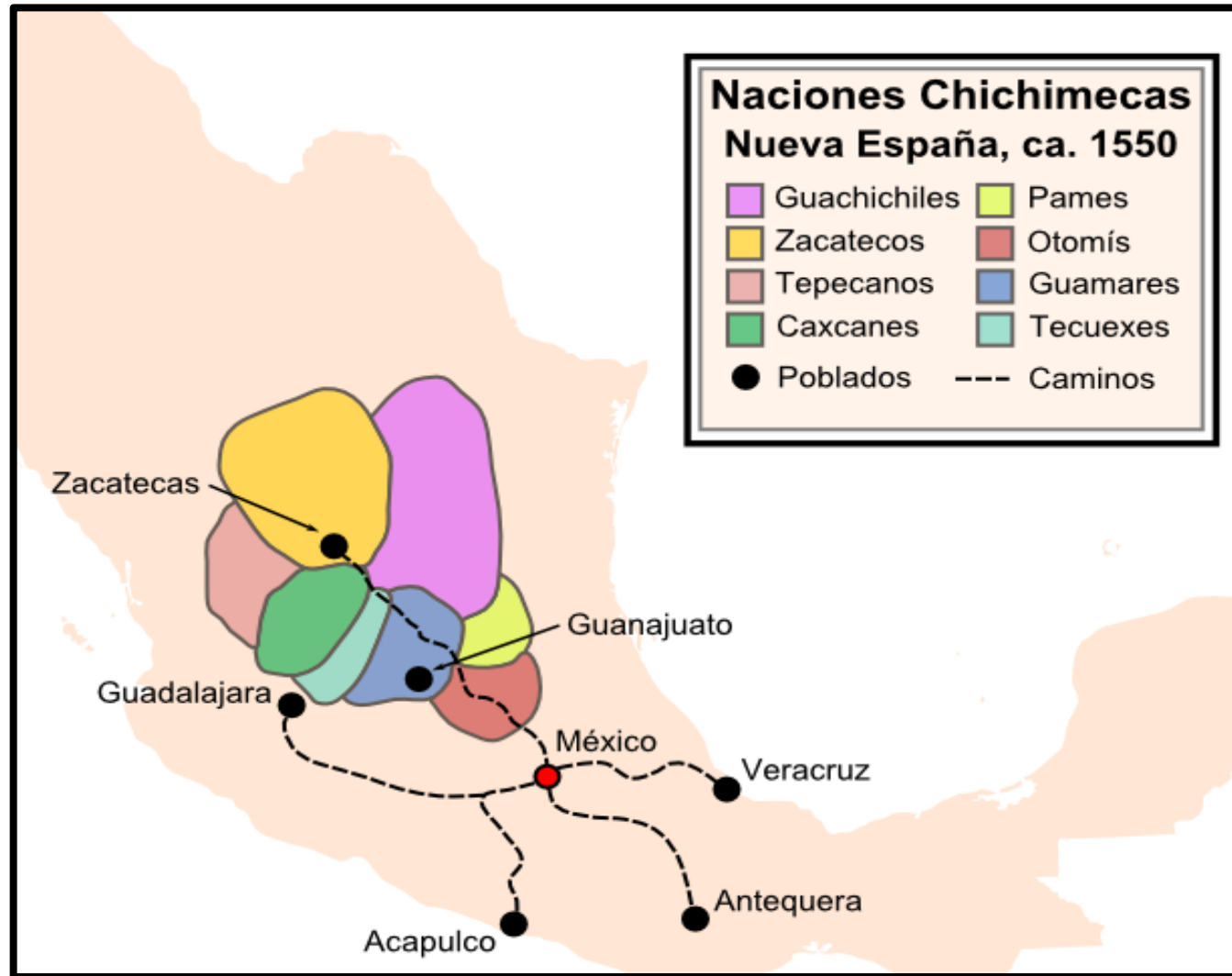
Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, in his **Descripción de la Nueva Galicia** - published in 1621 - wrote that 72 languages were spoken in the Spanish colonial province of Nueva Galicia.



Map Source: Sarumo74, "Nueva Galicia Nueva España 1548," Wikimedia Commons Para Todo México [Published May 1, 2018].

The Chichimeca Nations of “La Gran Chichimeca”

“Chichimecas” was the collective name for a wide range of indigenous groups living throughout Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Jalisco, Aguascalientes, Jalisco and Guanajuato. **The Chichimecs were not a single people sharing a common language**, but consisted of several indigenous groups living through the large swathe of territory known to the Spaniards as “La Gran Chichimeca.”

