

# PUBLIC-RECORD CAMPAIGN-FINANCE REVIEW

*Hagin, Gwartney, Tomahawk Strategies, and Drummond Campaign Records*

A document-based review of reported campaign contributions, in-kind support, and committee expenditures.

<b>Primary record source</b> Oklahoma Guardian exports	<b>Review years</b> 2018, 2022, 2024, 2025, 2026	<b>Prepared</b> June 24, 2026
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**Created by Oklahoma Child Wellbeing**  
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## Executive Summary

This report consolidates the public-record findings in the source materials supplied to Oklahoma Child Wellbeing. It identifies a shared political-consulting vendor pathway involving Shelley Gwartney’s 2024 campaign and Gentner Drummond’s campaign committees: Tomahawk Strategies.

The evidence is specific. Craig Hagin, reported as an individual donor with Rhema Bible Church listed as employer and “Minister” listed as occupation, contributed six \$100 donations to Shelley Gwartney’s 2024 campaign, totaling \$600. Gwartney’s committee also directly paid Tomahawk Strategies \$8,620.12 and separately reported \$10,287.29 in Tomahawk-linked in-kind support.

Gentner Drummond’s committees directly paid Tomahawk Strategies LLC at least \$267,489.71 in the reviewed 2018, 2025, and 2026 expenditure records. Those payments were reported for staffing, ground-game work, strategic campaign consulting, printing, advertising, and reimbursement-related services.

The records establish vendor and political-network overlap. They do not establish that Craig Hagin, Rhema Bible Church, or any person named in this report funded Drummond; directed Tomahawk; coordinated with Drummond; or engaged in wrongdoing.

### Key Findings at a Glance

Finding	Reported record
Craig Hagin -> Shelley Gwartney	Six individual \$100 contributions in 2024; \$600 total. Employer listed: Rhema Bible Church. Occupation listed: Minister.
Gwartney -> Tomahawk Strategies	Two direct committee payments in 2024; \$8,620.12 total for “campaign services” and “political strategy/commission.”
Tomahawk-linked in-kind support to Gwartney	At least \$10,287.29 reported through John Fritz, Josh Wagoner, L. Avery Krimbill, and Michael Krimbill.
Drummond -> Tomahawk Strategies	At least \$267,489.71 in direct payments reported in reviewed 2018, 2025, and 2026 expenditure data.
Common address	Gwartney records and Drummond’s 2025-2026 Tomahawk entries identify 9175 S. Yale Ave., Tulsa; Gwartney records include Suite 140.

### Scope and Record Limits

- Primary data reviewed: Oklahoma Guardian contribution and expenditure exports supplied to Oklahoma Child Wellbeing for 2018, 2022, 2024, 2025, and 2026.
- This report distinguishes direct committee expenditures, individual monetary contributions, and in-kind contributions. These are different reporting categories and must not be treated as interchangeable.
- The public export files do not include invoices, contracts, engagement letters, approval records, scopes of work, or complete subcontractor ledgers. Therefore, this review cannot identify the individual who negotiated a vendor contract unless the filing itself names that person.
- Names included in this report are included because they appear in the supplied source materials or in contextual reporting referenced in those materials. Inclusion is not an allegation of misconduct.

## 1. Craig Hagin and Shelley Gwartney

Guardian contribution records supplied to Oklahoma Child Wellbeing show six individual monetary contributions from Craig Hagin to Shelley Gwartney's 2024 campaign. The filings list Rhema Bible Church as employer and Minister as occupation. The entries are reported as individual contributions, not as contributions from Rhema Bible Church.

Date	Amount	Recipient	Employer listed	Occupation listed
Feb. 27, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
Mar. 30, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
Apr. 27, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
May 27, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
Jun. 30, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
Jul. 27, 2024	\$100	Shelley Gwartney	Rhema Bible Church	Minister
Total	\$600			

The source material lists Guardian receipt IDs 1999460, 2025445, 2042859, 2042943, 2053158, and 2102282 for these contribution entries.

