

Chart: Names of the “Unindicted Co-Conspirators” in Fulton County Georgia Indictment

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Just Security

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In a 41-count [indictment](#) unsealed on Monday, a Fulton County, Georgia grand jury charged former President Donald Trump and 18 other defendants with a constellation of crimes. The indictment alleges several interconnected schemes to overturn the legitimate results of Georgia’s 2020 presidential election—and efforts to conceal those schemes.

The indictment also catalogs the acts of 30 unnamed “unindicted co-conspirators,” who were allegedly involved in “overt acts in furtherance of the conspiracy.” In the Chart below we assembled ample clues throughout the charging document to match the anonymous co-conspirators to possible identities. In many cases, the attribution is clear because the Indictment references communications sent or received by a particular individual which can be compared to communications in the publicly available record (including the final report and documents produced by the House Select Committee and in litigation). While there is not sufficient information to fully confirm all 30—and prosecutors are ethically barred from identifying unindicted co-conspirators without issuing charges—we have pieced together many of their potential identities. We also show the basis for any potential attributions in the Chart.

The Chart will be updated as more information becomes publicly available.

We welcome readers’ feedback and additional information ([email address](#)).

Chart. Who are The Potential Unindicted Co-Conspirators?

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 1	Tom Fitton Act 1 in the indictment references a 10/31/2020 discussion Individual 1 had with Trump; a record of which is included in the House Select Committee’s document production.	Act 1, p. 20

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 2	<p>False Elector</p> <p>Acts 79-82 in the indictment indicate that Individual 2 is one of Georgia's 16 false electors. We list each false elector who was not indicted or otherwise identified in this chart.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mark Amick 2. "Ken" Carroll 3. Brad Carver 4. Vikki Townsend Consiglio 5. John Downey 6. Carolyn Hall Fisher 7. Gloria Kay Godwin 8. David G. Hanna 9. Mark W. Hennessy 10. Daryl Moody 11. C.B. Yada 	<p>Act 2, p. 20 Act 36, p. 28 Act 37, p. 28 Act 54, p. 32 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 3	<p>Boris Epshteyn</p> <p>Act 109 in the indictment references an email Individual 3 received on 01/01/2021; a record of which is included in the House Select Committee's document production.</p>	<p>Act 3, p. 20* Act 94, p. 44 Act 109, p. 49</p> <p>*Note that Act 3 is apparently mislabeled as Act 2.</p>
Individual 4	<p>Robert Sinners</p> <p>Act 4 in the indictment references an email sent on 11/20/2020 by David Shafer to Individual 4 and other individuals, introducing Individual 4 to Scott Hall. The same email is accounted for in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> and discussed during Sinners' deposition (at p. 80:4-19). Act 86 in the indictment references an email sent on 12/14/2020 by Individual 4 to Mike Roman and others, a record of which is included in the House Select Committee's document production.</p>	<p>Act 4, p. 20 Act 45, p. 30 Act 63, p. 36 Act 65, p.36 Act 66, p. 37 Act 67, p. 37 Act 68, p. 37 Act 71, p. 38 Act 72, p. 38 Act 73, p. 38 Act 76, p. 39 Act 77, p. 39 Act 86, p. 42</p>

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 5	<p>Bernard Kerik</p> <p>Act 40 in the indictment references an email sent on 12/08/2020, at Trump’s request, by Bill White to Individual 5, Giuliani, and others, containing information on Majority Leader of the Georgia Senate Mike Dugan and President Pro Tempore of the Georgia Senate Butch Miller. A record of the email is included in the House Select Committee’s documents production. In addition to Giuliani and Kerik, Molly Michael and Dan Scavino were the other two recipients of White’s email. It is unlikely that either of these White House staffers are Individual 5 given neither are reported to have attended a 12/01/2020 meeting alongside Giuliani with Speaker of the Arizona House, President of the Arizona Senate, and other Arizona legislators. Kerik did attend this meeting (per Rusty Bowers informal congressional interview referenced in House Select Committee final report, p. 313, n. 207).</p>	<p>Act 9, p. 22 Act 17, p. 23 Act 20, p. 24 Act 40, p. 29 Act 61, p. 35</p>
Individual 6	<p>Phil Waldron</p> <p>Act 91 in the indictment alleges that on 12/21/2020 Sidney Powell sent an email to SullivanStrickler COO Maggio, asking him to send “a copy of all data” from Michigan to Individual 6, Individual 21, and Individual 22. The email was disclosed during <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> and shows that Powell sent this email to Phil Waldron and two linked to ASOG, Todd Sanders and Conan Hayes (Individuals 21 and 22 – see below). Waldron was also present during a 11/25/2020 White House meeting described in Act 9, where Giuliani, Kerik, Giuliani and others met with Pennsylvania</p>	<p>Act 9, p. 22 Act 17, p. 23 Act 91, p. 44</p>