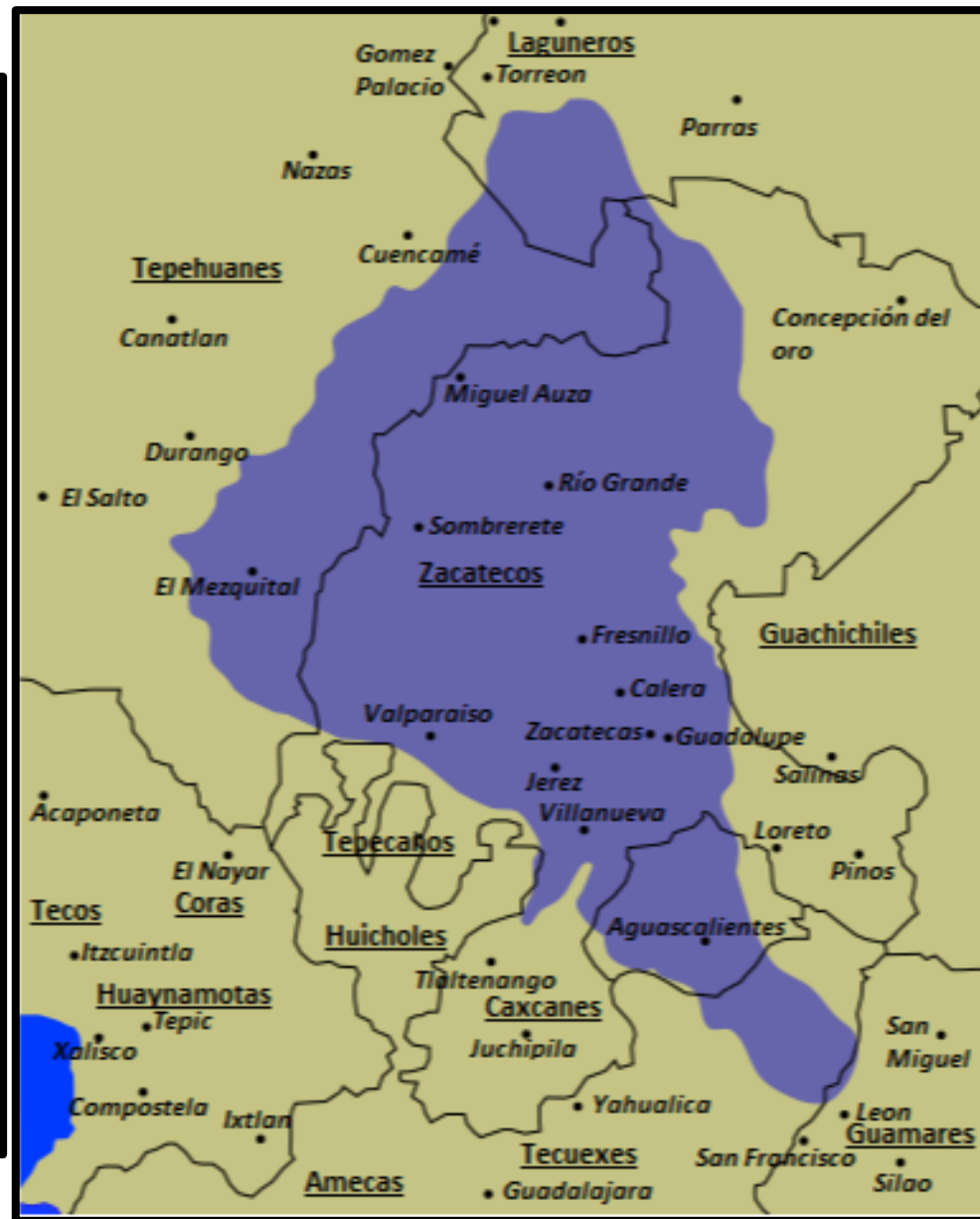


Source: Philip Wayne Powell, “Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War” (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1973); Map Source: Grin20, “Map Depicting Geographic Expanse of Chichimeca nations, ca. 1550” at Wikipedia, “Chichimeca War” (Published Jan. 4, 2012).

The Zacatecos Indians

The **Zacatecos Indians** occupied much of what is now western and northern Zacatecas, as well as Aguascalientes, southern Coahuila and eastern Durango as far west as the City of Durango.