### What this does and does not establish

- It establishes that Craig Hagin financially supported Shelley Gwartney's 2024 campaign with \$600 in reported individual contributions.
- It does not establish that Rhema Bible Church made a political contribution.
- It does not establish that Craig Hagin donated directly to Gentner Drummond.
- It does not establish that the \$600 paid Tomahawk Strategies, was transferred to another campaign, or was coordinated with any other person or committee.

### Additional shared donor noted in the source materials

Kyle Tate, listed with Insight Eyecare, appears as a \$500 contributor to Gentner Drummond in 2022 and a \$500 contributor to Shelley Gwartney in 2024. The source material treats this as a likely identity match based on the donor name, employer, and occupation, while noting that address information differed between filings.

## 2. Who Paid Tomahawk for Gwartney?

The 2024 Guardian expenditure export for Shelley Gwartney's campaign committee (Organization ID 11122) shows the committee itself directly paid Tomahawk Strategies. This is the clearest answer available from the public expenditure data. The export identifies the committee as payer but does not name the person who negotiated or signed a contract.

Date	Amount	Reported payee	Description	Reported address
Jan. 12, 2024	\$5,332.34	Tomahawk Strategies	Campaign services	9175 S. Yale Ave., Suite 140, Tulsa, OK 74137
Sep. 29, 2024	\$3,287.78	Tomahawk Strategies	Political strategy/commission	9175 S. Yale Ave., Suite 140, Tulsa, OK 74137
Total	\$8,620.12			

The available public export does not include an invoice, engagement letter, reimbursement authorization, or other document identifying the individual who retained the firm. Therefore, the reliable finding is that the campaign committee directly paid Tomahawk Strategies, not that any particular individual hired the company.

**Tomahawk-related in-kind support reported to Gwartney**

Date	Reported source	Amount	Reported description
Apr. 16, 2024	John Fritz	\$100.00	Monetary contribution
May 6, 2024	John Fritz - Tomahawk Strategies LLC	\$1,500.00	In-kind: mailers and postage
Jun. 13, 2024	John Fritz - Tomahawk Strategies LLC	\$687.29	In-kind: mailers
Jun. 13, 2024	Josh Wagoner - Tomahawk Strategies	\$1,500.00	In-kind: mailers
Aug. 23, 2024	L. Avery Krimbill	\$3,300.00	In-kind: printed GOTV materials, commission and strategy - Tomahawk Strategies LLC
Aug. 23, 2024	Michael Krimbill	\$3,300.00	In-kind: GOTV canvassing - Tomahawk Strategies LLC
Total Tomahawk-linked in-kind value		\$10,287.29	Separate reported in-kind transactions

Cameron Cowger also reported a \$3,300 in-kind contribution described as “mailers.” The filing identified Cowger as a self/independent contractor consultant rather than listing Tomahawk as employer. This report does not count that entry as confirmed Tomahawk support without a separate record.

### 3. Gwartney Vendor and Provider Review

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#### Direct payments to named individuals

No direct expenditure row was identified in Gwartney's 2024 committee expenditure export for John Fritz, Josh Wagoner, Cameron Cowger, Michael Krimbill, or L. Avery Krimbill. The record instead shows Fritz, Wagoner, and the Krimbills as in-kind providers, not as direct committee payees.

#### Other campaign vendors directly paid by Gwartney

Vendor	Reported purpose	Total reported paid by committee
i360 LLC	Campaign software / campaign marketing	\$6,075.00
Edge One Signs	Signs / yard signs	\$1,470.39
United States Postal Service (USPS)	Postage, including thank-you cards	\$717.95
Meta Platforms	Digital ads	\$603.54
AJ Meredith	Campaign marketing services	\$2,442.00

The public records do not identify whether any of these vendors were Tomahawk subcontractors. They should be treated as independently reported committee expenditures unless an invoice, vendor agreement, or subcontract record establishes a relationship.

#### Reimbursement, pass-through, and invoice limits

- No direct reimbursement or pass-through record was identified that states who fronted a Tomahawk invoice, funded a mailer, paid a printer, or financed GOTV materials or canvassing.
- The in-kind entries identify the reported contributor of value. They do not necessarily identify the ultimate payer of every underlying vendor invoice.
- The public export does not allow an invoice-by-invoice reconciliation between direct committee payments and reported in-kind support.