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	<p>legislators to discuss holding a special session of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Waldron attended this meeting (per Rusty Bowers informal congressional interview referenced in House Select Committee final report, p. 313, n. 207). Waldron also confirmed his attendance to the Washington Post.</p>	
Individual 7	<p>G. Michael Brown (or else James Fitzpatrick, Shawn Flynn, Thomas Lane, Valerie McConahay)</p> <p>Act 77 in the indictment alleges that Mike Roman sent an email on 12/14/2020 to Robert Sinners, Individual 7, and others, stating: “Please send me an update as soon as the State Electoral College has adjourned and all paperwork is secured.”</p> <p>The House Select Committee has the email, which was sent to: G. Michael Brown; James Fitzpatrick; Shawn Flynn; Thomas Lane; Valerie Phillips McConahay; Ryan Terrill; Andrew Iverson; Jesse Law; Robert Sinners.</p> <p>Act 63 in the indictment alleges that Mike Roman sent an email on 12/12/20 to Sinners, Individual 7, and others: “I need a tracker for electors.”</p> <p>The House Select Committee has the email, which was sent to: G. Michael Brown; James Fitzpatrick; Shawn Flynn; Thomas Lane; Valerie Phillips McConahay; Jesse Law; Robert Sinners; Peter McGinnis</p> <p>Given these two emails, Individual 7 could only be either Brown, Fitzpatrick, Flynn, Lane, or McConahay.</p> <p>UPDATE: The evidence points most likely to Brown, who served as deputy to Roman, the</p>	<p>Act 18, p. 23 Act 63, p. 36 Act 77, p. 39 Act 86, p. 42</p>

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
	<p>director of election day operations for Trump’s campaign. The other four people in the list were responsible for single states. James Fitzpatrick (PA), Shawn Flynn (MI), Thomas Lane (NM), Valerie Phillips McConahay (NV) (House Select Committee final report ch 3.4 n. 76). We thank Kevin Skoglund for this insight.</p>	
Individual 8	<p>Lt. Gov. Burt Jones</p> <p>Identified by Atlanta Journal Constitution (the indictment cites a Tweet by Jones).</p>	<p>Act 23, p. 25 Act 34, p. 28 Act 35, p. 28 Act 38, p. 29 Act 68, p. 37 Act 73, p. 37 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41 Act 102, p. 46 Act 161, p. 71 Count 2, p. 72 Count 23, p. 84 Count 41, p. 97</p>
Individual 9	<p>Joseph Brannan [Updated]</p> <p>Acts 79-82 in the indictment indicate that Individual 2 is one of Georgia’s 16 false electors. Act 47 of the indictment references a 12/10/20 email from Kenneth Chesebro to David Shafer and Individual 9, asking “to help coordinate with the other 5 contested States...”</p> <p>The House Select Committee produced the email which was sent to Shafer, copying the email address “treasurer@gagop.com.” Brannan, one of the fake electors, was the Treasurer of the Georgia GOP at the time. There are two other recipients of the email message, but they are both women and Individual 9 is identified in the Indictment as a man.</p>	<p>Act 47, p. 31 Act 48, p. 31 Act 74, p. 39 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41</p>

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
	<p>Identified by The Daily Beast. See also David Shafer congressional deposition (66: 18-23)</p>	
Individual 10	<p>Vikki Townsend Consiglio or Carolyn Fisher [Updated]</p> <p>Act 48 of the indictment references an email that Individuals 9, 10 and 11 received on or about 12/10/20 from Kenneth Chesebro. The description matches an email sent by Chesebro on that date to Joseph Brannan (separately identified as Individual 9), Vikki Townsend Consiglio, and Carolyn Fisher.</p> <p>Identified by The Hill.</p>	<p>Act 48, p. 31 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 11	<p>Vikki Townsend Consiglio or Carolyn Fisher [Updated]</p> <p>Act 48 of the indictment references an email that Individuals 9, 10 and 11 received on or about 12/10/20 from Kenneth Chesebro. The description matches an email sent by Chesebro on that date to Joseph Brannan (separately identified as Individual 9), Vikki Townsend Consiglio, and Carolyn Fisher.</p> <p>Identified by The Hill.</p>	<p>Act 48, p. 31 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 12	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 62, p. 36 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41 Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 13	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 74, p. 39 Act 79, p. 40 Act 80, p. 40 Act 81, p. 41</p>