As indicated by the map on this page, the lands of the Zacatecos Indians bordered with those of the Tepehuanes on the west, the Guachichiles on the east and the Caxcanes and Tecuexes on the south. It is believed that the Zacatecos were named by Náhuatl speakers after the tall grasslands (Zacatlán, “place of grass”) they inhabited. The Zacatecos were believed to be related to the Caxcanes tribe that lived on their southern border and have been classified within the Uto-Aztecan Language family.



The Silver Industry and Zacatecas

The Zacatecos lived in the region where the Spaniards would discover and develop rich silver mines in 1546.

In 1546, Juan de Tolosa discovered silver on the hill of La Bufa, near the present-day City of Zacatecas.

The development of the mining industry in Zacatecas led to **the development of extensive communications networks**, making Zacatecas **the axis of an extensive economic space** consisting of cities, towns, villages, ranches, haciendas and other mining centers.

Zacatecas, **producing one-fifth of all of the colony's silver**, became the third largest city in colonial Mexico during the 1500s.



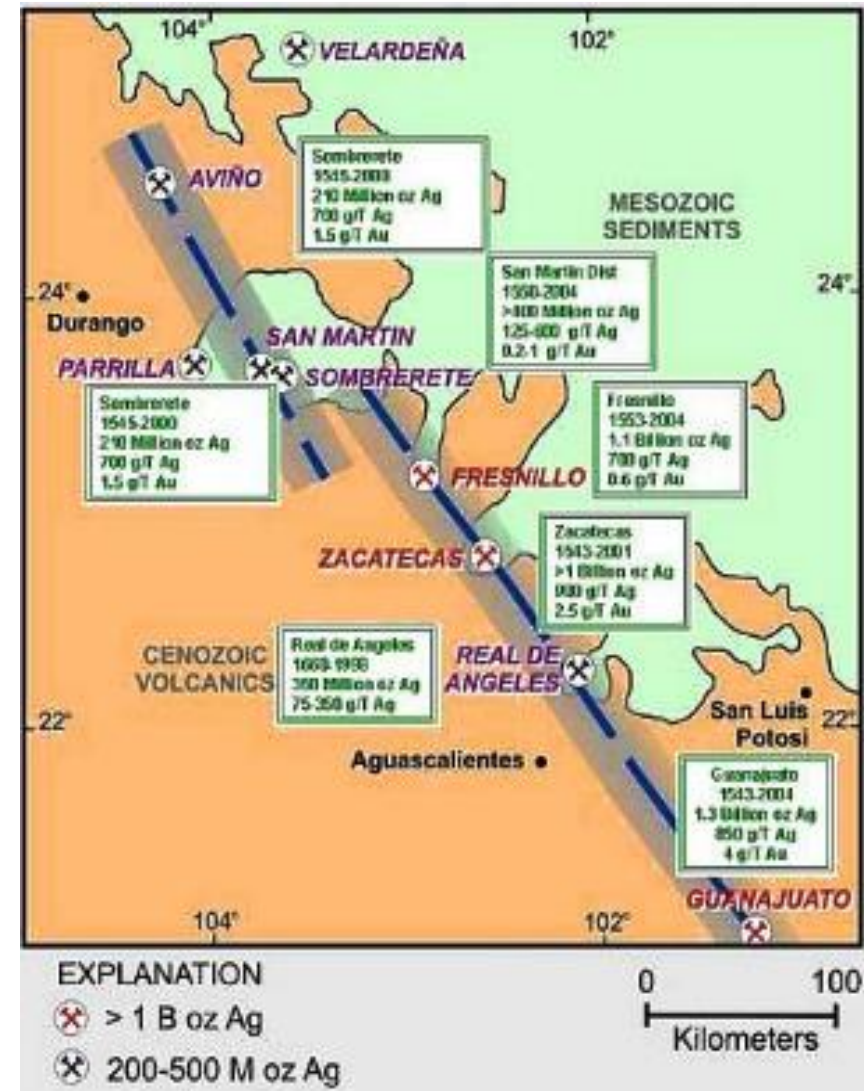
Map Source: Tony Burton, Interactive Map of Zacatecas.
Mexconnect, Copyright 2009.

Zacatecas: A Magnet for Indigenous Labor

In the next two decades, rich mineral-bearing deposits would also be discovered farther north in San Martín (1556), Chalchihuites (1556), Avino (1558), Sombrerete (1558), Fresnillo (1566), Mazapil (1568), and Nieves (1574).