#### Do the filings conflict?

No obvious conflict appears in the reported categories. The January 2024 direct Tomahawk payment is described broadly as "campaign services." The May-August in-kind entries describe mailers, postage, GOTV materials, strategy, commission, and canvassing. The September 2024 direct Tomahawk payment is described as "political strategy/commission." Those entries are consistent with a campaign using Tomahawk for strategy, field/GOTV, and mail-related functions. They remain separately reported transactions unless underlying invoices prove duplication or another relationship.

### 4. Drummond Committee Payments to Tomahawk

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The reviewed Guardian expenditure files show direct payments by Gentner Drummond campaign committees to Tomahawk Strategies LLC in 2018, 2025, and 2026. This is a direct committee-to-vendor payment relationship, distinct from individual contributions or in-kind contributions.

Year	Drummond committee	Records	Total paid	Reported purpose
2018	Organization ID 9311	4	\$30,971.15	Staffing invoices and ground game
2025	Organization ID 11686	11	\$157,686.94	Strategic campaign consulting, printing, advertising, reimbursements
2026	Organization ID 11686	5	\$78,831.62	Strategic campaign consulting and advertising expenses
Total		20	\$267,489.71	

**2018 Tomahawk entries**

Date	Amount	Reported description
Jul. 12, 2018	\$1,050.93	Staffing invoice
Aug. 1, 2018	\$15,000.00	Staffing invoice
Aug. 8, 2018	\$4,629.00	Staffing invoice
Aug. 30, 2018	\$10,291.22	Ground game

**Selected 2025-2026 Tomahawk entries**

Date	Amount	Record context
Jun. 26, 2025	\$18,471.80	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2025 expenditure export
Jul. 29, 2025	\$18,582.72	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2025 expenditure export
Sep. 2, 2025	\$20,681.98	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2025 expenditure export
Oct. 6, 2025	\$20,202.82	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2025 expenditure export
Jan. 20, 2026	\$17,380.10	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2026 expenditure export
Mar. 4, 2026	\$16,451.52	Tomahawk payment reported in the 2026 expenditure export
Jan. 29 / Apr. 6 / May 18, 2026	\$15,000.00 each	Tomahawk payments reported in the 2026 expenditure export

## 5. Shared Personnel, Address, and Vendor Review

### Confirmed personnel bridge

Person	Gwartney-side record	Drummond-side record	Status
John Fritz	Reported \$100 monetary contribution and \$2,187.29 in-kind mail/postage and mailer support; Tomahawk employer listed.	Reported \$1,000 in-kind food and beverage contribution to Drummond in July 2025; Tomahawk directly paid by Drummond committees.	Confirmed bridge
Josh Wagoner	Reported \$1,500 in-kind mailers; Tomahawk employer listed.	No direct personal Drummond payment or contribution identified in reviewed files.	Gwartney / Tomahawk link
Cameron Cowger	Reported \$3,300 in-kind mailers; filed as independent contractor / consultant.	No direct Drummond payment or contribution identified in reviewed files.	Not confirmed Tomahawk in 2024 filing
Michael Krimbill	Reported \$3,300 in-kind GOTV canvassing referencing Tomahawk Strategies LLC.	No direct Drummond payment or contribution identified in reviewed files.	In-kind source only
L. Avery Krimbill	Reported \$3,300 in-kind GOTV materials, commission and strategy referencing Tomahawk Strategies LLC.	No direct Drummond payment or contribution identified in reviewed files.	In-kind source only
Kyle Tate	Reported \$500 contribution to Gwartney in 2024; Insight Eyecare listed.	Reported \$500 contribution to Drummond in 2022; Insight Eyecare listed.	Likely shared donor match

### Address overlap

Gwartney’s direct Tomahawk payments list 9175 S. Yale Ave., Suite 140, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74137. Drummond’s 2025 and 2026 Tomahawk expenditure entries list 9175 S. Yale Ave., Tulsa, Oklahoma 74137. This is a direct business-address match, with the Gwartney records including a suite number.