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
		Act 82, p. 41
Individual 14	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 15	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p> <p>Act 85, p. 42</p>
Individual 16	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 17	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 18	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 10 for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 19	<p>False elector</p> <p>See the entry for “Individual 2” for the list of unidentified false electors.</p>	<p>Act 79, p. 40</p> <p>Act 80, p. 40</p> <p>Act 81, p. 41</p> <p>Act 82, p. 41</p>
Individual 20	<p>Maybe Michael Flynn or Patrick Byrne or else Emily Newman</p> <p>Act 90 in the indictment references a 12/18/2020 meeting Individual 20 had with Trump, Giuliani and Powell, in the White House; as the House Select Committee final report states, as well as Derek Lyon’s committee deposition (at p. 111:3-19) and other reporting, it was Powell, Giuliani, Flynn, Byrne, and Emily Newman</p>	Act 90, p. 43

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
	<p>advancing different “strategies and theories” during the 12/18/2020 meeting.</p> <p>Update: On Aug. 16, Byrne appeared to deny that he is Individual 20 in an interview with the Salt Lake Tribune, and said he has no contact with the Georgia investigators before the indictment. That said, Byrne said, “Never talked to them, never heard from them, <u>but I happily welcome them blaming it on me</u>” (emphasis added). And his denial of being Individual 20 was based on a flawed premise that unindicted co-conspirators are usually cooperators (“An unindicted co-conspirator is usually cooperating with prosecutors to avoid imprisonment,” Byrne said in a text message to The Tribune. “Not me.”).</p>	
Individual 21	<p>Todd Sanders or Conan Hayes</p> <p>Act 91 in the indictment references an email sent by Powell that mentioned Sanders, Hayes, and Waldron; a record of which was obtained in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i>. Waldron is identified as Individual 6.</p>	Act 91, p. 44
Individual 22	<p>Todd Sanders or Conan Hayes</p> <p>Act 91 in the indictment references an email sent by Powell that mentioned Sanders, Hayes, and Waldron; a record of which was obtained in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i>. Waldron is identified as Individual 6.</p>	Act 91, p. 44

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 23	<p>Participant in phone calls with Harrison Floyd and others.</p> <p>Act 115 in the indictment references a call from Harrison Floyd to Individual 23 on 01/03/2021 at 8:11pm.</p> <p>Act 127 in the indictment references a four-way call between Harrison Floyd, Trevian Kutti, Stephen Lee, and Individual 23 on 01/05/2021 at 12:14pm.</p>	<p>Act 115, p. 53 Act 127, p. 59</p>
Individual 24	<p>Alex Cruce</p> <p>Act 143 in the indictment references Individual 24 flying into Coffee County with Scott Hall. Alex Cruce admitted to this during his deposition in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> (p. 46:6-16).</p>	<p>Act 143, p. 64</p>
Individual 25	<p>Doug Logan</p> <p>Act 154 in the indictment references Misty Hampton allowing Individual 25 and Individual 29 to access non-public areas of the Coffee County Board of Elections and Registration Office on 01/18/2021. Videos reported by ABC News show her letting in Douglas Logan and Jeff Lenberg on that date. Act 150 in the indictment references Individual 25 downloading data taken from Coffee County and stored on SullivanStrickler’s ShareFile. Individual 25 downloaded data on 01/09/2021, 01/10/2021, 01/11/2021, and 01/13/2021. Activity logs show Logan downloading data on these days.</p>	<p>Act 150, p. 66 Act 154, p. 67</p>

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 26	<p>Probably Todd Sanders, a.k.a. “Scott T.” (a second time) [Update]</p> <p>It is important to note here that the indictment refers to Individual 26 as someone “whose identity is <u>unknown</u> to the Grand Jury” (emphasis added).</p> <p>With advice from Kevin Skoglund, we are able to determine that it is most likely Todd Sanders (who also appears as Individual 21 or 22 above).</p> <p>Act 151 of the indictment states that Individual 26 unlawfully accessed and downloaded the Coffee County data on January 9, 10, 11, 18, and 19, 2021.</p> <p>Activity logs show Sanders downloaded data on these days. Additionally, the activity logs do not show Sanders downloaded the data on February 25 and 26, which Individual 27 did.</p> <p>The Grand Jury may not have identified Sanders because he used “Scott T.” as his login name (Skoglund’s declaration (§ 59) and Doug London’s deposition (108-109)).</p> <p>Note: Skoglund’s declaration (§ 75) in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> identifies six individuals who downloaded election software between 1/10/21 and 2/25/21: Doug Logan, Sanders, Hayes, James Penrose, Pospieszalski, and Pulitzer. J. Alex Halderman’s declaration (§ 13) identifies five individuals—the same six except for Pulitzer—who downloaded Coffee County data in January and February 2021.</p>	Act 151, p. 66