According to Dana Velasco Murillo, the author of *“Urban Indians in a Silver City,”* by the 1550s, the Zacatecas mines brought in **“a consistent influx of indigenous immigrants from western and central Mexico”** because they were given exemptions from tribute collection. Wages and exemptions served as “pull” factors for migrants, while the heavy tribute obligations in central Mexican communities functioned as “push” factors.

Sources: Dana Velasco Murillo, *“Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546-1810”* (Stanford University Press, 2016); Peter Gerhard, *“The North Frontier of New Spain”* (Princeton University Press, 1982).



Map Source: Geo-Mexico: The Geography and Dynamics of Modern Mexico: Fresnillo, Mexico's Leading Silver Mining Town (Aug. 24, 2013).

The Zacatecos Indians and the Silver Mines

The Zacatecos organized themselves in groups of loose confederations of small seminomadic settlements,” which the Spaniards called rancherías. Professor Philip Wayne Powell writes that the Zacatecos were **“brave and bellicose warriors and excellent marksmen.”** They were greatly feared by the neighboring tribes, in particular the Caxcanes, whom they frequently attacked. The Zacatecos were also reputed to be **“great enemies” and “constantly at war with” their neighbors to the east, the Guachichiles,** until they both acquired the Spaniards as a common enemy in the 1550s.

The **strategic location of the Zacatecas mines** made confrontation with both the Zacatecos and Guachichiles inevitable. Early on, the Spaniards attempted to preserve peaceful relations with the local Indians, but early indications of antagonistic intent soon became evident. Mr. Gerhard writes that **“the rush of treasure-seekers and the opening of cart-roads from central Mexico to these mines” led to a “displacement of desert tribes”** that brought on “a fierce struggle (the Chichimec war) that kept the northern frontier aflame from sea to sea for four decades (1550-1590).”

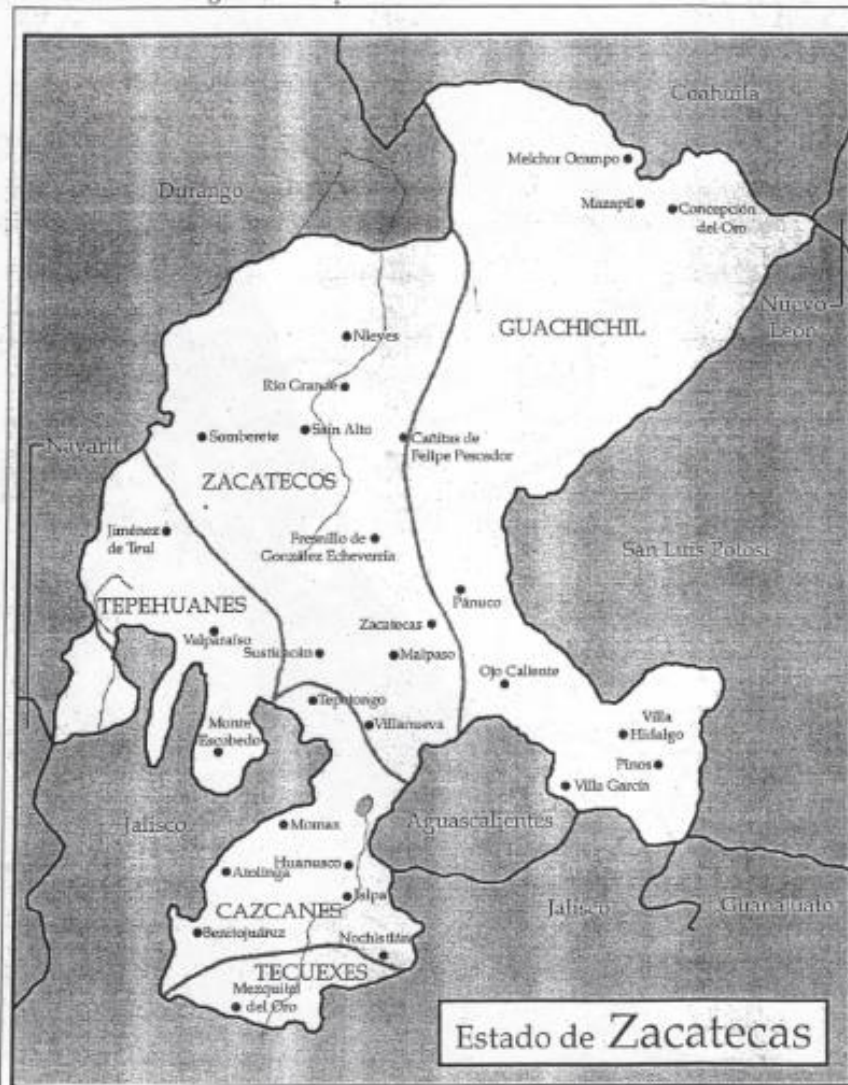
Source: Philip Wayne Powell, "Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War" (1973).