### Other vendor overlap

Vendor	Gwartney record	Drummond record	Limit
Edge One Signs	\$1,470.39 in 2024	\$12,776.32 in 2026	Shared vendor only; no evidence the campaigns coordinated.
i360 LLC	\$6,075.00 in 2024	\$1,391.97 in 2018	Shared vendor only; no evidence the campaigns coordinated.

### No exact direct Drummond payee match in reviewed expenditure rows

The reviewed Drummond expenditure records did not identify a direct payment under the exact names John Fritz, Josh Wagoner, A.H. Strategies, Redbud Reporting, Majority Designs, or Fount Holland. Campaign Advocacy Management Professionals was directly paid in 2022.

## 6. Other Drummond Campaign Vendors and Infrastructure

Year	Payee / entity	Total paid	Reported purpose
2018	Advocacy Insight	\$692,847.54	Website, photography, design, print, and campaign mail
2018	James Martin Company LLC	\$3,000.00	Ethics compliance services
2022	James Martin Company LLC	\$95,797.78	Strategic consulting, fundraising, invitations, postage, letterhead
2022	Campaign Advocacy Management Professionals	\$672,894.77	Strategic consulting, direct mail, printing, social media, voter ID, doorhangers
2022	Trebor Worthen	\$50,000.00	Reported as a win bonus
2025	James Martin Company	\$338,263.76	Fundraising consulting, event costs, reimbursements, printing
2026	James Martin Company	\$102,046.51	Fundraising consulting, services, and reimbursements

The source materials also identify filing-agent relationships for Carly Farris and Jenna Worthen using James Martin Company email addresses and Bert Hale using a Redbud Reporting email address. These records show campaign compliance/reporting infrastructure and do not establish a Hagin or Rhema connection.

## 7. Name and Entity Index

The following index includes the names and organizations referenced in the supplied source material. The entries describe the role reflected in the reviewed records or contextual material; inclusion does not imply misconduct.

Name / Entity	Record role or status
Craig Hagin	Individual contributor to Shelley Gwartney; employer listed as Rhema Bible Church; occupation listed as Minister.
Shelley Gwartney	2024 campaign committee, Organization ID 11122; direct Tomahawk committee payer.
Gentner Drummond	Campaign committees reviewed: 2018 Organization ID 9311; 2022 Organization ID 10260; 2025-2026 Organization ID 11686.
Rhema Bible Church	Employer listed on Craig Hagin's individual contribution records; not reported in this review as a direct contributor to Drummond.
Rhema / Hagin network	General descriptive reference in supplied materials; no direct contribution to Drummond established by this review.
John Fritz	Tomahawk-related in-kind provider to Gwartney; \$1,000 in-kind Drummond fundraiser contributor in 2025; identified in supplied materials as a Tomahawk co-founder/managing member.
Josh Wagoner	Tomahawk-related in-kind provider to Gwartney; no direct personal Drummond payment or contribution identified in reviewed files.
Tomahawk Strategies / Tomahawk Strategies LLC	Vendor directly paid by Gwartney and Drummond committees; common address appearing in records.
Kyle Tate	Reported contribution to Drummond in 2022 and Gwartney in 2024; Insight Eyecare listed.
Insight Eyecare	Employer listed in Kyle Tate records.
Cameron Cowger	Reported \$3,300 in-kind mailer support to Gwartney; not confirmed as Tomahawk in the 2024 filing.
Michael Krimbill	Reported in-kind Tomahawk-described GOTV canvassing to Gwartney.
L. Avery Krimbill	Reported in-kind Tomahawk-described GOTV materials, commission and strategy to Gwartney.
Advocacy Insight	Drummond 2018 direct payee in reviewed expenditure records.
A.H. Strategies	Historical contextual reference in source materials; no exact direct Drummond payee entry found in reviewed files.
Trebor Worthen	Direct Drummond payee in 2022; donor and contextual campaign adviser reference in supplied materials.
Jenna Worthen	Drummond donor and James Martin Company reporting/filing-agent reference in supplied materials.
Carly Farris	James Martin Company reporting/filing-agent reference; Drummond donor in supplied materials.
Bert Hale	Redbud Reporting filing-agent reference in supplied materials.
James Martin Company / James Martin Company LLC	Direct Drummond payee and campaign reporting/filing infrastructure reference.
Redbud Reporting	Campaign reporting/filing-agent email reference; no exact direct Drummond expenditure match found in reviewed files.
Campaign Advocacy Management Professionals / CAMP	Direct Drummond 2022 payee.
Majority Designs	No exact direct Drummond expenditure match found in reviewed files.