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
Individual 27	<p>Probably Conan Hayes (a second time) [Update]</p> <p>It is important to note here that the indictment refers to Individual 27 as someone “whose identity is <u>unknown</u> to the Grand Jury” (emphasis added).</p> <p>With advice from Kevin Skoglund, we are able to determine that it is most likely Conan Hayes (who also appears as Individual 21 or 22 above).</p> <p>Act 152 of the indictment states that Individual 27 unlawfully accessed and downloaded the Coffee County data on January 10, 12, 13 and February 25 and 26.</p> <p>Activity logs show Hayes downloaded data on these days. Additionally, the activity logs do not show Hayes downloaded the data on January 9, which Individual 26 did.</p> <p>Note: Skoglund’s declaration (§ 75) in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> identifies six individuals who downloaded election software between 1/10/21 and 2/25/21: Doug Logan, Sanders, Hayes, James Penrose, Pospieszalski, and Pulitzer. J. Alex Halderman’s declaration (§ 13) identifies five individuals—the same six except for Pulitzer—who downloaded Coffee County data in January and February 2021.</p>	Act 152, p. 67
Individual 28	<p>Jim Penrose</p> <p>Act 155 in the indictment alleges that Individual 28 sent an email on 04/22/2021 to SullivanStrickler COO Paul Maggio,</p>	Act 153, p. 67 Act 155, p. 67

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
	<p>asking him to send voting data taken from Coffee County to an attorney associated with Sidney Powell. The email was sent by Jim Penrose, and copied Stephanie Lambert, and it was accounted for in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i> (see Gabriel Sterling’s deposition, at p. 286:22-25; Kevin Skoglund declaration, at § 77). Penrose was also the one person who downloaded all voting data from SullivanStrickler’s ShareFile on 01/13/2021, according to activity logs (p.6), which Act 153 in the indictment alleges.</p>	
Individual 29	<p>Jeffrey Lenberg</p> <p>Act 154 in the indictment references Misty Hampton allowing two individuals to access non-public areas of the Coffee County Board of Elections and Registration Office on 01/18/2021. Videos reported on by media show her letting in Douglas Logan and Jeff Lenberg on that date. Because Individual 25 is likely Doug Logan, Individual 29 is likely Jeffrey Lenberg.</p>	Act 154, p. 67
Individual 30	<p>Stefanie Lambert</p> <p>Act 155 in the indictment alleges that Jim Penrose sent an email to SullivanStrickler COO Paul Maggio on 04/22/2021, asking “to transmit” all Coffee County data “to unindicted co-conspirator Individual 30.” The email is accounted for in <i>Curling v. Raffensperger</i>, which indicates Stefanie Lambert was to receive the data. Penrose wrote to send the materials to “the same address as before” and “[i]nvoice Stefanie Lambert for the work like last time,” and a</p>	Act 155, p. 67

Unindicted Co-Conspirator	Possible Identity	References in Indictment
	FedEx package was sent to Lambert– <i>See</i> Gabriel Sterling’s deposition , at p. 286: 22-25; Kevin Skoglund declaration , at §§ 77-78).	

Updates made on August 17, 2023:

1. Individual 7: New analysis of information indicating higher likelihood of G. Michael Brown (with appreciation to Kevin Skoglund for advice)
2. Individual 9: The [Daily Beast](#) identified Individual 9 as then-Georgia GOP treasurer Joseph Brannan (reporting for Daily Beast by Roger Sollenberger and William Bredderman)
3. Individual 20: Include August 16, 2023 denial by Patrick Byrne (interview with [Salt Lake Tribune](#)’s Bryan Schott)
4. Individual 26: New analysis of SullivanStrickler activity logs indicating Individual 26 is Todd Sanders, a.k.a “Scott T” (with appreciation to Kevin Skoglund for advice)
5. Individual 27: New analysis of SullivanStrickler activity logs indicating Individual 27 is Conan Hayes (with appreciation to Kevin Skoglund for advice)

Updates made on August 25, 2023:

Individuals 10 and 11: [The Hill](#)’s Zach Schonfeld identified Individuals 10 and 11 as Vikki Townsend Consiglio or Carolyn Fisher based on a matching email.