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 and western San Luis Potosí. 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.

Indigenous Zacatecas, circa 1550s

"ZACATECAS - Indigenous Groups at Contact"



© Copyright 2003, Eddie Martinez and John Schmal

Sources: Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst (eds.), "People of the Peyote: Huicnoí Indian History, Religion, and Survival" (1996); Philip Wayne Powell, "Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War" (1973).

The Guachichiles

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.

Historians believe that the **Guachichiles were the most skilled of the Chichimecas in developing tribal alliances**. They were a **major catalyst in provoking the other tribes to resist the Spanish settlement and exploitation of Indian lands**. "Their strategic position in relation to Spanish mines and highways," wrote Professor Powell, "made them especially effective in raiding and in escape from Spanish reprisal." They were able to quickly disappear into their territory where the Spaniards did not dare to follow.

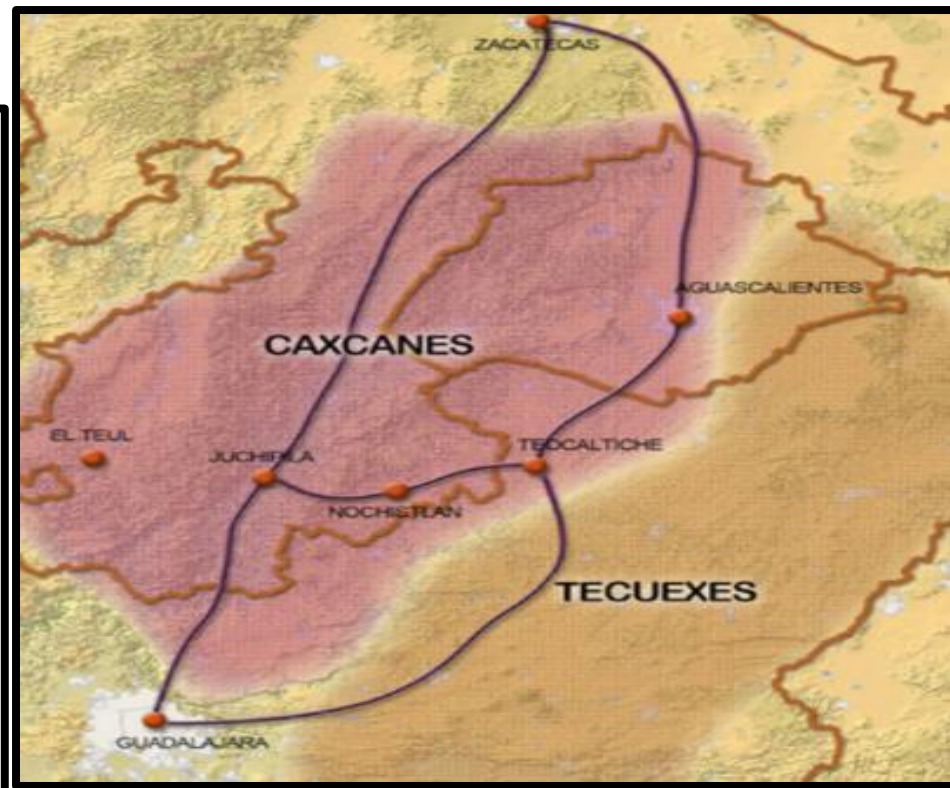
Sources: Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst (eds.), "People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion, and Survival" (1996); Philip Wayne Powell, "Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War" (1973).

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, but very little of Zacatecas.

Source: Phil C. Weigand, "Considerations on the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Mexicaneros, Tequales, Coreas, Huicholes, and Caxcanes of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Zacatecas." In Contributions to the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Greater Mesoamerica (1985).



The territory of the Caxcanes overlapped with the Zacatecos, while the territory of the Tecuexes overlapped with the Guachichiles, Guamares and Cocas. Aguascalientes was primarily dominated by Caxcanes, Zacatecos and Tecuexes.