Name / Entity	Record role or status
Fount Holland	No exact direct Drummond expenditure match found in reviewed files.
Cody Rogers	Contextual reference in source materials relating to a 2024 campaign-disclosure matter; no conclusion drawn in this report.
NonDoc	Contextual reporting source referenced in supplied materials.
Sooner Politics	Contextual reporting source referenced in supplied materials.
Pastors for Trump	Contextual relationship reference in supplied materials; not a campaign-finance finding in this review.
Jackson Lahmeyer	Contextual relationship reference in supplied materials; not a campaign-finance finding in this review.
Roger Stone	Appears in supplied contextual social-media screenshot; not a campaign-finance finding in this review.
Mark Tedford	Appears in supplied contextual social-media screenshot; not a campaign-finance finding in this review.
Mike Mazzei	Appears in supplied contextual media screenshot; not a campaign-finance finding in this review.
Carly Farris, Jenna Worthen, Bert Hale	Included separately above; listed here collectively because the source materials identify their campaign-reporting roles.
i360 LLC	Gwartney and Drummond vendor overlap noted.
Edge One Signs	Gwartney and Drummond vendor overlap noted.
USPS	Gwartney vendor record.
Meta Platforms	Gwartney vendor record.
AJ Meredith	Gwartney vendor record.
Print Place / PrintPlace	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Eventbrite	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Constant Contact	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
FastSigns	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
48HourPrint	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
NGL Energy	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Matt Moses	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Matt Cozort	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Rebecca Hinkle	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Jeanine Gray	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Tulsa Today	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.
Lamar	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.

Name / Entity	Record role or status
GOA LLC	Searched in Drummond expenditure records; no exact direct match stated in source material.

## 8. Methodology, Publication Note, and Sources

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### Methodology

This document is a summary of the supplied data and source materials. The review compared reported contributions and in-kind entries involving Craig Hagin, Shelley Gwartney, Tomahawk Strategies, John Fritz, Josh Wagoner, the Krimbills, Kyle Tate, and related names with expenditure entries from Drummond campaign committees. Exact-name searches were used for additional vendors and individuals identified in the source materials.

### Primary records

- Oklahoma Guardian contribution exports supplied to Oklahoma Child Wellbeing: 2022, 2024, 2025, and 2026.
- Oklahoma Guardian committee expenditure exports supplied to Oklahoma Child Wellbeing: 2018, 2022, 2024, 2025, and 2026.
- Guardian committee identifiers referenced in supplied materials: Shelley Gwartney - Organization ID 11122; Gentner Drummond - Organization ID 9311 (2018), 10260 (2022), and 11686 (2025-2026).

### Context-only materials

The source packet also references public reporting or public posts involving NonDoc, Sooner Politics, Pastors for Trump, Jackson Lahmeyer, Roger Stone, Mark Tedford, Mike Mazzei, and others. Those materials are included only as context where stated and are not treated as substitutes for the Guardian contribution and expenditure records.

### Publication Note

This is a public-record summary prepared by Oklahoma Child Wellbeing. It does not accuse any individual, campaign, organization, vendor, or employer of criminal, civil, ethical, or regulatory wrongdoing. A contribution, expenditure, shared vendor, address overlap, or network overlap does not by itself establish coordination, endorsement, agency, funding flow, intent, or misconduct. Readers should consult the underlying official filings and seek independent professional guidance before drawing legal or factual conclusions.

**Created by Oklahoma Child Wellbeing**  
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