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.

Source: Phil C. Weigand, “Considerations on the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Mexicaneros, Tequales, Coreas, Huicholes, and Caxcanes of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Zacatecas.” In Contributions to the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Greater Mesoamerica edited by William J. Folan, pp. 126-187 (Carbondale, Illinois: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University Press, 1985).

The Territory of the Caxcanes

The **Caxcanes** inhabited a wide area that included Tlaltenango, 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.



Bapames	△
Caxcanes	▲
Coras	□
Cocas	◼
Cuachichiles	◼
Cuyutecos (Nahuas)	○
Huicholes	◐
Nahuas	◑
Otomies (Chichimeca)	+
Pinomes	×
Tarascos	◆
Tecuejes	◆
Tzaultecas	⊗
Tepehuanes	⊗
Técoz	⊙

Source: José Ramírez Flores, "Lenguas Indígenas de Jalisco" (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980).

Tepehuanes

The Tepehuán Indians were the indigenous group that inhabited the most extensive area among the Sierra Madre native groups. Linguistically, the Tepehuanes belonged to the Piman division of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock. Anthropologists have divided this group into southern and northern groups who speak different dialects of the Tepehuán language.

The southern Tepehuán language varies considerably from that of the Northern Tepehuán (whose speakers live in Chihuahua). **The Southern Tepehuán inhabited an extensive region of the Sierra Madre Mountains in parts of present-day Jalisco, Nayarit, Zacatecas and Durango.** The territory of the Tepehuanes is believed to have stretched as far north as Parral in Chihuahua and as far south as Río Grande de Santiago in Jalisco. In Zacatecas, the Tepehuán inhabited the region around Sombrerete in the west central portion of the state.

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. It is believed that the Tepehuán Indians received their name from the Náhuatl terms tepetl, “mountain,” and huan, “at the junction of.” Thus, they were “**mountain people.**” The Tepehuanes did not become involved in operations against the Spaniards in the Chichimeca War. The historian Charlotte M. Gradie has discussed in great deal the Tepehuanes and their famous revolt that began in 1616 and ravaged much of Durango.

The Mixtón Rebellion (1540-1541)

In 1530, Nuño de Guzmán's army of Spaniards and conscripted Indian auxiliaries ravaged through many parts of Jalisco, Zacatecas and Nayarit. Guzmán's left a trail of destroyed villages and crops, terrorizing the native peoples with unprovoked killing, torture and enslavement.

The long-range implications of Guzmán's reign of terror were realized in 1540 when the **Mixtón Rebellion** pitted the indigenous people of Jalisco and southern Zacatecas 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. In the aftermath, many of the Caxcanes were enslaved by the Spaniards.

Indigenous Pueblos Taking Part in the Mixtón Rebellion



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 Begins (1550)

In 1550, Zacatecos attacked, robbed and killed travelers on the road to the Zacatecas mines, thus beginning the four-decade **La Guerra de los Chichimecas (The War of the Chichimecas)**. In the years to follow, the **Zacatecos and Guachichiles frequently ambushed and assaulted travelers and merchants** along the road from Mexico City to Zacatecas.

The attacks along this road disrupted the mining operations and delayed the transport of the silver bullion southward to help sustain the Spanish Empire. **The Chichimecas also plundered north-bound supply caravans and seized their livestock.** The Chichimecas had been used to eating small game animals but soon became enthusiastic consumers of the stolen Spanish livestock, especially horses and mules.



Map Source: Grin20, "Map of the of Northern Viceroyalty of New Spain (Colonial Mexico)" (Jan. 5, 2012).

The Chichimeca War (1550-1590)

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. In addition to inflicting great loss of life, the Chichimecas carried off more than 30,000 pesos worth of clothing, silver, and other valuables.

In the years to follow, **the majority of the attacks were aimed primarily at highway traffic to and from the new silver mines and at estancias (small cattle ranches)** in or near the land of war. The Indians preferred to attack the silver caravans in a narrow pass, in rocky terrain, or in places with sufficient forestation to conceal their approach. They usually ambushed their victims at dawn or dusk and struck with great speed. Professor Powell wrote that **“surprise, nudity, body paint, shouting, and rapid shooting were all aimed at terrifying the intended victims and their animals.** There is ample evidence that they usually succeeded in this.”

Source: Philip Wayne Powell, "Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War" (1973).

The Chichimeca Warrior

In writing about the Chichimec way of life, Philip Wayne Powell refers to these Indians as **“an elusive enemy, highly dangerous in expert use of bow and arrow and in knowledge of the land on which he fought.”** In hand-to-hand combat, **the Chichimeca warriors gained a reputation for courage and ferocity.** Even when the Chichimecas were attacked in their hideout or stronghold, Professor Powell writes, that **the warriors “usually put up vigorous resistance,** especially if unable to escape the onslaught.” They would fight with arrows, clubs and even rocks, and in some cases, women might also take up the right, using the weapons of their fallen braves.

According to Eugene B. Sego, it was the **“unstructured lifestyle of the Chichimecas”** that prevented their subjugation. The Spaniards had never encountered the Chichimeca style of fighting. **They “almost always attacked from ambush” and favored “quick hit-and-run attacks” from which they could disappear into the surrounding mountains.** Chichimecas reportedly fought nude, in full body paint, a practice that horrified the Spaniards as much as their sacrifice of war captives. They painted their faces and bodies with brilliantly-colored and striking designs.”

Sources: Philip Wayne Powell, "Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War" (1973); Eugene B. Sego, "Six Tlaxcalan Colonies on New Spain's Northern Frontier: A Comparison of Success and Failure" (Ph.D. Thesis: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1990).

The Chichimecas: Assimilation & Mestizaje

Unable to decisively defeat the native groups, the Spanish initiated a ***“peace by purchase”*** policy, which 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 landscape.

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.”**

Source: Philip Wayne Powell, “Soldiers, Indians and Silver: North America's First Frontier War” (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1973).

Racial Classifications of Former Nueva Galicia States in 1921

In the 1921 census, the Mexican states that had previously been part of Nueva Galicia had high rates of mestizaje (mixed racial identity), while smaller numbers of citizens considered themselves to be pure indigenous. San Luis Potosí — the home of the eastern Guachichiles — is an exception, with one in three residents being classified as pure indigenous.

Racial Makeup of Native-Born Mexicans (from the 1921 Census)

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State	Indígena Pura (Pure Indigenous)	Indígena Pura (% of Total State Population)	Indígena Mezclada con Blanca (Mixed)	Percentage of Indígena Mezclada con Blanca	Total State Population
Aguascalientes	17,961	16.70%	71,137	66.12%	107,581
Guanajuato	25,458	2.96%	828,724	96.32%	860,364
Jalisco	199,728	16.76%	903,830	75.83%	1,191,957
San Luis Potosí	136,365	30.60%	275,812	61.89%	445,681
Zacatecas	32,422	8.55%	326,615	86.10%	379,329
Mexican Republic	4,179,449	29.16%	8,504,561	59.33%	14,334,780

Source: Departamento de la Estadística Nacional, "Anuario de 1930" (Tacubaya, Distrito Federal, 1932).

Indigenous Languages in the Tri-State Region (2010)

Indigenous Languages Spoken in the 2010 Census						
Indigenous Language	Aguascalientes		Jalisco		Zacatecas	
	Population of Persons 3 Years of Age or More Who Speak an Indigenous Language	Percent of Indigenous Speakers	Population of Persons 3 Years of Age or More Who Speak an Indigenous Language	Percent of Indigenous Speakers	Population of Persons 3 Years of Age or More Who Speak an Indigenous Language	Percent of Indigenous Speakers
Huichol	107	4.3%	18,409	34.3%	1,003	19.4%
Náhuatl	391	15.7%	11,650	21.7%	503	9.8%
Purépecha	52	2.1%	3,960	7.4%	100	1.9%
Mixteco	60	2.4%	2,001	3.7%	111	2.2%
Zapoteco	87	3.5%	1,637	3.0%	137	2.7%
Mazahua	176	7.1%	1,009	1.9%	151	2.9%
Other	1,620	64.9%	15,029	28.0%	3,152	61.1%
Total Indigenous Speakers	2,493	100%	53,695	100%	5,157	100%

Source: INEGI, Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010: Tabulados del Cuestionario Básico.
 Other languages spoken in the three states include Mixe, Maya, Huasteco, Otomí, Tepehuanes and unspecified languages.

Zacatecas Languages in 2010

In the 2010 census, nearly one-third of indigenous speakers 3 years and older in Zacatecas census did not specify which language they spoke. Huicholes represented the single largest category of indigenous speakers in the State (19.4%).

The 2010 Census: Indigenous Languages Spoken in Zacatecas

Indigenous Language	Population 3 Years and Older Who Speak an Indigenous Language	Percent of all Indigenous Speakers
Unspecified Indigenous Language	1,631	31.6%
Huichol	1,003	19.4%
Náhuatl	503	9.8%
Tepehuano	492	9.5%
Tlapaneco	381	7.4%
Tepehuano de Durango	328	6.4%
Mazahua	151	2.9%
Zapoteco	137	2.7%
Mixteco	111	2.2%
Purépecha (Tarasco)	100	1.9%
All Zacatecas Indigenous Speakers	5,157	100%

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.

The Huicholes in the 2010 Census

In 2010, 44,788 Huichol speakers 5 years of age and more lived throughout the Mexican Republic, and 91% of them lived in either Nayarit or Jalisco, the traditional Huichol homeland. Only 2% lived in Zacatecas. As noted in the following table, 14% of the Huicholes in the Mexican Republic were monolingual (did not speak Spanish).

Huichol Language Speakers in the Mexican Republic (2010)

State	Population 5 Years and Over that Speaks the Huichol Language	% of the Population 5 Years and Over that Speaks the Huichol Language in Mexico	Population 5 Years and Over that Speaks the Huichol Language (Monolingual)	% Monolingual
Nayarit	23,834	53%	1,972	8%
Jalisco	17,118	38%	4,088	24%
Durango	1,889	4%	69	4%
Zacatecas	940	2%	28	3%
Baja California	202	0%	0	0%
Aguascalientes	103	0%	0	0%
Other States	702	2%	5	1%
Mexican Republic	44,788	100%	6,162	14%

Source: INEGI, Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010: Tabulados del Cuestionario Básico: Población de 5 Años y Más Que Habla Lengua Indígena por Entidad Federativa y Lengua Según Condición de Habla Española y Sexo.

The Indigenous Municipios of Zacatecas (2010)

In the 2010 Mexican census, of Zacatecas' 58 municipios, only four Zacatecas municipios had 1.0% or more people who spoke indigenous languages. In 2010, the municipio of Fresnillo had 1,210 persons 3 years of age or older who spoke indigenous languages, of which 250 were Huichol. Valparaíso — with the second largest number of indigenous speakers — had the highest percentage (2.5%).

Most Indigenous Municipios of Zacatecas (2010 Census)

Municipios	Persons 3 Years of Age and More Who Speak Indigenous Languages in Municipio	Total Municipio Population in 2010	% Indigenous Speaking Population 3 Years of Age and More	Dominant Indigenous Languages
Valparaíso	773	31,351	2.5%	Tepehuán del Sur
Tlaltenango	387	23,775	1.6%	Huichol
Pánuco	185	15,392	1.2%	Náhuatl
General Enrique Estrada	57	5,536	1.0%	Huichol
Fresnillo	1,210	196,140	0.6%	Huichol
The Other 53 Municipios	2,545	1,114,843	0.2%	Huichol
State of Zacatecas	5,157	1,387,037	0.4%	Huichol, Náhuatl, Tepehuán del Sur

Source: INALI, 2010 Censo: Población de 3 Años y Más Por Entidad y Municipio según Habla Indígena y Lengua.

The 2015 Intercensal Survey

INEGI's 2015 Intercensal Survey, published in 2016, indicated that the % of people who are traditionally indigenous exceeds the % of people who actually speak indigenous languages. The data for Zacatecas and other selected states are shown below.

Linguistic and Ethnic Identity in Mexico (2015)

State	Status	% of the Total Population That Consider Themselves to be Indigenous	% of Persons 3 Years of Age and Older Who Speak an Indigenous Language
Oaxaca	No. 1 in Mexico	65.7%	32.2%
Yucatán	No. 2 in Mexico	65.4%	28.9%
Michoacán	No. 11 in Mexico	27.7%	3.6%
Guanajuato	No. 25 in Mexico	9.1%	0.2%
Aguascalientes	No. 22 in Mexico	11.7%	0.3%
Jalisco	No. 24 in Mexico	11.1%	0.8%
Zacatecas	No. 29 in Mexico	7.6%	0.3%
The Mexican Republic	All States Combined	21.5%	6.5%

Source: INEGI, "Principales resultados de la Encuesta Intercensal 2015. Estado Unidos Mexicanos: III: Etnicidad." Online: http://www.senado.gob.mx/comisiones/asuntos_indigenas/eventos/docs/etnicidad_240216.pdf